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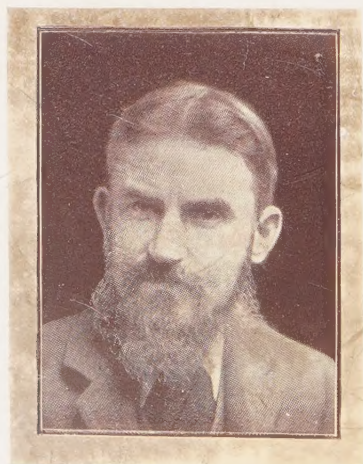
H. RIDER HAGGARD
Land Questions



PERCY ALDEN, M.P.
Labour Colonies



SIDNEY WEBB, L.C.C.
Industrialism



G. BERNARD SHAW
Municipalism

THE NEW ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL REFORM

INCLUDING

ALL IMPORTANT SOCIAL-REFORM MOVEMENTS & ACTIVITIES,
AND THE ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL, AND SOCIOLOGICAL FACTS
& STATISTICS OF ALL COUNTRIES & ALL SOCIAL SUBJECTS

EMBRACING QUOTATIONS FROM THE PUBLIC UTTERANCES OF

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

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H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES

H.I.M. THE EMPRESS OF GERMANY

HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL.D.

ENLARGED AND REVISED EDITION

EDITED BY

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OWNERSHIP OF HOMES IN CERTAIN WARDS.—Continued

CITY AND WARD	Total homes	OWNED			Hired	Un- known
		Free	Encum- bered	Un- known		
NEW YORK CITY:						
Brooklyn Borough.....	252,519	18,611	25,763	586	205,154	2,405
Ward 16.....	12,630	402	558	16	11,593	61
Ward 28.....	18,119	648	2,366	29	15,001	75
Manhattan Borough.....	383,726	6,305	9,056	955	352,116	15,294
Assembly District 8.....	14,042	14	42	6	13,648	332
Assembly District 10.....	14,568	113	135	12	13,913	395
Assembly District 21.....	20,742	307	862	77	18,676	820
Cincinnati.....	73,519	9,725	4,915	251	56,384	2,244
Ward 13.....	2,455	183	49	.....	2,186	37
Ward 10.....	2,507	145	44	.....	2,276	42
Philadelphia.....	263,093	29,033	24,013	2,482	196,124	11,441
Ward 2.....	7,100	471	319	58	5,939	313
Ward 3.....	4,981	263	113	47	4,194	364

HOMESTEAD AND EXEMPTION LAWS:

Provisions of law by which homesteads are secured beyond reach of creditors or liabilities on the part of their owners are of modern growth. The Homestead Law of the United States, tho long agitated and several times passed by the House of Representatives, and tho antedated by the like laws of several states, was not enacted by Congress till May 20, 1862. Altho often abused (see PUBLIC DOMAIN), it has proved one of the most beneficent as well as successful laws ever passed. It has opened up to immediate settlement millions of acres of public lands, and has attracted to this country millions of our best citizens. By its provisions any citizen or applicant for citizenship over twenty-one years of age may enter upon 160 acres of any unappropriated public lands, graded at \$1.25 per acre, or eighty acres of such lands, valued at \$2.50 per acre, by the government, on payment of the nominal fee of \$5 to \$10. After five years' actual residence on the land, a patent thereof is issued to the settler by the general land officer at Washington. This patent is a valid title from the U. S. If the purchaser wishes to complete his title in less than five years, he can only do so by purchase. No individual is permitted to acquire more than 160 acres, tho there is no limit to the amount he can purchase. There is a proviso that no lands acquired under the Homestead Act can be liable for any debts of the settler contracted before the issuing of the patent for his homestead. (See PUBLIC DOMAIN.)

HOMESTEAD STRIKE: In July, 1892, a serious difficulty arose in the iron and steel works of Messrs. Carnegie & Co., Homestead, Pa., employing several thousand men. Wages had been for many years fixt in these works by a sliding scale based upon the selling price of steel billets. (See AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS.) The scale agreed upon in 1889 was to expire on June 30, 1892; and when that date approached, the owners gave notice of a desire to reduce the basis from \$26.50 a ton to \$23, and to make the scale terminable at the beginning of January instead of at the beginning of July. To this the employees objected, because in the middle of winter they could not afford a cessation of work, and would not be in a position to resist any unwelcome demands made by the employers. The number of men actually affected by the cut-down was not large, but the delegates of the

Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, in the name of the employees, rejected the proposed scale. The employers retaliated by formally discharging all who refused their terms and announcing that they would hold no further negotiation with the association as such. Carnegie & Co. had provided against the contingency of a strike or lockout during the previous six weeks by building a fence around the works three miles long and 12 ft. high upon a parapet 3 ft. in height, and covered with barbed wire, so that the operatives called the works Fort Frick. Three hundred Pinkerton constables were brought by water to the works. They were introduced into the state unarmed, but brought arms and ammunition with them packed in boxes. A large body of strikers were in waiting to prevent their landing, having taken possession of the works. The testimony is conflicting as to which party fired first, but a skirmish ensued with a heavy volley of shots from the strikers, in which seven of the Pinkertons and strikers were killed and many others wounded. The struggle continued two days. On the opposite bank a brass ten-pound cannon was obtained and fired on the barges. The crowd also attempted to set fire to the barges by pouring burning oil upon the river, and finally the Pinkertons surrendered, and were imprisoned in a rink until evening, when they were got away from the town by rail. On their way to the rink and to the station they were beaten and maltreated in spite of the efforts of the strike leaders to control the crowd, which was largely composed of Slavs, Hungarians, and women. Troops were sent to Homestead by the Governor of Pennsylvania and stationed there many weeks, the town being put under martial law. Great severity was displayed. Eleven workmen and spectators were killed in the fights. Some of the leaders were arrested and order was restored; for tho the manager, Mr. Frick, was afterward shot at by a Russian named Berkmann, this act seems to have been quite independent of the men on strike. For an unguarded expression of sympathy with Berkmann, a private (James) was strung up by his thumbs and flogged. After about six weeks a large number of the strikers returned to work, but a number of new men were subsequently engaged by the company, and many of the strikers did not return. A committee of Congress, appointed to investigate the employment of Pinkerton detectives, held an inquiry at Pittsburg into the circumstances of the strike. The evidence

given before them showed that a conviction prevailed among the men, that since the introduction of the McKinley tariff the profits of the company had increased, and that there was, therefore, no occasion for any such reduction of wages as they proposed. Further, the strength of the feeling against the employment of Pinkerton special constables found general expression. Great excitement over the strike was roused through all the country. Subscriptions were raised by working men to support the strike. Lawyers were sent on to defend the strikers against persecution for using arms to defend their homes against "foreign invasions." The feeling against the Pinkertons ran very high. In Massachusetts an act prohibiting the employment of Pinkerton constables was passed in 1892, and a similar act was passed in New Jersey during the same year.

HOMICIDE. See CRIME (pages 333-335).

HOPEDALE: Formerly a Christian Socialist community, now an industrial "model village," near Milford, Mass. The founder of the community was the Rev. Acton Ballou (*q. v.*). Its first compact dates from Jan., 1841, before Brook Farm; but the community did not actually commence operations till April, 1842. Hopedale lasted much longer than Brook Farm, continuing till 1856 or 1857. In 1854 it was at its highest point of success and hopefulness. The community was originally called Fraternal Community No. 1, and numbered about thirty individuals.

By 1851 the community came to own about 500 acres, consisting of about thirty new dwelling-houses, three mechanic shops, with water-power, carpentering and other machinery, and a small chapel used for educational and religious purposes. At the same date it had about thirty-six families, besides single persons—some 175 persons in all. A tract written by Mr. Ballou in 1851 says:

"It is a socialistic community, successfully actualizing, as well as promulgating, practical Christian socialism—the only kind of socialism likely to establish a true social state on earth."

Its high hopes were for a time realized. Acton Ballou worked faithfully to carry them into effect. That they finally failed was no fault of Mr. Ballou. At first Mr. Ballou was the head of the community, but ultimately he was superseded by a Mr. G. D. Draper, an enterprising business man who became the business spirit of the whole community, who had a brother in business with him who had no sympathy with the community. Mr. Draper became more and more interested in lucrative outside concerns. Meanwhile, he had bought up three fourths of the joint stock. Finally, becoming dissatisfied with the community, he paid the debts and compelled its suspension.

The Drapers (cotton machinery makers) have, however, now developed in place of the old community attractive homes for their employees. A large share of the 3,000 men live in homes put up and owned by the company. They are finished for the most part in unstained wood, tastefully and conveniently designed. The streets are lined by small lawns or flower beds without fences; there is a park of some 150 acres, with six acres of playground, so that the whole is quite

attractive. Water, gas, electric light, baths, with good drainage, are provided for nearly all the houses. A comfortable home can be hired for \$6 a month. Better houses can be had for from \$10 to \$20 a month.

HOSPITALS: Hospitals are among the most ancient forms of relief institutions. There were hospitals in India and Persia before the Christian era. The Greek temples of Æsculapius served as places to which the sick were brought for relief. So more or less with the sacred places of all early races, civilized and uncivilized. The first hospitals apart from these were probably founded by the Christian churches, like the great one founded by Basil in Cesaria about 375 A.D., with rooms for lepers as well as other invalids. From this time they multiplied rapidly. One of the earliest still existent is the great Hôtel Dieu of Paris, dating probably from the seventh century. During the crusades many hospitals were built, including two at Jerusalem, and the knights who attended these were called hospitaliers. The sisters of charity were also active in developing them at Lyons, France. Hospitals were early connected with the universities, notably at Bologna, and in London (St. Bartholemew's, 1596; Bethlehem, 1547; St. Thomas's, 1553).

The oldest large hospital in the United States is probably the Pennsylvania Hospital (1750), and the second, the New York Hospital (1771).

They now exist in all cities and are of very many kinds. The annual number of patients in the Middlesex Hospital, London, is over 2,000, while it treats annually some 18,000 in their homes. The Johns Hopkins Hospital of Baltimore was endowed by Mr. Hopkins (1873) with \$4,500,000.

There were in the U. S. in 1903 1,493 hospitals with 156 dispensaries and 166 nurseries. Of the hospitals 822 had been established since 1890. The inmates Jan. 1, 1905, numbered 71,530, of whom 24,000 were in public hospitals, 23,965 in private, and 23,564 in ecclesiastical. The cost of maintenance in 1903 was \$28,200,867, of which \$2,276,336 came from public funds for private and ecclesiastical hospitals, besides \$6,606,085 for the public hospitals. Of the ecclesiastical hospitals, \$1,344,932 came from public funds and \$611,461 from pay inmates.

Prussia had (1885) 1,593 hospitals with 80,401 beds; that is, 28 beds per 10,000 population. The state owned 18.1 per cent of the hospitals and 26.4 of the beds; and treated 33.1 of the patients. The hospital at Friedrichsheim, near Berlin, built in 1870-74, has 600 beds in 12 buildings, and cost 4,594,229 marks; that is, 7,455 per bed.

HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF, AND BARTENDERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE: One of the larger unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The alliance was formed as a national union in 1890 out of four locals. The alliance and league reported in 1905 38,700 members, and paid that year in death benefits \$22,700.

HOURS OF LABOR (see also EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT; EIGHT-HOUR PHILOSOPHY; CHILD LABOR; SWEAT-SHOPS; TRADE-UNIONS; WAGES): In this article we give information as to the hours

commonly prevailing in different trades and countries. It must be remembered, however, that such statements can be made, as a rule, only for trades investigated by the Labor and Statistical Bureaus of the different countries, and that these are, and almost of necessity must be, only the larger and better organized trades. Hence, the hours here given must *not* be taken as typical for the numerous shops, stores, and small factories which are ill organized, nor for even the great department and other stores and the factories employing girls and others only to a small extent in trade-unions. Article Trade-Union will show how close is the connection between the trade-union and short hours. Hence, where unions are not found or are weak, hours are almost always long. (For the worst cases, see SWEAT-SHOPS.) In very many cases, however, by no means to be called sweat-shops, hours, as in many stores and some factories, are much longer than in most of the trades reported in these statistics.

HOURS OF LABOR IN FACTORIES AND TRADES, U. S., 1904
(Compiled from Bulletin of U. S. Labor Bureau, July, 1905)

OCCUPATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
Bakers, first hands, male:				
North Atlantic.....	34	77	63.64	\$.2813
South Atlantic.....	20	36	63.22	.2451
North Central.....	35	101	59.31	.2843
South Central.....	14	20	66.45	.2416
Western.....	11	18	59.67	.3808
United States.....	114	252	61.78	.2813
United States, second hands, male	114	434	63.46	.2160
United States, third hands, male..	63	357	59.34	.2107
Blacksmiths, male:				
North Atlantic.....	13	31	55.61	.2814
South Atlantic.....	8	20	59.10	.2317
North Central.....	19	40	59.43	.2629
South Central.....	5	11	57.45	.2857
Western.....	3	6	56.00	.3222
United States.....	48	108	57.88	.2680
Boots and Shoes				
Closers-on, female:				
North Atlantic.....	25	123	56.82	.1865
North Central.....	15	118	57.92	.1511
United States.....	40	241	57.36	.1691
Lasters, machine, male:				
North Atlantic.....	23	343	56.89	.2791
North Central.....	14	237	57.11	.2971
United States.....	37	580	56.98	.2865
Building Trades				
Bricklayers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	75	2,053	46.92	.5438
South Atlantic.....	36	620	50.83	.5058
North Central.....	70	1,370	46.51	.5702
South Central.....	28	288	48.22	.5802
Western.....	20	307	45.58	.6936
United States.....	229	4,644	47.32	.5586
Carpenters, male:				
North Atlantic.....	82	2,716	47.89	.3771
South Atlantic.....	39	997	52.09	.2973
North Central.....	69	1,943	48.74	.3070
South Central.....	30	562	51.81	.3128
Western.....	22	530	46.70	.4565
United States.....	242	6,748	48.99	.3633

OCCUPATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION

Building Trades (continued)

	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
Hod-carriers, male:¹				
North Atlantic.....	92	1,925	46.72	\$.2972
South Atlantic.....	28	456	50.57	.2165
North Central.....	87	1,806	46.89	.2898
South Central.....	29	307	50.96	.2080
Western.....	26	320	47.46	.3796
United States.....	262	4,814	47.47	.2866
Painters, male:				
North Atlantic.....	71	1,630	48.40	.3501
South Atlantic.....	26	517	50.48	.3039
North Central.....	67	1,328	47.52	.3717
South Central.....	23	328	50.32	.3038
Western.....	21	321	47.15	.4367
United States.....	208	4,124	48.43	.3543
Paper-hangers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	34	242	50.24	.3558
South Atlantic.....	12	76	52.97	.2867
North Central.....	36	235	49.42	.3085
South Central.....	7	51	49.18	.3686
Western.....	14	79	47.54	.4522
United States.....	103	683	49.87	.3646
Plumbers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	84	623	48.00	.4291
South Atlantic.....	37	267	50.21	.4066
North Central.....	66	516	47.18	.4974
South Central.....	23	155	48.71	.4635
Western.....	22	210	46.56	.5917
United States.....	232	1,771	47.98	.4679
Structural iron-workers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	10	895	46.69	.4986
South Atlantic.....	4	99	52.79	.3727
North Central.....	17	690	53.59	.3726
South Central.....	2	52	59.46	.1952
Western.....	4	58	56.79	.3289
United States.....	37	1,794	50.38	.4289
Clothing in Factories				
Buttonhole-m'k'rs, machine, male:				
North Atlantic.....	3	4	55.75	.2675
South Atlantic.....	1	9	60.00	.2556
North Central.....	3	4	54.50	.1508
United States.....	7	17	57.71	.2337
Cutters, hand, male:				
North Atlantic.....	10	310	50.02	.3895
South Atlantic.....	2	69	54.17	.3024
North Central.....	12	162	51.74	.3495
South Central.....	2	4	55.00	.2389
United States.....	26	545	51.09	.3655
Finishers, female:				
North Atlantic.....	7	169	53.98	.0987
South Atlantic.....	2	87	59.66	.0803
North Central.....	9	147	54.73	.0962
South Central.....	2	37	57.70	.0777
United States.....	20	440	55.67	.0925
Sewing-machine operators, male:				
North Atlantic.....	9	373	53.72	.2175
South Atlantic.....	1	20	60.00	.2266
North Central.....	5	25	55.28	.2329
South Central.....	1	6	58.33	.2171
United States.....	16	424	54.17	.2188
Female, United States.....	27	2,149	55.36	.1209
Bushmen, female:				
North Atlantic.....	1	1	60.00	.1500
South Atlantic.....	3	8	58.50	.1273
North Central.....	2	3	57.33	.1314
South Central.....	1	3	60.70	.1083
United States.....	7	15	58.67	.1258

¹ Includes men who mix mortar and wait on bricklayers, plasterers, and stone-masons whether or not a hod is used.

OCCUPATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour	OCCUPATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
<i>Cotton Factories</i>					<i>Printing (continued)</i>				
Spinners, frame, male:					Compositors (book and job), fe-				
North Atlantic.....	7	40	58.95	\$0.0785	male:				
South Atlantic.....	5	155	66.00	.0600	North Atlantic.....	4	24	50.75	\$0.2886
United States.....	12	195	54.55	.0638	North Central.....	2	9	54.00	.2901
Female, United States.....	22	1,739	61.01	.0847	United States.....	6	33	51.66	.2890
Spinners, mule, male:					Compositors (newspaper), male,				
North Atlantic.....	11	273	59.32	.1895	United States.....	135	1,795	47.23	.4916
Weavers, male:					Linotype operators (book and job),				
North Atlantic.....	13	1,302	58.78	.1477	male:				
South Atlantic.....	6	376	66.00	.1029	North Atlantic.....	10	74	52.38	.4103
South Central.....	1	16	63.00	.0726	South Atlantic.....	5	17	53.35	.3806
United States.....	20	1,694	60.42	.1371	North Central.....	12	86	48.10	.5111
Female, United States.....	21	3,592	60.13	.1261	South Central.....	2	6	52.00	.4054
<i>Foundries</i>					Western.....	4	20	46.61	.5455
Boiler-makers, male:					United States.....	33	203	50.07	.4627
North Atlantic.....	36	619	55.94	.2898	Linotype operators (newspaper),				
South Atlantic.....	11	60	54.95	.2972	male, United States.....	135	1,752	46.99	.5502
North Central.....	26	380	56.05	.2703	Proof-readers, male:				
South Central.....	12	116	58.17	.3030	North Atlantic.....	16	71	52.38	.3760
Western.....	11	114	54.21	.3873	South Atlantic.....	3	7	55.43	.3237
United States.....	96	1,289	55.98	.2942	North Central.....	16	14	53.80	.3808
Machinists, male:					South Central.....	2	2	54.00	.3935
North Atlantic.....	89	3,570	56.07	.2736	Western.....	2	51	51.00	.5098
South Atlantic.....	26	367	55.46	.2701	United States.....	33	96	52.81	.3761
North Central.....	73	3,163	55.27	.2575	Female, United States.....	15	29	52.10	.3153
South Central.....	21	296	54.72	.3165	Cigar-makers, male:				
Western.....	17	373	54.16	.3583	North Atlantic.....	6	312	48.71	.3644
United States.....	228	7,766	55.57	.2726	South Atlantic.....	5	1,325	60.00	.2901
<i>Iron and Steel</i>					North Central.....	11	193	46.91	.3165
Heaters, male:					United States.....	22	1,830	56.60	.3056
North Atlantic.....	8	30	64.47	.4986	Cigar-rollers (hand), male, United				
South Atlantic.....	3	45	60.00	.3480	States.....	5	221	49.72	.2429
North Central.....	7	42	67.52	.8037	Female, United States.....	16	637	54.38	.1296
South Central.....	1	6	72.00	.4692					
United States.....	19	123	64.24	.5463					
Blowers (Bessemer), male:									
North Atlantic.....	4	12	54.00	.5763					
South Atlantic.....	2	5	58.40	.4089					
North Central.....	3	7	61.71	.6191					
South Central.....	1	2	72.00	.3551					
United States.....	10	26	60.23	.5386					
Hot-blast men, male:									
North Atlantic.....	8	57	84.00	.1516					
South Atlantic.....	2	10	84.00	.1517					
North Central.....	6	29	84.00	.1750					
South Central.....	6	16	84.00	.1370					
United States.....	22	112	84.00	.1555					
Stone-cutters, granite, male:									
North Atlantic.....	40	476	48.01	.3881					
South Atlantic.....	14	119	49.71	.3731					
North Central.....	13	77	52.40	.3591					
South Central.....	6	51	51.22	.3495					
Western.....	10	202	47.70	.5597					
United States.....	83	925	48.71	.4191					
<i>Printin</i>									
Compositors (book and job), male:									
North Atlantic.....	40	680	52.16	.3497					
South Atlantic.....	16	143	54.62	.2886					
North Central.....	28	511	53.90	.3302					
South Central.....	7	85	53.72	.3169					
Western.....	5	56	51.00	.3861					
United States.....	96	1,475	53.05	.3365					

AVERAGE¹ HOURS OF LABOR PER WEEK IN THE LARGEST CITIES OF THE U. S., 1904

TRADE	New York	Chicago	Philadelphia	St. Louis	Boston	Baltimore
Carpenters.....	44.0	44.0	46.4	44.0	48.1	48.0
Bricklayers.....	44.0	44.0	44.0	44.0	48.0	48.0
Plasterers.....	44.0	44.0	44.0	44.0	44.3	48.0
Painters.....	44.1	44.0	48.0	44.0	48.0	48.0
Plumbers.....	44.2	44.0	47.0	44.0	48.0	48.0
Bricklayers' laborers.....	44.0	44.0	44.3	44.0	47.8	48.0
Other laborers—building trades.....	55.6	47.0	58.1	60.0	56.0	57.3
Blacksmiths.....	53.7	54.0	55.7	54.0	54.6	54.0
Turners.....	53.9	54.0	55.5	54.0	54.2	54.0
Iron-molders.....	54.0	54.0	55.1	54.0	55.0	54.0
Boiler-makers.....	52.6	53.0	54.9	54.0	54.0	54.0
Pattern-makers.....	54.0	54.1	55.9	54.0	55.0	54.0
Laborers—metal trades.....	53.9	54.1	56.3	54.0	55.0	54.0
Cabinet-makers.....	47.1	52.0	60.0	55.8	50.4	48.0
Machine wood-workers.....	51.7	54.0	54.0	56.0	53.4	58.1
Compositors.....	48.6	49.1	48.9	45.0	36.5	49.5
Linotype operators.....	48.6	49.8	46.1	48.0	45.9	46.2
Pressmen (printing).....	43.8	50.4	53.7	48.0	45.9	46.2
Stereotypers.....	43.7	48.0	46.4	48.0	42.0	42.0
Street and sewer work:						
Contractors' laborers.....	58.1	56.9	60.0	54.0	48.0	48.0
Municipal laborers.....	51.0	55.7	45.3	48.0	44.0	48.0

¹ The average is obtained by dividing the aggregate number of hours worked during the week by all the work people to whom the figures relate, by the number of work people.

Hours of labor in other countries are usually longer than trade-union hours in the U. S. But outside of these trades, conditions are so different, it is impossible to make comparisons.

The following table is compiled from an English report on foreign labor statistics, issued by the Board of the Trade, 1906:

HOURS PER WEEK

COUNTRY AND CITY	Car- penters	Plumbers	Painters	Black- smiths	Slaters
Great Britain:					
London.....	50	47	50	54	...
Glasgow.....	51	51	51	51	51
Liverpool.....	49½	49½	49½	53	49½
Manchester.....	49½	49½	52	53	54½
Birmingham.....	51	54	56½	53	54
Leeds.....	49½	49½	50	53	50
Bristol.....	54	54	54	54	54
Bradford.....	49½	49½	52	53	49½
United States:					
New York.....	44	44½	44½	53½	44
Chicago.....	44	44	44	54	...
Philadelphia.....	40½	47	48	55½	...
St. Louis.....	44	44	44	54	...
Boston.....	48	48	48	54½	...
Baltimore.....	48	48	48	54	...
San Francisco.....	44	47½	48	54	...
Germany:					
Berlin.....	54	53½	...	...	53
Hamburg.....	57	50½	53½	...	...
Leipsic.....	57	59	...	...	...
Breslau.....	60	...	...	...	...
Frankfort-on-Main.....	57	...	57	...	...
Lübeck.....	57	...	57	...	...
Chemnitz.....	...	...	...	...	...
France:					
Paris.....	60	60	54	60	56½
Marseilles.....	60	60½	60	60	60
Lyons.....	60	60	60	60	60
Lille.....	63	60	54	66	57
Toulouse.....	60	60	60	...	60
Nantes.....	57	60	57	60	57
Havre.....	54	57	54	60	57
Rouen.....	57	54½	57	66	54½
Holland:					
Amsterdam.....	58½	60	63	...	...
Rotterdam.....	64	64	72	66	64
The Hague.....	63	63	69	...	...
Utrecht.....	64	...	65	...	...
Italy:					
Rome.....	60	...	60	...	...
Milan.....	63	...	51	...	...
Turin.....	60	...	...	...	...
Bologna.....	66	...	...	...	...
Venice.....	...	...	54	...	...
Norway:					
Christiania.....	60	...	60	57	...

HOUSE OF DAVID, THE: Name of an Israelite religious community at Benton Harbor, Mich., U. S., established in 1902 by "Mary and Benjamin," religious leaders of a peculiar faith derived from the Hebrew Scriptures. They state that their numbers are to total 144,000, and believe that the Lord is now setting His hand the second time to gather His people, the first time being by Moses and the second time now, and that this necessitates the sounding of the seventh angel. They claim that the seventh angel or messenger is now sounding in Benjamin and Mary, the woman included, for the man is not without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord. Six other angels or messengers they claim have already sounded and passed away, but that this is according to the Scriptures, for

the Lord will only have one standard on the earth at once.

Their followers (1907) number about 500 and practise strict communism. On attractive grounds they have several large living buildings, with electric light and steam heat, an auditorium, cannery and dryin house, steam laundry, carpenter shop, tailor shop, coach factory, stables and barns, automobile-house, power-house, etc.

The occupation is mainly fruit-raising and they have about 1,000 acres under cultivation, being among the best fruit farms of the district. They do a successful business running into the hundreds of thousands. They give much attention also to education and to music, having five bands. They have a large printing-house, considered a spiritual ark (whence the false report that they are building a new ark). They produce much propaganda literature and publish a paper, *Shiloh's Messenger of Wisdom*.

HOUSING IN GREAT BRITAIN, THE NEED OF: According to Sir Robert Giffen, no fewer than eight millions of persons in the United Kingdom—one fifth of the whole population—exist under conditions represented by a family income of less than a pound a week, and constituting not merely a disgrace, but a positive danger to our civilization. Dealing with this statement, Mr. Sidney Webb says these eight millions are "housed, washed, and watered worse than our horses." Of these eight million people improperly housed, Sir Walter Foster, president of the Land Law Reform Association, estimates that nearly half are living in dwellings which ought to be pulled down. He says a very careful calculation has been made, showing that 690,000 English houses now occupied in town and country are so bad and rotten as to be utterly beyond repair. Lord Avebury recently told the London Chamber of Commerce that there are no fewer than two and a half millions of people living in London for whom better workmen's dwellings are required.

Mr. Johnstone Wallace, one of the public men of Newcastle, thus describes the housing conditions of that city: "Everywhere throughout the city cellars and garret dwellings are in common use, particularly in one part of the town, and the wretched character of the accommodation in some of them is enough to drive the poor occupants to despair." It is shown in Dr. Tathan's report to the Registrar-General, that some 11,000 people live in 3,288 cellars in Liverpool, and that that city possesses 1,432 courts and alleys, and 8,184 insanitary houses. The doctor adds: "The death-rate for children under five years is twice as high in Liverpool (114½) as the average of England (59). To Liverpool belongs the distinction of being the most unhealthy place for little children in the whole country."

Miss Bentham, a lady sanitary inspector in Middlesbrough, a large manufacturing town, says: "Owing to the want of set pots and facilities for washing in the houses, more especially in the poorest districts, it was most difficult to obtain cleanliness either of the people or of their clothing. Out of 600 visited, 483 had no facilities either for washing the clothes or the persons of the inmates, and the charges at the corporation baths were higher than these people could afford."

The Chief Sanitary Inspector of Glasgow, Mr. P. Fyfe, at a public meeting, stated that there were 7,000 people living in that city in open violation of the health laws, and yet the authorities

dared not take action. On a later occasion the same inspector, in a lecture on "Back Lands and Their Inhabitants," delivered before the Glasgow Association of House Factors and Property Agents, said: "Darkness and dirt are as mother and daughter in the dingy back land, and no police regulations that were ever made, or soever put into execution, will bring sweetness out of, or put sweetness into, slums. Therefore the cry of 50 per cent of our poor, who, I believe, wish to be clean, goes up in what Carlyle calls the huge inarticulate question—'What do you mean to do with us?'"

England has overcrowded slums in its villages as well as in its towns. Among the main reasons why country people flock into towns are the want of the scarcity of cottages in their native villages, and the foul and overcrowded state of so many country homes. The tale comes from all over the country that the villages are fast becoming villages of old people. The manhood and vigor from the countryside that hitherto have stood for England's staying powers are spending themselves in the towns. The nation's reserve is rapidly being exhausted. The low wages paid to agricultural laborers have something to do with this rural depopulation, but the want of houses to live in—a want felt far more keenly in many villages than in many towns—is the greater cause. With all this desertion of sturdy men and women from the country, the homes they leave behind are far from adequate even for the people remaining. The cottages are rotting away faster than the people are running away.

As a result of a careful inquiry carried out by the Land Law Reform Association, it was found that in sixty-seven villages, containing 3,739 cottages, one fifth of the cottages were in such a state as to be described not only as insufficient, but bad or extremely bad. Of these cottages, 61 per cent had bedrooms without fireplaces, and therefore could have no proper or healthy ventilation, and in one seventh the water-supply was either bad or there was none at all. More recently the association conducted another inquiry over 240 villages, embracing about 10,000 houses. Quite half of the cottages were described as bad, and in many cases they were overcrowded in the grossest manner. Since 1891 the rural population has declined by nearly 10 per cent, and in some country districts the decline is at the rate of 15, and even 17 per cent.

In a paper read before the Central Poor Law Conference on "Pauperism and Overcrowding," Mr. William Crooks, M.P., estimates, from carefully compiled returns, that overcrowding among the poor is responsible for an additional expenditure under the Poor Law of no less a sum than £134,000 in London. This figure refers to the cost of maintenance only, and takes no account of the enormous expenditure in providing and administering the large institutions to which so many of the overcrowded poor are finally driven.

As regards pauper lunatics, Mr. Crooks quotes the last return as showing that the ratio per thousand inhabitants in London varies from 1.9 in the healthy districts to 10.1 in the overcrowded quarters. These additional numbers, brought about by overcrowding, not only cost £70,000 a year to maintain, but necessitate the expenditure of £500,000 on a new asylum. GEORGE HAW.

HOUSING QUESTION, THE (for the ownership of homes, see **HOMES**; for the evils of over-

crowding, see **HOUSING IN GREAT BRITAIN, NEED OF; OVERCROWDING; POVERTY; TENEMENTS**; for special solutions of the problem, see **BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS; GARDEN CITIES; MODEL VILLAGES; MUNICIPAL DWELLINGS**): In this article other efforts to provide better housing for the working classes are treated.

I. THE UNITED STATES

The first "model dwelling" in the U. S. was erected in New York City in 1855 by "The Workmen's Home Association," organized by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. It soon became, however, one of the worst tenements in New York. In 1876 Mr. Alfred T. White, of Brooklyn, began some private experiments in improved tenements, which were so successful he induced others to cooperate with him, which led to The Improved Dwellings Company of Brooklyn, which have erected the Home, Tower, and Riverside Buildings, the older buildings paying 10 and the newer 6 or 7 per cent. In 1879 the Improved Dwellings Association was formed in Manhattan, and erected an excellent group of buildings on First Avenue in Manhattan, still in good condition and having earned 5 per cent each year. In 1896, the City and Suburban Homes Company was formed, under the leadership of Dr. E. R. L. Gould, which has erected four groups of buildings.

The present investments of the company are a little over \$4,000,000, and 1,238 families are housed in its city blocks at rents from \$1.60 to \$4.60 per week.

The company owns three large groups of model tenement buildings for white people and one smaller model tenement building for colored people in Manhattan, accommodating in all 1,238 families, and a suburban estate called "Homewood" (see **MODEL VILLAGES**) in the thirtieth ward, Borough of Brooklyn, thirty-five minutes from New York City Hall, comprising about thirty-two acres, upon which 112 houses and two stores with apartments have been erected. In all, some 6,000 people are housed by the company.

In 1898, stockholders received 3 per cent in dividends; in 1899, 3½ per cent, and since that time 4 per cent annually. Interest and taxes on unimproved property have been deducted from earnings before dividends were paid, and no account has been taken of the increase in the value of the ground. The present investments of the company are a little over \$4,000,000.

Every apartment is a complete home in itself, with private toilet accommodations wholly within the dwelling. Every room has quiet, light, air, and an abundance of ventilation.

Walls and stairs are fireproof. The buildings are lighted and steam-heated. Each flat has steam-heat, hall, water-closet, hot water, two porcelain tubs, sink and drain board, dresser with shelves, closets and drawers, gas-range (no rent or deposit to be paid), meter, storage closet in basement. The four-room flats have private baths. Great economy to the tenant results from having steam-heat and hot water, and using gas-range for cooking and ironing.

This is perhaps the largest and most successful company of this nature in the U. S., but there are many more or less like it. Mr. Henry Phipps more recently has given \$1,000,000 for model houses in New York, the first building of which has

been erected at a cost of some \$225,000, and, following the example of the Paris *Maison des Enfants* (see below), has been especially adapted for children, with kindergarten in basement, room for perambulators, roof playground, hygienic laundries, etc. Among other model dwellings, some of the more important are: In Brooklyn, the Astral Apartments, owned by the Pratt Institute; in Boston, The Cooperative Building Company (1871); the Improved Dwellings Association (1885); the Rufus Ellis Memorial Building, the Harrison Avenue estate; in Philadelphia, the Theodore Shaw property. In Chicago, what has been accomplished has been done under the guidance of the City Homes Association of Chicago, which has committees for model tenements, sanitary aid, small parks, municipal lodging houses, etc.

Probably, however, the best work being done for housing in America is that of the Building and Loan Associations. (See that article.)

II. GREAT BRITAIN

(See also HOUSING IN GREAT BRITAIN, NEED OF, and MUNICIPAL HOUSING.) The first society to grapple with the housing problem was the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrial Classes, founded in 1841, which now has fourteen estates of improved dwellings in London and pays 4½ per cent. The American, George Peabody (*q. v.*) in 1862 gave a large donation, later increased to £500,000, to provide dwellings and lodging-houses for the poor of London. The Peabody Trust to-day owns blocks of tenements, houses nearly 20,000 persons, and its capital is £1,500,000.

The Improved Industrial Dwellings Company of London, founded by Sir Sidney Waterlow, also dates from 1862, and endeavors to combine beauty and convenience in large blocks. The Guinness Trust, begun in 1889 by Sir E. C. Guinness (Lord Iveagh), has a group of buildings with 2,574 separate buildings for 9,736 persons. The average rent is 2s. 1½d. per room. The general plan of all these buildings is that of a central courtyard, around which the buildings are grouped with two- and three-room flats, every room opening on the outer air. There are some 600 such "model" tenements in all London, tho all of them are by no means wholly model. They all pay, however. Of 161,000 persons living in London's model tenements less than 25 per cent live in tenements maintained by bequests. The Artizans', Laborers', and General Dwelling Company of London opens up suburban estates. The Marylebone Association improves the surroundings of working-class homes. The Rural Housing and Sanitation Association (1902) improves country working-class homes. The Working Men's National Housing Council carries on a campaign for municipal and local action. The National Housing Reform Council supplies information and conducts a general campaign. (See those societies.)

The Ealing Tenants' Cooperative Society, organized by a few Ealing workmen in 1901, has done an important work on a line of its own, and has been so successful that various similar societies have been started. It builds houses and makes the tenants shareholders, with eight representatives on its board out of eleven. Interest on shares cannot exceed 5 per cent., and loan stock 4½ per cent. Any surplus that may remain after meeting these charges is credited to the tenants, in-

sureing a rise in values, not to the land speculator, but to the rent-paying tenant. The rents fixed being 10 to 15 per cent. lower than is usually charged for such houses, the buildings, which have good gardens and are well built, are in great demand. (*Secretary*, Isabel Cooke, Woodfield Rd., Ealing.)

The Octavia Hill Association is another distinctive London movement. In 1864 Miss Octavia Hill (*q. v.*), under Frederick D. Maurice, aided by John Ruskin, who spent £3,000 in purchasing unsanitary property, began the movement by putting such property in repair, personally collecting the rent, and making this an entering wedge for friendly visiting, the encouragement of thrift by discounts for payment of rent in advance, and general help toward a higher standard of life. To-day Miss Hill and her assistants have the care of between 5,000 and 6,000 dwellings.

The movement has been copied in other cities, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.

England's most characteristic efforts in the housing problem have been, however, in municipal dwellings (for which see special article), Lord Shaftesbury commencing legislation as early as 1851.

III. GERMANY

In Germany, as in Great Britain, the housing question is being largely worked out on municipal lines (see below), but private action came first. A mutual building company in Berlin dates from 1849. The present movement, however, is quite modern. In 1884, through the initiative of Pastor Bodelschwingh and as a part of the multitudinous activities of his colony (see BIELEFELD), a working-man's home association (Verein Arbeiterheim) was formed, which has erected some 120 houses in Bielefeld, and agitated the housing question over the empire. The Bielefeld houses are built mainly in pairs, usually four rooms below and five above, brick faced with stucco, and invariably have from a quarter to half an acre of land, for a garden, cow, pig, etc. The cost runs from \$1,400 up to \$35,000. The houses are either rented or sold; in the latter case, a deposit must be paid of \$60 to \$100 and 3½ per cent yearly of the purchase price as rent; also 2 per cent by way of redemption, and 5 per cent for a reserve fund, each house being made to pay for itself. When one third of the price has been paid, title is given, but the association has the right of preemption if the owner desires to sell. In the ordinary case it takes thirty years to pay for a house. The association, however, works largely to induce the State to take up the work and to favor the establishment of local cooperative building societies. It agitates also to show manufacturers the need of caring for the housing of their employees, to get the government to do so for government employees, and even to pass laws compelling new manufacturing companies to provide housing.

Partly as a result of this, much action has been undertaken. A policy has been developed whereby the city buys up suburban land to be resold or leased, at moderate prices, for building purposes, to prevent the rise of suburban prices through speculation. Berlin, Cologne, Munich, Dresden, Frankfort, Leipsic, have all done this, besides many smaller towns and cities. In Hesse thirty out of fifty-one communes have such lands. In 1902 the area of land held by 32

large towns varied from 10 to 365 square yards per head of population. Only 7 out of the 32 had less than 24 square yards per head; Berlin had 85. The plan has had great success. Leipsic, for example, in 1902 leased nearly 20 acres for 100 years to a philanthropic building society (*Gemeinnützige Baugesellschaft*) for the building of cheap homes. The municipality also constructs, at 4 per cent on the expenditure, roads, squares, etc., and advances money on mortgage for building purposes. The society itself is financed by the Insurance Board of the State of Saxony, which has advanced £300,000 at 4 per cent and 3 per cent for redemption. Insurance companies in Germany now practically invest their capital in public and philanthropic societies for houses and other benefits for the working classes. Up to 1904 \$20,383,000 had been invested in this way in working men's homes. The imperial government also aids. In 1901 a speech from the throne took up the question of housing, and various statistical reports have been made showing the need. In 1904 a German National Housing Council, attended by representatives of the empire, cities, etc., met at Frankfort. The result has been general action. In Prussia, \$10,500,000 of State money has now been spent in the erection of dwellings or financing building associations. The State of Hesse does the same. In Bavaria there exist 819 housing committees (*Wohnungs-Kommissionen*) in connection with the local governments.

The large surplus capital, too, of the various imperial industrial insurance funds (see INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE) is largely invested in this way. Up to 1904 nearly \$100,000,000 had been invested in this way, in the erection of working men's houses, baths, and hospitals, and sanitariums. The empire, too, for many years has done much to provide suitable dwellings for the employees of its various departments, railways, etc. Between 1901-3 advances of \$2,900,000 were made to thirty-eight building societies for this purpose. The empire also leases public land to be used in such ways. Various laws also favor such building societies with tax exemption, etc. Cooperative building aided by the State is thus the main German method, tho the municipalities are now beginning to put up municipal tenements. Düsseldorf has such tenements where two rooms are rented for 22 marks per month, and three for 30. At Frankfort-on-Main, the municipality guarantees 4 per cent interest to the International Building Society and is gradually buying out the company. Nuremberg is following the same policy. For details, see chapter vii. in W. H. Dawson's "The German Workman," to which we are indebted for much of the above information.

IV. FRANCE

In France a commission on working men's buildings was appointed as early as 1831, occasioned by a cholera scare, but little was done till 1880. A few building societies were formed like the *Société Mulhousiennes des Cités Ouvrières* (1851), the oldest French society of this nature still existing. In 1889, however, as a result of the social section of the Paris Exposition of that year, the important *Société Française des Habitations à Bon Marché* was formed, and as a result of its efforts, largely led by M. Siegfried, aided by donations from the Count de Chambrun and others, many societies of one kind or another,

for improved working men's dwellings, have been organized, very general attention has been called to the subject, and important legislation effected. Four societies were started that year, and in ten years some 55 more; 30 the direct result of the *Société Française*. Of these societies some are purely philanthropic like the *Société Philanthropique*, which has been active in this direction, as in others. It has three apartment-houses on the plan of the Peabody Trust in London. Most of the French societies, however, are partly philanthropic and partly commercial, like the similar English and American societies. Among these the largest is probably the *Société Anonyme des Logements Économiques de Lyons*, beginning in 1886 with a capital of 200,000 francs, and increased by 1897 to 5,000,000 fr. A few societies develop suburban working men's villages, like the *Société Anonyme des Habitations Ouvrières*, organized in 1888 by M.M. Chaysson and Cacheux, which has such a village at Passy Auteuil, a suburb of Paris. Not so large but of growing importance are the cooperative building societies like *La Pierre du Foyer de Marseilles* (1891). In 1904 there were reported in France no less than fifty-six cooperative building societies, many of them being aided by loans from savings-banks according to the Belgian plan (see BELGIUM), which has been adopted and adapted in France. Through the efforts of the *Société Française*, the government has created a Superior Council of Working Men's Homes and encouraged the departments and communal councils to do the same. French employers also interest themselves in the housing of their employees. Among the earliest to move in this direction was the *Compagnie des Cristalleries de Baccarat*. The *Compagnie des Mines d'Anzin* had 2,600 homes by 1889, and the *Compagnie des Mines de Blanzy* has 1,000 houses. (See also MODEL VILLAGES.) Most of the French railways also do more or less for the housing of their employees.

One characteristic French development is the Paris *Société des Logements pour Familles Nombreuses*, which has several blocks of flats rented only to families with many children. They are called *maisons des enfants*, and are especially adapted for children, with double stair balustrades, high for adults and low for children, with large balconies and sunny windows, and playground on roof. There are seventy-five apartments in each block, which rent for \$20 to \$80 per year, and are models of healthy flats.

V. BELGIUM

Concerning the important movement in Belgium and the great work of the Savings-Bank of Belgium in lending money to building societies, Mr. O. Velghe, secretary International Congress of Improved Dwellings, says as follows:

The point of departure of the remarkable movement in Belgium which has done so much for working men's dwellings was the law of Aug. 9, 1889, followed by various other laws, in which the government showed its solicitude for the welfare of the working classes.

1. By these laws there has been instituted in each administrative district a committee whose duty is to study, to report upon, to collect funds for, and take any measures favoring the development of cheap, healthy, and good homes for working men. These committees study the hygiene and conditions of the localities and of the houses and report, as occasion may require, to the local authorities, who have the power to compel improvements, or to forbid the occupancy of unhealthy houses and districts. Without legal power themselves, these committees do much to form public opinion. They have published important reports, and led to the for-

mation of numerous societies for erecting working men's dwellings.

2. The laws favor such societies, and exempt them from stamp and registration duties, by giving them free advertisements in the official journal, by reducing by one half the duties on sales, loans, and opening credit accounts, the charges of notaries, etc. In 1904 the reductions under this head alone amounted to 1,072,319 francs.

3. Working men buying or building homes, up to those paying registration duties of from 72 to 171 fr., are exempted from personal, provincial, and communal taxes.

4. The Savings-Bank of Belgium (see BELGIUM) is allowed to make loans to enable working men to buy or build homes, to insure the lives of those so doing, so as to preserve the home to the family, and to extend the rights of conjuncture in the ownership of homes.

In 1904 the number of working men's homes exempted by the law from payment of personal and other taxes was 164,387, or nearly one tenth of the total number of homes in Belgium, while the exemptions amounted to 1,740,000 fr., from the State, and nearly as much more from the provinces and communes.

Statistics

In 1904 the number of sales of real estate transacted under these laws was 6,456, and the loans and credits opened for obtaining homes was 4,930. The value of the real estate amounted to 10,836,440 fr. and the loans to 12,143,900 fr.

The numbers rise each year. In the fifteen years since the passage of the law of 1889 working men have acquired lands and houses valued at 98,000,000 fr., and have borrowed for purchase or construction 96,000,000 fr. There were in 1904 166 societies for building working men's dwellings, of which 161 had borrowed from the Savings-Bank, at from 2½ to 3½ per cent; 30,000 working men had become or were in way of becoming owners of property, representing a population of 150,000, while no less than 70,000 had profited by the legislation, in exemption of duties, in loans from the Savings-Bank, or in other ways, representing a population of 350,000, or about one twentieth of the whole population. Such statistics show the extent, the importance, and the success of the movement.

The dark side consists in the fact that the very poor, who needing homes the most, being wholly without means, have been unable to avail themselves of the legislation. It is hoped, however, that a way will be found out of these difficulties.

VI. OTHER COUNTRIES

Other countries, outside of New Zealand perhaps (see NEW ZEALAND), have less to contribute to the housing question. Italy is taking up the question, but the main efforts are in connection with the Umanitaria Society of Milan (see UMANITARIA). Austria and Switzerland are following slowly in German channels. An important International Housing Society (*Congrès International des Habitations à Bon Marché*; secretary, M. O. Velghe, Ministère de l'Agriculture, Brussels, Belgium) has been formed which has held several congresses—in 1907, in London.

REFERENCES: *Eighth Special Report of U. S. Commissioner of Labor* (1895); *Reports of Tenement-House Commissions, American Economic Association Publications*, viii., No. 2-3; *Compte Rendu et Documents* (1900) of the *Congrès Internationale des Habitations à Bon Marché*; Sykes, *Public Health and Housing* (London, 1901); G. Haw, *No Room to Live* (London, 1900); Jacob A. Riis, *The Peril and Preservation of the Home* (1903); R. W. De Forest and L. Veiller (eds.), *Tenement House Problem*, New York (1903); James Cornes, *Modern Housing in Town and Country* (London, 1905); *Reports of Tenement-House Commissions* (New York), and of the *National Workmen's Housing Council* (London).

HOWARD ASSOCIATION, THE: Founded 1866 under the patronage of Lord Brougham. Object: To promote the best methods of treatment and prevention of crime. The principles of John Howard have been generally embodied in the work of the association.

It advocates:

(1) The disuse of degrading punishments, such as "shot-drill," the treadmill, and the crank.

(2) The disuse of prolonged cellular isolation, and insistence on the necessity of providing interesting and remunerative work for prisoners.

(3) Preventive efforts in the treatment of minor offenders.

(4) The right of poor prisoners to pay by instalments fines imposed for petty misdemeanors.

(5) The promotion of adult reformatories.

It collects information both at home and abroad bearing on present systems of punishment and prevention of crime. Many books and pamphlets dealing with prison management, pauperism, boarding out neglected children, vagrancy, and kindred subjects have been published. *Secretary*: Thomas Holmes, The Howard Association, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate Without, London, E. C.

HOWARD, GEORGE ELLIOTT: Educator; historian; born at Saratoga, N. Y., 1849; A.B. and Ph.D. of the University of Nebraska; studied institutional history and Roman law at Munich and Paris, 1876-78. He became professor of history, University of Nebraska, 1879-91, and the head of the historical department of Leland Stanford University, 1891-1901. In 1902 he lectured on history at Cornell University (summer) and was professorial lecturer in history at the University of Chicago, 1903-4. He returned to the University of Nebraska in 1904 as professor of institutional history, and in 1906 became professor of political science and sociology in that institution. Professor Howard has published many papers and articles in magazines and scientific journals on political, social, and historical subjects. Mr. Howard is an independent in state and federal politics; favors municipal ownership and home rule; and advocates strict government control of business monopolies and trusts. He is author of "Local Constitutional History of the United States"; "Development of the King's Peace"; "History of Matrimonial Institutions Chiefly in England and the United States"; "Marriage and Divorce," in "Encyclopedia Americana," "Preliminaries of the Revolution," and "Social Control and the Function of the Family," in vol. vii., "Congress of Arts and Sciences." Address: 1910 E Street, Lincoln, Neb.

HOWARD, JOHN: Prison reformer; born at Enfield, England, in 1726. His father, a wealthy London merchant, apprenticed him to a grocer, but in 1742 he bought up his indenture. Until 1773 he lived a comparatively secluded life, distinguishing himself only in charity. He was made the high sheriff of Bedford in 1773, and the characteristic work of his life then began. Visiting the jails, he found them wretchedly defective; but what chiefly shocked him was that neither the jailer nor his subordinates were salaried officers, but were dependent for their livelihood on fees which they rigorously exacted from the prisoners themselves. Some whom the juries had declared not guilty, others in whom the grand jury had not found even such appearance of guilt as would warrant a trial, others whose prosecutors had failed to appear, were frequently detained in prison for months after they had ceased to be in the position of accused parties, until they should have paid the fees of jail delivery. His prompt application to the justices of the county for a salary to the jailer in lieu of his fees was met by a demand for a precedent for charging the county with such an expense; and he went accordingly from county to county until his journey had extended to every town in England which contained a prison, but the object of his search eluded inquiry. But he did find so many abuses in prison management that he determined to devote himself to the reform of those abuses. The task cost him a fortune and the best remaining years of his life.

He reported his discoveries to the House of Commons, and at once an act was passed which provided, among other reforms, for the liberation, free of all charges, of every prisoner against whom the grand jury failed to find a true bill, giving the jailer a sum from the county rate in lieu of the abolished fees.

He then devoted himself for eight or nine years to an investigation of the prisons of Europe, overcoming many difficulties and braving many dangers. The publication of his large accumulation of facts had a direct and immediate influence upon prison legislation. The last five years of his life were chiefly devoted to researches as to the means which ought to be used in the prevention of the plague and all contagious diseases. In pursuit of knowledge on this subject he again traveled through Europe and Asia Minor, visiting hospitals, lazarettos, and pest-houses of all kinds, and published the results of his researches in 1789. Attempting to make yet another European tour, he took a fever from a patient and died in Cherson in 1790. He was of a deeply religious temperament. "He died a martyr after living an apostle." (See PENOLOGY.)

HOWE, SAMUEL GRIDLEY: Reformer and philanthropist; born at Boston, 1801. Graduated at Brown and Harvard Medical School, 1824. Offering his services in the cause of Greek independence, he served in the Greek army till 1830. Visiting Paris he aided in the July Revolution. In 1832, returning to Boston, he devoted his life to the education of the blind. He mainly created the Perkins Institution for the Blind, which became the greatest institution of the kind in the world. One of his most remarkable achievements was the education of Laura Bridgeman. In 1845 he became interested in the abolition movement and founded and edited an antislavery paper in which his wife, Julia Ward Howe, aided him. During the war he was a director of the Sanitary Commission, and then worked for the Freedmen's Bureau. In 1863 he originated the State Board of Charities of Massachusetts, the first of the sort in America. In 1866 he was sent to carry relief to the Cretan refugees in Greece. He died 1876. See Sanborn's "Dr. S. G. Howe, the Philanthropist."

HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN: Author; born at Martinsville, O., in 1837. His father was a printer, and of him he learned the printer's trade. He became editor of the Cincinnati *Gazette* and the *Ohio State Journal*. He was United States Consul at Venice 1861-65, and in 1871 became editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, retaining this position till 1880. Since then he has produced a long list of writings. He conducted for several years "The Editor's Study" and afterward "Editor's Easy Chair" in *Harper's Magazine*. He has interested himself very largely in social reform, and especially in his "A Traveler from Altruria." Address: 48 West Fifty-ninth Street, New York.

HUBBARD, ELBERT: Proprietor of the Roycroft shop devoted to artistic books, East Aurora, N. Y.; editor of *The Philistine*; born in Bloomington, Ill., 1859, and educated in the common schools. Mr. Hubbard has been a prolific writer of short books (tales or monographs), among the best known being a series of "Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Men," authors, artists, statesmen, philosophers, etc.; "A Message to Garcia."

His small but keen monthly, *The Philistine*, has a very wide reading, and Mr. Hubbard has traveled, lecturing in all portions of the United States. The Roycroft Press, at East Aurora, N. Y., incorporated 1892, is devoted to the production of de luxe editions of the classics, and the effort of the establishment toward its workers is to make the man count and not the machine. Stock in the company is sold only to officers, superintendents, or employees (\$25 a share) and 12 per cent annually is guaranteed. In good years funds are distributed to employees whether stockholders or not. In 1903 about one half the stock was held by employees. Any employee leaving the service must sell his stock to Mr. Hubbard at the price paid. Mr. Hubbard's views are those of an individualist free lance, tho favorable to many co-operative and even some socialistic measures. Address: East Aurora, N. Y.

HUBER, VICTOR AIMÉ: The founder of German Christian Socialism; born in Stuttgart in 1800. He took a degree in medicine in 1820 at the University of Göttingen, but obtained a State stipendium. Throwing himself into the social and political movement of the times, he visited Paris, Lisbon, Hamburg, Edinburgh, Italy, and at last settled down in Bremen as one of the masters of the Merchants' School of that town.

In 1832 he procured a post at the University of Rostock, and at Marburg six years later. In 1839 he was elected to the Hessian House of Representatives as an ultra-Conservative statesman. Friedrich Wilhelm IV., of Prussia, now induced him to come to Berlin and to found a Conservative periodical under royal patronage. As editor of this periodical, the *Janus*, Huber made it the vehicle for pressing his pet scheme of cooperation.

After the March revolution in 1848 this publication, which in many respects resembled the *Christian Socialist* of England and *L'Avenir* of France, was discontinued, and another method for rallying the friends of social reform on Conservative principles was made by Huber in forming his Association of Christian Order and Liberty. But this, too, proved unsuccessful. Huber found more favor, in truth, among the Social Radicals than in his own reactionary circles. Huber also interested himself in the *Gesellenswater Kolping* and Bishop Ketteler (*q.v.*). But failing to interest the aristocratic classes of Berlin, he found a new home in the little town of Wenigerode, among the Hartz Mountains, and left only to pay visits to France, Belgium, and England, and thus became a living organ, so to speak, for international communication on the subject of cooperative association. He lived in daily companionship with laborers and artisans in order to raise them by personal contact to a higher level. In this he spared no sacrifice of time or money. He founded a loan society, an institution for smaller tradespeople, and a technical school for the instruction of young apprentices after leaving the ordinary schools, where he taught himself. He also called into existence a Christian Association of Journeymen. He died 1869.

HUDSON, WALTER: English Labor member of Parliament; born 1852, Richmond Station, Yorkshire. His youth was spent in various occupations on the North-Eastern Railway, until appointed main line guard, which position he held for twenty-six years. He was always interested in trade-union work, and in 1891, at the annual

congress of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, was elected president, and was reelected seven times. In 1903 appointed president of the Irish Trades Congresses. Elected to Parliament, 1906, for Newcastle-on-Tyne. Address: 22 Atherfold Road, Clapham, London, S. W.

HUET, FRANÇOIS: Born at Villeau, in Belgium, 1814. At the age of twenty-two he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the University of Ghent, a post which he retained up to 1850. About 1846, his philosophical studies led Huet to approach social questions, and he collected around him a group of pupils to study social reform. . . . Huet also published, in 1864, "*La Science de l'Esprit*." He presided over the education of Prince Milan, now King of Servia, and even followed him to Belgrade. Having returned to Paris to undergo treatment for a severe disease, he died (1869). M. de Laveleye, his most distinguished pupil, says of him:

For the basis of his system he takes the principles of 1789, and endeavors to realize in everything the motto, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." His ideas on this point were, without his knowing it, similar to those of Pichte. . . . The following is a summary of them: Men are by right equal. They have the right to an opportunity to develop themselves. This means a right to property, which should be realized in the "right to patrimony," by virtue of which every person in a position to labor would obtain a share in the general wealth. "Every year a division should be made of the patrimonial property left ownerless through deaths. All the young people of either sex, who during this year reach the age of either fourteen or twenty-five years, should obtain a share, the share of each person of full age being double the share of each minor." The right of hereditary succession is abolished, but gifts by will or *inter vivos* are authorized. Each person, however, can dispose only of property acquired by his own labor, and not of that received by way of gift or legacy. This goes to increase the common patrimony.

Leveling Socialist as Huet is when he claims for all an equal right of accession to property, he is a thorough individualist on the question of the organization of labor. He rejects all State intervention; he does not like even corporations holding industrial capital. The individual, put in possession of "his patrimony," may work by himself, or in partnership with others, provided he do so freely, without any privileges or close corporations.

M. Huet also published a charming book entitled "*Le Règne Social du Christianisme*," containing a complete social theory based on Christianity, which Laveleye says has not met the attention it deserves only because it is too full of Christianity for the Socialists, and too full of socialism for Christians.

HUGHES, THOMAS: Born near Newbury, Berkshire, England, 1823. He was educated at Rugby, under Dr. Arnold, and at Oriel College, Oxford, where he was graduated in 1845. He was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1848. He was prominent in the Christian Socialist movement of Maurice and Kingsley in 1849-50. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) He published his immortal "Tom Brown's School-days" (1857); "Tom Brown at Oxford" (1861); "The Manliness of Christ" (1879), besides many lesser writings. From 1865-74 he sat in Parliament. In 1869 he became Queen's Counsel, and in 1882 a county court judge. In 1870 he visited the United States. Becoming interested in this country, "New Rugby" colony was conceived. Fifty thousand acres were bought and 300 men were actually on the grounds, mainly sons of English farmers, but Judge Hughes was no financier, and it honorably failed. He died 1896.

HULL HOUSE (CHICAGO): Hull House, one of the first American settlements, was established in

Sept., 1889. It represented no association, but was opened by two women, backed by many friends, in the belief that the mere foothold of a house, easily accessible, ample in space, hospitable and tolerant in spirit, situated in the midst of the large foreign colonies which so easily isolate themselves in American cities, would be in itself a serviceable thing for Chicago. Hull House endeavors to make social intercourse express the growing sense of the economic unity of society, and may be described as an effort to add the social function to democracy.

The earliest activities of the settlement were the ordinary ones of children's clubs, kindergartens, receptions, and evening classes. From these larger activities developed which may be described under general headings.

The College Extension courses were established at Hull House before the University Extension movement began in Chicago, and are not connected with it, altho University Extension courses are constantly given at Hull House and every Sunday evening for many years the Extension Department of the University of Chicago has donated a stereopticon lecture. These are attended by large audiences of men. A helpful supplement of the College Extension courses has been the Summer School, which was held for ten years in the building of Rockford College, at Rockford, Ill. The sum of \$3 a week paid by each student for board covers the entire expenses of the school; the use of the buildings, including gymnasium and laboratories, given free of rent.

Hull House hopes to develop a technic of teaching especially adapted to adults while utilizing the usual school and college type. Our experience with large classes of immigrants who wish to learn English has resulted in the collection of a special line of text-books and series of pictures.

Organizations which are on the border-land between classes and debating clubs have arranged for a number of public lectures, such as the "Working People's Social Science Club," which was the first body including men to be organized at Hull House. This club was formed through the activity of an English workingman, during the first year of Hull House, for the discussion of social problems, and continued to meet weekly for seven years. The discussion was always animated, and every conceivable shade of social and economic opinion was represented, but radicals are so accustomed to hot discussion and sharp differences of opinion, that an almost incorrigible good nature prevailed.

Closely connected with such discussions of economic subjects has been the formal connection between Hull House and organized labor, altho such connection may be fairly said to rest upon the foundation of personal relations with the organizers of various women's unions, who have lived in the house as guests or residents. Several unions hold their regular meetings at the house, and the Chicago branches of two well-known federal organizations of working women have been formed there: The Women's Union Label League and the Women's Trade-Union League.

Several of the Hull House educational enterprises have developed through the effort made to

Class Lectures

Public Discussion

Trade- Unions

bridge the past life in Europe with American experiences in such wise as to give them both some meaning and sense of relation. The Hull House Labor-Museum was in the first instance suggested by many people in the neighborhood who had come directly from country places

Labor-Museum

in southeastern Europe in which industrial processes are still carried on by the most primitive methods. It was not unusual to find an old Italian woman with her distaff against her homesick face patiently spinning a thread by the simple stick spindle which had certainly been used in the days when David tended his sheep at Bethlehem. In the immediate neighborhood were found at least four varieties of these most primitive methods of spinning and at least three distinct variations of the same spindle put in connection with wheels. It was possible to put these seven into historic sequence and order, and to connect the whole with the present method of factory spinning. The same thing was done for weaving, and on every Saturday evening a little exhibit is made of these "various forms of labor" in the textile industry. Within one room the Syrian, the Greek, the Italian, the Slav, the German, and the Celt enable even the most casual observer to see that there is no break in orderly evolution, if we look at history from the industrial standpoint. The interest on the part of the classes in dress-making, millinery, cooking, and sewing in this historic background has been most gratifying.

Closely identified with the Labor-Museum and the classes in pottery, metal work, enamel, and wood-carving, The Chicago Arts and Crafts Society was organized at Hull House and several members of this society live in the buildings on the Hull House quadrangle. The artists find something of the same spirit in the contiguous Italian colony that the French artist is traditionally supposed to discover in his beloved Latin Quarter. Successful classes in drawing, modeling, painting, and lithography are continued year after year, and the space given to the studios has been constantly enlarged. Miss Starr's bookbindery is in the same building with the other shops and is opened to those especially interested in choice books or in the processes of making them. Occasional art exhibits have always been held at Hull House and the response to excellence in matters of art has always been gratifying.

Arts and Crafts

The Hull House Music-School was started in the fourth year of Hull House, altho Miss Eleanor Smith and Miss Hannig, who are its heads, had almost from the beginning held weekly classes there. The Music-School is designed to give a thorough musical instruction to a limited number of children. From the beginning they are taught to compose and to reduce to order the musical suggestion which may come to them. They sometimes find folk-songs in the possession of their old country relatives which have survived through the centuries.

Music-School

Two years ago a beautiful memorial organ was erected at Hull House, which has greatly added to the resources of the Music School and to the interest of the public concerts which have been given every Sunday afternoon for fifteen years.

Concerts

Another method of education which has been gradually used more and more at Hull House is

that made possible through dramatics, largely amateur, altho professionals have from time to time been most generous with their services. The first dramas at Hull House were produced in the gymnasium until they seemed to justify the erection of a well-equipped stage in a room erected for a theater.

Theater

In the immediate vicinity of Hull House is a large colony of Greeks, who often feel that their history and classic background are completely ignored by the Americans in Chicago, and they therefore welcome an opportunity to present Greek plays in the ancient text. Two of these plays have been remarkably successful; they were carefully staged by Miss Barrows, and the "Ajax" of Sophocles was a genuine triumph to the Greek colony. The little Hull House stage has presented many Italian plays and a few in other tongues, but, of course, the Hull House Dramatic Association present their productions in English and have gradually built up a little clientele of admirers from all parts of the town, and the members have developed in the course of years some genuine dramatic ability. This association gives two carefully prepared dramas each winter. They have presented Ibsen and Shaw as well as melodramas and classic plays. There are also Junior Dramatic Associations.

Gymnasium instruction, with the help of limited apparatus, was provided from the first years of Hull House, but not until 1893 was a separate gymnasium building erected, supplied with a complete system of shower-baths and a running-track.

Gymnasium

The Jane Club, a cooperative boarding-club for young working women, had the advice and assistance of Hull House in its establishment. The original members of the club, seven in number, were a group of girls accustomed to cooperative action. The club has been from the beginning self-governing, the officers being elected by the members from their own number, and serving six months gratuitously. The two offices of treasurer and steward have required a generous sacrifice of their limited leisure time as well as a good deal of ability from those holding them. The weekly dues of \$3, with an occasional small assessment, have met all current expenses of rent, service, food, and heat. There are various circles within the club for social and intellectual purposes. The atmosphere of the house is one of comradeship rather than of thrift. The Jane Club seven years ago moved into a house built expressly for its use. It provides bedroom space for thirty members, twenty-four of them single rooms, with a library and a living-room, and a dining-room large enough to use for social gatherings.

Residential Clubs

The Culver Club is a residential club of thirty working boys who occupy two upper floors of the Hull House Boys' Club Building. They are self-sustaining and most generous in their services to the social life of the Boys' Club house.

The Hull House Men's Club was organized in 1893, and incorporated under the state law. They rent from Hull House a building for their exclusive use, which is open to members every day and evening. The club holds a monthly reception during the winter and arranges for occasional public debates. The purpose of the club is educational as well as recreative.

The Hull House **Woman's Club** is housed in a building of its own. It has exclusive control of the library and sewing-room, but the large hall, which seats 800 people, is used for many other purposes. The membership is 600. The "Year Book," which is issued in advance each September, shows a full program of lectures on current topics by distinguished speakers, discussions by club members, and musical afternoons by the club's own chorus. The club sustains a visiting-nurse, who lives at Hull House. The club contributes regularly to the Juvenile Court and to the vacation schools and other public undertakings.

At present thirty-five social organizations meet weekly at Hull House, composed of young people who elect their own officers and prepare their own programs under the approval of their "directors."

Social Clubs

Some of these clubs are purely social, others do serious educational work. Dancing-classes, which are always well attended, have been established in connection with the social clubs.

The Hull House **Boys' Club** of 1,500 members occupies its own building, equipped with bowling-alleys, billiard-tables, athletic apparatus, shops for work in iron, wood, and printing, library and class-rooms. The house is open to members every day from three to ten P.M., and its preservation and good order are carefully guarded by the club members themselves.

Boys' Club

Every afternoon after school hours all the available rooms at Hull House are filled with children's clubs, which are designed to be social and recreative in character, altho some serious study is done by groups in loird, in sewing, in clay modeling, in cooking, and in gymnastics. The membership of the various clubs and classes consists of 1,500 school children. Summer outings are arranged for them as well as Christmas entertainments and moving-picture shows.

Afternoon Clubs

The Coffee-House was opened in 1893 on the basis of a public kitchen. An investigation of the sweat-shops of the neighborhood had disclosed the fact that sewing-women during the busy season paid little attention to the feeding of their families, for it was only by working steadily through the long day that the scanty pay of five, seven, or nine cents for finishing a dozen pairs of trousers could be made into a day's wage; and that the women, therefore, bought from the nearest grocery the canned goods that could be most quickly heated or gave a few pennies to the children with which they might secure a lunch from a neighboring candy-shop.

Coffee-House

One of the residents made an investigation, at the instance of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, into the food values of the dietaries of the various immigrants, and this was followed by an investigation made by another resident, Miss Hunt, for the U. S. Department of Labor, into the foods of the Italian colony, disclosing the fact that the constant use of imported products bore a distinct relation to the cost of living. The result of these various studies led to the opening of a public kitchen modeled after the New England Kitchen of Boston. The sale of cooked foods, however, has never been popular, altho the restaurant aspect of the Coffee-House developed rapidly. This performs a mission of its

own and has become something of a social center to the neighborhood. Business men from the adjacent factories, and school teachers from the nearest public schools, use it constantly. Every evening students and club members sup together in little groups or hold their reunions and social banquets, as do organizations from all parts of the town to a certain extent. The Coffee-House has been self-sustaining from the beginning, and of later years has been able to pay an adequate rental to Hull House.

A Day Nursery was opened because of the many mothers who were obliged to work and who quite simply asked the kindergartner to "keep the

baby for the day." A small apartment was taken across the street and turned into a day-nursery, which was later moved into a cottage on the nearest side street, and altho a second kindergarten was started here, the earlier one in the drawing-room continued. Later a building called the Children's House was erected for the purpose of housing all of the activities of the children with special reference to the Day-Nursery and Kindergarten. The former averages thirty children a day, and because it is inadequate to the needs of the neighborhood, still another building is in process of erection in which a day-nursery will be maintained by the Chicago Relief and Aid Society. Facilities are also provided in this building for teaching the immigrant mothers the beginnings of wage-earning occupations.

From the beginning a constant effort was made to hand over to public authority every activity that had been initiated. Shower-baths had been

Public Utilities

maintained in the basement of the house for the use of the neighborhood and they afforded some experience and argument for the erection of the first public bath-house in Chicago, which was built on a neighboring street and opened under the care of the Board of Health. The reading-room and Public Library Station which was begun in the house is continued but a block away. The lending collection of pictures has been incorporated into the Public School Art Society of Chicago, of which Miss Starr was the first president.

Hull House has always held its activities lightly, as it were, in the hollow of its hand, ready to give them over to whomsoever would carry them on properly, for there is among the residents a distrust of the institutional and a desire to be free for experiment and the initiation of new enterprises.

It was, perhaps, significant that the only political office ever sought was that of garbage inspector for the Hull House ward. The poor collection of refuse throughout the city made the greatest menace in the Nineteenth Ward, where the normal amount was much increased by the decayed fruit and vegetables discarded by the Italian and Greek fruit-sellers, and it seemed quite probable that this condition had some connection with the high death-rate so persistent in the ward. One of the residents held this office of inspector for three years, and while many of the foreign-born women of the ward were much shocked by this abrupt departure into the ways of men, they were finally convinced that if it were a womanly task to go about in tenement-houses in order to nurse the sick, it might be quite as womanly to go through the same district in order to prevent the

breeding of so-called "filth diseases." Moreover, the spectacle of eight hours' work for eight hours' pay, the even-handed justice to all citizens irrespective of "pull," the dividing of responsibility between landlord and tenant, and the readiness to enforce obedience to law from both, was, perhaps, one of the most valuable demonstrations that could have been made. Investigations have also been made into the causes of truancy and juvenile delinquency in their relation to housing. The moral energy of the community is aroused only when people realize that they may become part of the general movements which make for the reform and healing. In illustration of this theory the neighborhood cooperated most generously in a careful investigation of the sweat-shops of the neighborhood which was made in 1892 by Mrs. Florence Kelley, one of the early residents, appointed to do the work by the Illinois Labor Bureau. The report brought a special commission from the legislature to look into the matter, and the recommendations of this committee resulted in the passage of the first factory law for Illinois, which dealt largely with the sanitary conditions of the sweat-shops and the regulation of the age at which a child might be permitted to work, and Mrs. Kelley was appointed the first factory inspector with a deputy and a force of twelve inspectors.

So far as Hull House residents have been identified with public offices, it has been in the attempt both to interpret the needs of the neighborhood to public bodies and to identify the neighborhood energies with civic efforts. This has been true of Miss Lathrop's long experience as a member of the State Board of Charities, with the work of another resident officer as a member of the Chicago School Board, and with the work of four different residents in their official connection with the Juvenile Court of Cook County.

No university or college qualification has ever been made in regard to residents, altho the majority have always been college people.

Residents

The organization of the settlement has always been extremely informal. Residents are received for six weeks, during which time they have all privileges, save a vote at residents' meeting. At the end of that period, if they have proved valuable to the work of the house, they are invited to remain. The expenses of the residents are defrayed by themselves on the plan of a cooperative club, under the direction of a house committee. An apartment-house, which shelters twelve families, gives a chance of growth in the residential force, and also provides more convenient quarters for old friends and neighbors of the house who are glad to occupy them. The residential force numbers thirty-four, equally divided in number as to men and women, altho others are most constant in their service. The people from other parts of town who contribute single days or evenings number approximately 100 a week.

It is estimated that 7,000 people come to Hull House each week, either as members of clubs or organizations, or as parts of an audience. The total attendance of the various clubs and classes varies from year to year, only as we are able to provide more room, and it sometimes seems as if nothing but available space could limit it. The residents, however, are convinced that growth either in buildings or numbers counts for little unless the settlement is able to

evoke valuable resources of moral energy and social ability from the neighborhood itself.

JANE ADDAMS.

HUMANITARIAN LEAGUE, THE: Founded 1891; object, to advocate humane principles from rational and consistent principles.

The main principle laid down in its manifesto is that "it is iniquitous to inflict suffering on any sentient being except when self-defense or absolute necessity can be justly pleaded."

Among the reforms advocated by the Humanitarian League are:

A thorough revision and more humane administration of the English criminal law and prison system, with a view to the institution of a court or criminal appeal, the discontinuance of the death penalty and corporal punishment, and an acceptance of the principle of reclamation instead of revenge in the treatment of offenders.

The establishment of public hospitals under municipal control, where experimentation on patients shall be impossible. The complete abandonment of the medical tyranny which would enforce vaccination by fines or imprisonment.

The extension of the principle of international arbitration, and the gradual reduction of armaments.

A more considerate treatment of subject races in British colonies.

A more vigorous application of the existing laws for the prevention of cruelty to animals, and an extension of these laws for the protection of wild animals as well as domestic.

Prohibition of the torture of animals by vivisection in the alleged interests of science.

Insistence on the immorality of all so-called "sports" which seek amusement in the death or suffering of animals. Legislative action in the case of the most degraded of such sports.

The prevention, by the encouragement of a humaner diet, of the sufferings to which animals are subjected in cattle-sheds and slaughter-houses; and, as an initial measure, the substitution of well-inspected public abattoirs for the present system of private butchery.

An exposure of the many cruelties inflicted, at the dictates of fashion, in the fur and feather trade.

Recognition of the urgent need of humaner education, to impress on the young the duty of thoughtfulness and fellow-feeling for all sentient beings.

The leading spirit in the league is its *Secretary*, Henry S. Salt, 53 Chancery Lane, London, W. C.

HUNGARY: The following article is concerned with matters affecting Hungary alone. (See article AUSTRIA-HUNGARY for affairs concerning the dual monarchy.)

I. Statistics

Hungary is a constitutional kingdom with a total area of 125,430 sq. m., and a population of 19,254,559 in 1900, inclusive of those in active military service. Of these totals 109,007 sq. m. with 16,838,255 population belong to Hungary and Transylvania, and 16,423 sq. m. with 2,416,304 people to Croatia and Slavonia. There were in all 9,582,152 males and 9,672,407 females. The population per square mile is 154 in Hungary and 147 in Croatia-Slavonia. The most important cities with population in 1900 are: Budapest, 732,322; Szegedin, 102,991; Szabadka, 82,122; Debreczen, 75,000; Pressburg or Possony, 65,867; Zágráb (Agram), 61,000; Arád, 56,260; Klausenburg or Kolosvár, 49,295.

The population of the kingdom is by no means homogeneous. The Hungarian or Magyar stock numbered in 1900 about 8,742,300; the Germans, 2,135,181; the Slovaks, 2,019,641; the Rumanians, 2,799,479; the Croatsians, 1,678,569; the Servians, 1,052,180; the Ruthenians, 429,447; others, 397,761—of whom about 200,000 are gipsies.

In 1905 there were 734,335 births—13,803 of which were still-born and 69,211 illegitimate; 574,725 deaths, including the still-born; surplus of births over deaths, 159,611; marriages, 170,560. The proportion of still-born is 1.88 per cent; that of illegitimacy, 9.4. The annual increase from 1895–1900 was 0.98 per cent. Hungary lost by emigration to the U. S. 170,430 in 1905, a tremendous increase over 1900 with 54,767.

Religious affiliation is predominantly Roman Catholic, 9,919,913 in 1900; Greek Oriental, 2,815,713; Greek Catholics or Uniates, 1,854,143; Reformed (Calvinistic), 2,441,142; Evangelical Lutheran, 1,288,942; Unitarians, 68,568; Jews, 851,378; others, 14,760.

Education is progressing. In 1880 only 5,398,190 could read and write, and 9,483,930 could not; in 1900, some 9,483,930 could read and write, tho there were still 9,131,376 who

Vital Statistics

could not. School attendance is compulsory from six to twelve. There were (1903) 2,768 infant schools; 18,783 primary schools with 2,609,419 pupils; 92 training schools; and 151 "humanistic" schools; 174 gymnasia; 42 real schools; 3 universities; 49 theological colleges; 10 law schools; 552 industrial schools (478 for apprentices); 63 agricultural schools, 155 commercial, besides various others.

Occupations are chiefly agricultural. In 1900 in Hungary, including Croatia and Slavonia, 6,055,390, or 68.4 per cent of the population, as against 72.5 per cent in 1890, were engaged in agriculture, 1,127,130 in industry, 225,838 in commerce, 385,324 in domestic service, 213,010 in the professions and public service. The clothing industry employs some 281,000; foods and drinks, 120,000; building trades, 125,000; wood-working, 100,000; iron and steel, 128,000; textiles, 80,000.

Industrial Statistics Industries are improving. The unproductive area amounts to only 1,540,351 hectares, or 4.76 per cent of the total; 13,394,705, or 41.43 per cent are arable; 7,564,185, or 23.4, meadows and pastures; 8,987,243, or 27.8, woodland; 430,934, or 1.33, gardens; 331,751, or 1.03, vineyards. The land is fairly well divided, 2,771,118 small proprietors owning about 55 per cent of the area in holdings of 1 to 150 acres. About 87 per cent of the peasantry own land. The large estates comprise about 45 per cent of the area, divided among 24,774 owners. The principal crops are wheat, 46,427,000 metric centers in 1905; barley, 14,221,000; rye, 13,483,000; oats, 12,205,000; maize, 28,559,000; potatoes, 49,210,000; beet-root for fodder, 40,431,000; beet-root for sugar, 19,310,000; 3,837,000 hectoliters of wine. Timber was exported to the value of 84,931,000 kronen.

Mining gave employment to 71,570 persons, mostly men, and produced an output valued at over 107,000,000 kr., chiefly pig iron, lignite, gold, and coal.

Commerce is growing. Exports (1904) 1,355,544,000 kr.; imports, 1,328,881,000; (1905) 1,398,392,000 and 1,363,674,000. The chief exports are flour (corn), oxen, wheat, swine, barley. The chief imports, cotton and woolen goods, coal. The exports were in millions of crowns (1903), to Germany, 155, and to Great Britain, 61. The imports from Germany were 72 millions and from Great Britain, 29. Servia, France, Switzerland, Italy, and Rumania have also considerable trade with Hungary.

Shipping and navigation are not important. There are in the mercantile marine 477 vessels with a tonnage of 92,484, and 2,460 crews. Fiume is the only seaport of Hungary. The river traffic, however, is considerable. The various steamers carried in 1905 nearly 2,000,000 passengers and nearly 4,100,000 tons of freight.

II. Constitution and Government

Altho the junior and smaller partner of the dual monarchy, Hungary has constantly grown in importance, and has given much trouble to the senior partner. This has been the case especially during the last three years. The Magyars are endeavoring to have a Hungarian army, with the Magyar as the official language, and Hungarian commanders. These demands having been granted to a certain extent, other matters came up, aiming apparently at a complete separation between Austria and Hungary. This is, at least, the implied aim of the opposition party in the Parliament.

Hungary is a strictly constitutional monarchy. When Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria was crowned as King of Hungary in 1867, he had to swear allegiance to the constitution, dating in its beginnings from the *Bulla Aurea* of King Andrew II. in 1222. It has been suspended and amended repeatedly, but now provides for a separate Hungarian Parliament. It has two houses: the House of Magnates and the Lower House, or House of Representatives. In the former are 16 archdukes, 241 hereditary heirs, 42 archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries of the Roman Catholic and Greek churches, 13 representatives of the Protestant churches, 19 dignitaries *ex officio*, and 3 delegates of Croatia and Slavonia. The Lower House has 453 members: 413 from Hungarian towns, elected by male vote, of twenty years or upward, who pay a small tax, or have a small income; 49 delegates are from Croatia and Slavonia.

There is a cabinet of nine ministers, presided over by the President of the Council, or Prime Minister.

The main parties are Liberals, Independents, and the Nationalists. The Croats usually vote with the Liberals. In 1905 the Liberals, who had been in power the most of the time since 1867, were defeated with their leader, Count Tisza. Count Andrássy and M. Kossuth were invited to form a coalition cabinet, but could not agree with the king, and Baron Fejervary formed a ministry.

Parties

M. Kristoffy, Minister of the Interior, brought forward a proposal of universal manhood suffrage, which was adopted by his colleagues and eagerly supported by the Socialists and non-Magyar races of Hungary, to the embarrassment of the coalition.

A long struggle developed. Parliament was prorogued and on assembly prorogued again, it protesting against the illegality of this. Various ministries were formed and dissolved till finally the crown accepted the proposals of the Independents of the Constitutional Party, on a program of universal suffrage, the progressive nationalization of the Hungarian army, and the increasing use in the army of the Magyar language, thus appealing in a measure from the Liberal and the coalition parliamentary leaders to the interests of the people, and a new ministry was formed, April 8, 1906, with Dr. Wekerle as Premier, Count Julius Andrássy, Count Apponyi, and M. Kossuth all taking office with him. The Liberal Party decided to dissolve itself, and Count Tisza retired into private life. The elections resulted in an overwhelming majority for the new government, at least 250 of the deputies returned being Independents.

The **finances** of the country are in a satisfactory condition. The total revenue in 1905 was 1,057,850,000 kronen; the expenditure, including extraordinary demands, 1,192,209,000; in 1904 the figures stood: 1,283,851,000 and 1,215,358,000. The State debt amounted to 5,432,230,000 kr., or about \$1,098,000,000, in 1904. (See also AUSTRIA.)

The **railways** of Hungary had a total length of 18,130 kilometers in 1905—7,774 owned by the State; 7,384 owned by companies but operated by the State; 2,971 owned and operated by companies. Receipts, about \$68,905,000; expenses, \$38,275,000; surplus, \$30,630,000. The railroads are, on the whole, well managed, and have been profitable since the zone system for railway charges was introduced. The capital investment amounts to \$612,440,000.

Post-offices numbered 5,309 in 1905; there were 3,707 telegraph-offices, 23,719 kilometers of line with 128,315 of wire. Hungary had 178 telephone systems with 190,962 kilometers of wire. The receipts for the united postal and telegraph service were 61,207,000 kr.; expenses, 44,702,000; surplus, 16,505,000.

(For army and navy, see article AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.)

III. Social Reform

The Social Democrats are the most active in this line. At the congress of 1904 665 representatives attended, against 234 in 1902 and 349 in 1903. The revenues amounted to 134,000 crowns, against 43,000 in 1902 and 60,000 in 1903; the number of communities represented in 1903 was 277, against 86 in 1902 and 165 in 1903.

The party recruits itself chiefly among the industrial laborers, and in an "international socialistic" party. Besides this party there is another Social Democratic Party, which chiefly recruits itself among agricultural laborers and the non-Hungarian rationalists; this party also held a conference, where 104 communities were represented. The tendency now, however, is to unity, and the recent Socialist successes in Austria have largely aided the Hungarian movement. Since 1904 a new party, the Christian Laborers, are also gaining influence, having formed in October a federation of all Christian labor-unions; this party is opposed to the International Social Democracy.

Trade-unionists number (1906) 71,000, as against 14,000 in 1902. They publish 21 periodical papers with 61,000 copies. In 1903 the income was 273,000 crowns, the expenditures 201,000; out of this 87,000 for the unemployed. The unions are nearly all Social Democratic.

It is not to be forgotten that, altho Hungary even now is chiefly an agricultural country, nearly all these organizations reach only the industrial labors.

This does not mean, however, that there is not a very important agrarian labor question in this country. In 1894 there were very dangerous riots in the heart of Hungary which led to strong repressions and to a special legislation, especially in 1898. Also in the first half of 1904 there were strong agrarian movements in the Servian and Rumanian districts, repressed, however, by a governmental action making meetings impossible, and by a number of prosecutions against the socialistic press.

In 1905 the International Federation of Cooperation held its congress in Budapest. In Hungary there are chiefly credit and consumers' cooperations; the cooperation of producers is very rare. The chief organization of consumers' cooperation, Hangya, included in 1903 383 cooperative societies with 64,000 members, 1,500,000 crowns of capital, 9,000,000 of traffic, and about 250,000 of profits.

The Christian cooperative societies were 275 in 1903, with 41,000 members and about 5,000,000 crowns of traffic. There were in 1904 some 1,742 cooperative credit societies and 517 dairy societies.

At the Hungarian State Iron Works at Diós Győr not a little is done for the employees. Dining accommodations are provided for 4,000 (the largest hall of the kind in the world), with dinners for seven cents, a great organ playing during the meals. There are also schools, a summer swimming establishment, tennis-courts, and skating-ponds for winter. Some industrial betterment, too, is conducted at other State, industrial, mining, and railway enterprises as well as in private enterprises.

Compulsory industrial insurance is being developed. In 1891 employees in dangerous industries were compelled to contribute not more than 3 per cent of their wages to a fund insuring medical care and indemnity in sickness. The employer pays one third of the premiums. Insurance against accidents is now also compulsory even for agricultural laborers.

A Social Museum in Budapest was founded by the government in 1901, and contains chiefly those collections of books, monographs, and models which were to be seen at the International Exhibition of 1900 in Paris. The program of the

Social Museum is quite an exhaustive one. But no sufficient funds are provided.

It is perfectly clear that there is need of remedial legislation. Wages are low, hours long, living often expensive, and in many cases cleanliness impossible. Factory legislation is steadily progressing, however, and the number of inspectors is to be doubled. In 1906 over 8,000 factories were inspected in Hungary. The new "industrial law" is to decide the question of "Sunday rest" and workmen's compensation; to restrict female night-work; to protect children and workers of minor age; to introduce the principle of labor representation, hitherto unknown in Hungary; to institute industrial and commercial courts for the settlement of disputes between employer and employed; and, finally, to settle the strike question.

Independent of this comprehensive measure, the Hungarian Government is organizing labor bureaus throughout the country to be controlled by the State; and also the extension of the pawnshop system. Two other legislative acts are being framed, "taxation reform," by which means will be found to lighten the burden of the poor by exempting from taxation all whose income does not exceed the minimum essential to subsistence, and secondly, a "small holdings act," with a view to improve the lot of the peasant proprietors. Among several of the young Kossuthist deputies there exists a distinct tendency toward the advocacy of "women's franchise," and already meetings have been held in all parts of Hungary, and an organization formed.

Wages are generally very low. Agricultural laborers in 1904 averaged in summer scarcely thirty cents per day with board, and forty cents without. Carpenters earned from \$2 to \$5 per week.

REFERENCES: See also AUSTRIA. *Studien zur. Social und Wirtschaftspolitik Ungarns*, by Dr. Julius Bunzel (Leipsic, 1902); *Hungary and Its People*, by Felberman (London, 1892); *Das Königreich Ungarn* (a German translation of a Hungarian original), by S. Matlekrovits. (Budapest, 1897-98); *Histoire Générale des Hongrois*, by E. Sayous (2d ed., Paris, 1890).

HUNTER, ROBERT (WILES): Sociologist; born at Terre Haute, Ind., April 10, 1874; was graduated by the public schools there, 1893, and by University of Indiana, A.B., 1896. Married Caroline M. Phelps Stokes at Noroton, Conn., May 23, 1903. Organizing secretary Chicago Bureau of Charities, 1896-1901. Chairman Investigating Committee, City Homes Association; superintendent Municipal Lodging House, member Small Parks Commission, resident Hull House, 1899-1902 (all of Chicago). Resident Toynbee Hall, London, and other English settlements, summer 1899. Headworker University Settlement, New York, 1902-3. Chairman Child Labor Committee of New York since 1902. Member of Commission for Prevention of Tuberculosis, director Metropolitan Parks Association, president Social Reform Club, 1905.

Hunter is author of "Tenement Conditions in Chicago," 1901; "Poverty," 1904; and many magazine articles on social problems. Joined Socialist Party in 1907. Address: Highland Farm, Noroton, Conn.

HUNTINGTON, FREDERICK DAN: Episcopal bishop; born at Hadley, Mass., 1819. He graduated at Amherst College, 1839, and at Cambridge Divinity School, 1842. Entering the Unitarian

ministry, he held a pastorate in Boston, and from 1855-60 was Professor of Christian Morals and preacher at Harvard University. In 1860 he entered the Episcopal Church and became rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston, and in 1869 Bishop of Central New York. Besides many religious books, he has written numerous magazine articles on religious and social problems with kindred subjects. He was president of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (q. v.), and of the Church Social Union (q. v.). Author of numerous religious books and papers. Died 1904.

HUXLEY, THOMAS HENRY: Scientist; we consider here for his contributions to social science. Born at Ealing, Middlesex, England, in 1825, he studied at Charing Cross Hospital and at the University of London. As assistant surgeon in the royal navy he sailed round the world and made many observations in natural science. In 1854 he became Professor of Natural History in the School of Mines, and Professor of Physiology. From 1863-69 he was professor in the Royal College of Surgeons. He was president of various scientific societies, from 1870-72 on the London School Board, and in 1893 privy counselor. Died 1895. He has been a careful student of biology, yet few men have done more to popularize science by his lectures and his numerous writings. Mr. William M. Salter thus describes his social positions (we abridge his account):

Society, he held, came into being when mutual war gave way to mutual peace—and it "most nearly approaches perfection as the war of individual against individual is most strictly limited." The "eternal competition of man with man and of nation with nation" did not please him. He put his hand on the weak spot in the laborer's situation when he said that it is the competition of laborers with one another that makes the capitalist's strength.

Huxley was no optimist, and yet he saw no limit to the extent to which "intelligence and will, guarded by sound principles of investigation, and organized in common effort, may modify the conditions of existence for a period longer than that covered by history." With due regulation of its numbers and due ordering of its industrial life, Huxley thought that a society might even now eliminate poverty and want (save such as arose from moral delinquencies or unavoidable calamities). Whether any society would actually rise to this height remained, of course, to be seen. Huxley was only sure that if some advance was not made in this direction, it was an open question whether the life of the race was worth preserving.

IBSEN, HENRIK: Dramatist; born at Skien, Norway, 1828. Apprenticed to a druggist, he early left the pharmacy for literature. In 1854 he was appointed director of the theater at Bergen; 1857 at Christiania. In 1866 he received a pension and resided abroad at Dresden, Munich, and Rome till 1891, when he returned to reside at Christiania. His first drama, *Catilina*, was not considered a success, tho with marks of genius. He then turned to Norwegian historical subjects in *The Banquet at Solhang* and other dramas and found great success. He then turned to the satire of society in *Brand* (1866) and other plays, with still more popularity in Norway, and which have been translated into most European languages. *The Pillars of Society* (1877) was followed by *A Doll's House* (1879); *Ghosts* (1881); *An Enemy of the People* (1882); *Hedda Gabler* (1890); *The Master Builder* (1892); *When We Dead Awaken* (1900), and other dramas less known. These productions have been attacked as immoral, and have

If there was no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family, he declared he should welcome the advent of some kindly comet that would sweep the whole affair away.

HYGIENE. See **SANITARY SCIENCE.**

HYNDMAN, HENRY MAYERS: English Socialist leader; born in 1842; educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. Taking his degree in 1864, he entered the Inner Temple in 1865, but as special correspondent for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, went through the Italian campaign of 1866. From 1868-70 he traveled through the United States and Australia. In 1877 he published books on "The Indian Famine" and the "Crisis in India," which brought prominently into public notice the appalling condition of Indian affairs. At the general election of 1880 he was an unsuccessful Independent candidate for the parliamentary seat of Marylebone, London. In the same year, with several others, he raised an agitation in England against Mr. Gladstone's "coercion policy" in Ireland, and several times he had narrow escapes from being mobbed by the Liberals for his outspoken denunciations. In Jan., 1881, was founded, mainly through his efforts, the Democratic Federation, which soon became a distinctly Socialist organization, and grew into the Social Democratic Federation. From that time forward he has been closely identified with this organization, speaking and writing unceasingly. In 1886 he was tried, with Messrs. Burns, Champion, and Williams, for "uttering seditious and inciting to violence" in a speech made at a meeting of the unemployed in Trafalgar Square. After a trial lasting three days they were all acquitted. His first Socialist publication was "England for All" (1881), followed by "The Historic Basis of Socialism in England" (1883); "The Social Reconstruction of England, a Summary of the Principles of Socialism" (1884). He is still the leading member of the Social Democratic Federation, and constantly contributes to *Justice*, its organ. A man of means, no one has more absolutely devoted his whole life to the cause of socialism. Address: 9 Queen Anne's Gate, St. James's Park, S. W., London, England.

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been lauded as of the highest genius. They have done good service for social reform by showing some of the shams and weak spots of respectable society, as in part due to present economic conditions. Died 1906. See G. B. Shaw's *Quintessence of Ibsenism* (1893); Jaeger's *Henrik Ibsen* (1894).

ICARIA: A communistic settlement in the United States, begun in 1847, to embody the social ideals described in Cabet's romance *Voyage en Icarie*. CABET, a Frenchman, wrote his romance in 1839, and then, pressed by his friends, sought for an opportunity to carry out his ideas. He finally succeeded in making arrangements for an experiment on American soil. In his journal, *Le Populaire*, he announced the purchase of a considerable tract of land on the Red River, Tex., and a treaty by which Cabet was made the director of an intended colony, and the depository of all the funds, community of property being

the distinctive principle of the society. Accordingly, in 1848, an expedition of sixty-nine persons sailed to America as an advance guard, leaving Cabet himself and another company to follow soon after. But difficulties arose. They were attacked by the yellow fever, and, unable to endure the Texan climate, the survivors abandoned their claims and returned to New Orleans. Here Cabet met them, with 400 additional members. News, however, had been received in New Orleans of the proclamation of the republic in France, and many felt tempted to return. Cabet was denounced, but induced several hundred to keep on. Learning that the Mormons had abandoned their settlement in Nauvoo, Ill., he set out for that place, and settled there with his followers. The Icarians in Nauvoo numbered at one time 600. They met with some success in cultivating their land, established shops, pursued trades, and set up a printing-office; but instead of rejoicing in his prosperity, and laboring to increase it, Cabet was dreaming what he might do if he had half a million, as is evinced by his publication *Wenn ich \$500,000 hätte*.

It is said that Cabet developed a dictatorial spirit; but this is doubtful. He was in a difficult place, and had many rivals and enemies. He was even summoned back to Paris on a trumped-up charge of fraud, but was able to successfully defend himself before the tribunal. Returning to Nauvoo, he found it prospering; but dissension again arose, and Cabet was expelled. He went with some of his followers to St. Louis, where he died, 1856. His followers founded a colony at Cheltenham, which, however, did not endure. Meantime, the faction which had remained at Nauvoo, after many years of struggle, decided to remove, and 4,000 acres were bought by the Nodaway River in Adams County, Ia., in the town of Corning, and the colony moved there. Dissensions were, however, not over, and, finally, in 1880 two factions—the Young Party and the Old Party—having failed to live together, separated. The property was equitably divided by arbitrators; but through a technicality the old charter was lost, the Young Party obtaining a new one and the right to the name, with the original settlement; the Old Party found themselves obliged to found a New Icaria a mile farther east. The Young Party soon dissolved. The Old Party continued, but finally disbanded in 1895.

The essential principles of Cabet's communism were the equality of all and the brotherhood of man. Executive officers were elected every year, who were, however, only empowered to execute the orders of their fellow citizens, and could not so much as buy a bushel of corn without being authorized to do so by the society. The directors bought the goods needed by the Icarians twice a year at wholesale. Each one made known his wants previously to the semiannual purchases. "To each according to his needs; from each according to his ability" was the economic doctrine of the community. Marriage was essential according to Cabet's scheme, and wives highly honored. Not only was the strictest fidelity enjoined upon the husbands, but they were required to render special acts of homage to their wives.

The government was purely democratic. Concerning religion, the constitution of the community said: "The Icarian Community adopts as its religion the religion of Christianity in its primi-

tive purity, and its fundamental principle of fraternity of men and of peoples." Sunday was set apart as a day of rest and recreation. Walking, riding, visiting, fishing and dancing, with occasional amateur theatricals, were the amusements. In addition to the national holidays they celebrated two of their own, Feb. 3d, or the anniversary of the founding of the community, and the "Fête de Mais," or corn festival.

They lived in little houses in plots of ground bright with flowers around a central house, where they had their meals in common. They at one time published a little paper, the *Revue Icarienne*. See Albert Shaw's *Icaria* (1894), also Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor, No. 35.

ILLEGITIMACY: Illegitimacy is a social phenomenon, produced by the conjoint action of many different forces, both of impulse and restraint. While its varying rate is to some extent a register of the moral tone prevalent in communities governed by the same laws and customs, it cannot be assumed that in contrasting different nations, illegitimacy must inevitably constitute an index of equal value. A country may have a high rate of illegitimacy, not because its morals are debased, but because law and custom hinder early marriages, or make possible the legitimization of offspring by a subsequent marriage. Again, the practise of criminal abortion and the intentional prevention of conception may vitiate the credit which might seem to belong to a people having a very low rate of illegitimate births. In Mohammedan countries there is doubtless less illegitimacy than in most Christian lands; and before the Gentile invasion of Utah, an illegitimate birth is said to have been almost unknown. But making all deductions, it is obvious that a difference in the rate of illegitimacy in communities enjoying the same civilization and laws, must constitute to some extent a register of the popular sentiment regarding it.

Nor does illegitimacy necessarily indicate laxity of morals in every direction. Of the mothers of illegitimate children, Miss Muloch in her "Thoughts about Women" says that "Women who thus fall are by no means the worst of their station. I have heard it affirmed by more than one lady . . . that many of them are of the very best—refined, intelligent, truthful and affectionate." To this fact the greatest of romance writers—Scott, Goethe, Hugo, Hawthorne, Tolstoy and George Eliot—have also witnessed.

One of the most interesting facts regarding illegitimacy is the persistence of the phenomena with nearly the same frequency in the same country or community, year after year. In England, for example, during the last fifteen years, the rate of illegitimate births has oscillated between 39 and 42 per thousand births. So uniform is this national rate that the present writer in 1891 ventured to predict that of every thousand children who should be brought into the world in England and Wales during the year 1893, at least 42 or 43 would be illegitimate, and that the total number of such births would be about 38,000. When, in 1895, the statistics relating to the year 1893 were published in the report of the Registrar-General, these predictions were found to be exactly correct. (V. "Illegitimacy," p. 9.) So assuredly can dependence be placed upon the uniformity of the laws which govern human conduct, that the results that will occur through

passion and folly can be predicted years in advance.

The rate of illegitimacy for purposes of comparison may be estimated by several different methods. It may be calculated by the proportion which such births bear to the total population of a country, or by the ratio which they bear to the totality of births, or, best of all, to the number of unmarried females between the ages of 15-45. The following table gives for several countries the rate of illegitimacy per 10,000 population during two periods: the first for the years 1880-81, the second for the four years 1901-4:

COUNTRIES	Two years 1880-81	Four years 1901-4
Austria.....	62	57
Saxony.....	64	52
Bavaria.....	59	48
Sweden.....	29	33
Denmark.....	36	32
Prussia.....	33	30
Italy.....	35	25
France.....	23	23
Norway.....	25	22
Belgium.....	27	22
Scotland.....	28	17
New Zealand.....	18	12
England and Wales.....	19	11
Ireland.....	6	5

How America would compare with other nations in this respect, there are no means of telling. No civilized country on the globe is so destitute of information regarding the "Movement of the Population" in this and other respects as the United States. Since none can tell the number of suicides or murders which annually occur within the American borders, it is not to be expected that the number of births be known.

Two facts are evident from the foregoing figures. Compared with the rates of twenty years since, it would appear that, with few exceptions, illegitimacy is slowly decreasing. But to what cause is due this great diversity in tendency to illicit relationships which these figures make apparent? (1) It cannot be due to religious faith, so far as that means the acceptance of a particular creed. A higher appreciation of chastity cannot be ascribed to Protestantism, for in Norway and Sweden, in Scotland and Denmark the rate of illegitimacy is far greater than in Ireland where Catholicism has the stronger hold. A superior moral efficiency cannot be detected in Catholicism as a deterrent from passional irregularity; since in Austria, in Saxony and Bavaria the rate of bastardy far exceeds that of England and Scotland. Even if two nations of even greater divergence in faith—Christian and non-Christian—are contrasted the advantage is not as we might suppose. Take Japan, for example. Its chief religious force is Buddhism. In 1902 the proportion of illegitimacy to total population of Japan was 30—a rate surpassed by five of the nations of Europe, three Catholic and two Protestant. In England, the counties of Norfolk and Hereford during four years (1899-1902) showed about the same proportion of illegitimate births as were born in the northern and central provinces of Japan.

(2) The differences in rate of illegitimacy cannot be ascribed to differences in degree of education. Districts or countries where a high

standard of elementary education prevails show no superiority over those where ignorance is the rule. In France, excluding Paris, it has been noted that illegitimacy is least in departments where illiteracy is most general.

(3) In proportion to the total number of births, the rate of illegitimacy is often greater in the country districts than in large cities.

Contrast, for instance, the rate of illegitimate births in three great cities of England with the rate which prevails in certain rural districts of the same land:

CITY	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
London.....	37	36	36	38	38
Birmingham.....	33	40	35	39	40
Manchester.....	27	32	32	35	30
REGION					
Cumberland.....	58	57	61	59	56
Norfolk.....	64	61	64	62	65
North Wales.....	59	60	56	58	60

Outside of England, however, this rule appears reversed. Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and other capital cities show a higher rate of illegitimacy than prevails in rural districts about them. In the case of Paris, this is largely due to the number of working people whose unions, unauthorized by Church or State, are orderly and decent in other respects. Dr. Bertillon has estimated these to be about 10 per cent of the whole number of homes.

(4) A high rate of illegitimacy is not due to poverty or chronic want. In North Ireland, where prosperity is greatest, the proportion of such births is far greater, every year, than in the south and west of Ireland where destitution is more general. An interesting comparison is afforded by certain registration districts of London. In this city, the fashionable and aristocratic quarters are in the West End; the districts which make up the East End of London are densely populated by the poorer class. The following table gives the rate of illegitimacy to each thousand births during four consecutive years:

LONDON	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
East End:					
Stepney.....	12	11	9	10	18
Bethnal Green.....	13	12	15	14	13
Mile End, Old town.....	15	11	13	16	16
Whitechapel.....	22	20	24	24	19
West End:					
St. George, Hanover Square.....	40	52	45	47	45
Kensington.....	48	49	44	45	49
Fulham.....	43	43	42	45	45
St. Marylebone.....	182	181	186	185	198

It will be seen, then, that in a great city like London, the quarters where dwell the poorest of its population are the districts least affected by illegitimacy of births. This characteristic persists in the same neighborhoods year after year. In 1876 almost the same differences were to be found.

For the real causes of that singular difference in proclivity toward illegitimacy, whether in nations or neighborhoods, one must look to certain hereditary influences. This does not mean that some mysterious and inscrutable force impels one

class of people more than another either to irregular relations or to vice and crime; but only that in different nations and in different communities, even granting proclivity to be the same, the deterrent influences are *unequally felt*. Certainly, one of the strongest deterrents from wrongdoing is the condemnation of public sentiment. In whatever community or country the birth of an illegitimate child is lightly regarded as a mishap by no means of infrequent occurrence among neighbors and relatives, there the annual rate of illegitimacy will be greater than where such a birth inflicts upon the mother a stigma of disgrace. We see the effect of sentiment exemplified in other phases of human conduct; where private vengeance is secretly condoned and approved, as in Corsica and Sicily, there assassinations will take the place of appeal to law; where divorce brings no obloquy, there divorces will be frequent, and where the lynching of negroes for certain crimes is regarded with approval, there appeal to lynch law will constantly occur. To weigh this subtle influence of opinion, to ascertain how far it obtains in one community more than in another, is only possible by a study of its effect upon human conduct generation after generation.

Illegitimacy in nearly all European countries appears to be slowly decreasing. This is evident from the figures given in the first table herein presented. In England and Wales, the illegitimate birth-rate, when calculated upon the total number of unmarried women between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, for periods of three years immediately following the census year indicates a reduction of 50 per cent from the rate prevailing thirty-five years ago.

ENGLAND AND WALES

YEARS	Rate per 10,000
1870-72.....	170
1880-82.....	141
1890-92.....	105
1900-2.....	85
1903.....	84
1904.....	84
1905.....	82

Little can be said regarding the lessening of illegitimacy. In some countries, legislation which should remove all impediments to marriage would undoubtedly have effect; but probably it would tend to increase the number of unhappy unions, and the tendency to divorce. Everywhere a strong social condemnation appears to decrease prevalence; but pushed too far, even this may provoke a tendency to infanticide. One may be fairly confident, however, that whatever makes for the sincerest and widest appreciation of conjugal life and domestic happiness will tend to diminish those transitory and irregular relationships from which come the majority of illegitimate births.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Illegitimacy and the Influence of Seasons upon Conduct*, by Albert Leffingwell, M.D. (1892); *Sixty-seventh Report of Registrar-General of Births, etc. England and Wales* (1904). See also MARRIAGE; DIVORCE; PROSTITUTION.

ALBERT LEFFINGWELL.

ILLITERACY: One of the main indications of the advance of civilization in modern times is the spread of popular education. Nevertheless the

number of illiterates, even in many civilized countries, is still very large. In the United States the proportion of illiterates is kept large by the illiteracy of the colored population and by that of some classes of immigrants.

WORLD STATISTICS

PER CENT OF POPULATION OVER TWELVE YEARS UNABLE TO READ AND WRITE ¹

COUNTRY	1840	1890	1900
Germany..... ²	18	4	1
Norway.....	..	3	1
Sweden.....	20	3	1
Switzerland.....	20	5	1
New Zealand.....	..	7	4
France.....	53	15	5
United Kingdom.....	41	10	5
Australia.....	..	..	9
Holland.....	30	14	10
United States.....	20	13	10
Belgium.....	55	20	12
Austria.....	79	45	31
Italy.....	84	53	44
Spain.....	..	68	..
Russia (in Europe).....	98	85	78

¹ Mainly from a table compiled by Professor Parsons in "Civilization Tables" in "The Story of New Zealand."

ANALYSIS OF ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES OF PERSONS AT LEAST TEN YEARS OF AGE ¹

	No.	Per Cent		
		1900	1890	1880
Total.....	6,180,069 ²	10.7	13.3	17.0
Males.....	3,011,224	10.1	12.4	15.8
Females.....	3,168,845	11.2	14.4	18.2
White.....	3,200,740	6.2	7.7	9.4
Negro.....	2,853,194	44.5	57.1	..
Native white.....	1,913,611	4.6	6.2	8.7
Foreign born.....	1,287,135	12.9	13.1	12.0

¹ From the *Twelfth Census*.

² Of these, 15.5 can read but not write.

PER CENT OF WHITE MALE POPULATION ILLITERATE, 21 TO 24 YEARS OF AGE (Census 1900)

DIVISION	White Male	Native	Foreign Born
New England.....	5.5	1.4	14.8
Southern North Atlantic ¹	4.8	1.2	16.8
Northern South Atlantic ²	7.5	7.1	17.2
Southern South Atlantic ³	11.9	12.0	7.8
Eastern North Central ⁴	2.3	1.4	7.2
Western North Central ⁵	1.9	1.6	3.8
Western South Central ⁶	11.1	11.2	7.8
Rocky Mountains ⁷	8.7	7.8	25.7
Basin and plateau ⁸	4.2	3.0	9.7
Pacific ⁹	5.0	2.1	17.8
Pacific ¹⁰	1.6	0.5	6.9
United States.....	5.0	3.8	12.0

¹ New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania.

² Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia.

³ North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida.

⁴ Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin.

⁵ Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas.

⁶ Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi.

⁷ Louisiana, Arkansas, Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Texas.

⁸ Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico.

⁹ Arizona, Utah, Nevada.

¹⁰ Washington, Oregon, California.

ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM
Per cent signing marriage registers by mark.

YEAR	ENGLAND AND WALES	
1843.....	Males.....32.7	Females.... 49.0
1863.....	"..... 23.8	"..... 33.1
1883.....	"..... 12.6	"..... 15.5
1903.....	"..... 1.9	"..... 2.3
SCOTLAND		
1903.....	Males..... 1.7	Females.... 2.3
IRELAND		
1904.....	Males..... 10.4	Females.... 8.0

Of recruits in the United Kingdom raised 1903-4, 92 per cent could read and write, 0.6 per cent could read only, and 1.0 could neither read nor write.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Reports of the U. S. Commissioner of Education; Report of the Board of Education for Great Britain, etc.*

IMMIGRATION: In America the term "immigration" is usually applied to the movement of population to the United States since the founding of the national government, as contrasted with the "colonization" of earlier periods. In the thirteen original states the pioneers were practically all Teutonic and Celtic,—British, Irish, Dutch, and German,—with a few French, Portuguese, and Swedes. The total population of the U. S. in 1790 was about 4,000,000 souls, and it is estimated that the total immigration from that date to 1820, when records first began to be kept, was about 250,000 souls.

The total immigration since 1820, by decades, has been as follows:

1821 to 1830.....	143,439
1831 to 1840.....	599,125
1841 to 1850.....	1,713,251
1851 to 1860.....	2,598,214
1861 to 1870.....	2,314,824
1871 to 1880.....	2,812,191
1881 to 1890.....	5,246,613
1891 to 1900.....	3,687,564
1901 to 1905.....	3,833,070
Total—1821 to 1905.....	22,948,297

The largest annual totals in recent years have been as follows:

1882.....	788,992
1892.....	623,084
1902.....	648,743
1903.....	857,046
1904.....	812,870
1905.....	1,026,499

The only times when immigrants have exceeded 1 per cent of the population into which they came were 1847-54, 1870, 1873, 1881-83, and 1903-5.

The number of emigrants cannot be accurately stated but probably averages between one quarter and one third of the arrivals. In 1905 over 17 per cent of immigrants arriving had been in the U. S. before; many go back and forth a number of times.

Immigration is due in general to a desire to benefit one's condition. This is proved by the invariable relation between the number of immigrants and industrial conditions in this country. Other causes are religious persecution and political oppression abroad; the solicitation and assistance of friends and relatives in the U. S.; the increased facilities and diminished cost of travel; the efforts of foreign governments, mu-

nicipalities and charitable organizations to rid themselves of the burden of dependents and delinquents; and last and most important, the solicitation of steamship agents both abroad and in this country. Owing to the last factor, much of the present immigration is not a spontaneous movement of population, but one artificially stimulated by the transportation interests, which make a profit of \$15 to \$20 on each immigrant. The tariff also operates as a cause by making it easier for the workman to come than the goods which he produces.

The most important characteristic of recent immigration, next to the increase in its volume, is the change in its racial composition. There were

**Racial
Waves**

three principal waves of migration during the nineteenth century: one of the Irish, beginning in the forties and following the potato famine; another of the Germans, caused by the revolution of 1848 and the subsequent political upheavals; and the third, somewhat later, from the Scandinavian countries. Up to 1880 the bulk of immigration was from Teutonic stock, akin in habits and institutions to the original settlers. In the last twenty-five years, however, a profound change has occurred, and the immigration of to-day is chiefly of Iberic, Slavic, Semitic, and Asiatic races.

This is brought out by the fact that in 1869 immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia were about one hundredth of those from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia; in 1880, about one tenth; in 1894, nearly equal to it; in 1902, three and one half times as great. If we compare the total immigration of certain nationalities for the period 1821 to 1902 with that for the year 1903, we find the following result:

COUNTRY	1821 to 1902		1903	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Austria-Hungary.....	1,316,914	6.5	206,011	24.0
England, Wales.....	2,739,937	13.4	26,219	3.0
Germany.....	5,098,005	24.9	40,086	4.7
Ireland.....	3,944,269	19.3	35,300	4.1
Italy.....	1,358,597	6.7	230,622	26.9
Norway, Sweden.....	1,334,931	6.6	70,489	8.2
Russia, Poland.....	1,106,362	5.4	136,093	15.9
British North America..	1,050,682	5.1	.....	.....

In 1905, of the total immigration, 58.3 per cent was Slavic and Iberic, and 34.6 per cent was Teutonic and Celtic. The immigration from Asia was 23.925, or 2.3 per cent of the total, including 1,971 Chinese.

The largest elements in recent immigration have been as follows:

	1904	1905
Southern Italian.....	159,329	185,445
Hebrew.....	106,236	129,910
Polish.....	67,757	102,437
German.....	74,790	82,360
Scandinavian.....	61,029	62,284

Causes

The economic gain from immigration is, of course, immense, and it would be difficult to give it a money value. The amount of money brought by immigrants in 1905 was over \$25,000,000, or

about \$25 per capita. Much of this sum, as well as the passage money of probably one half of the immigrants, was wholly or partially furnished by friends or relatives in the United States. The more intelligent races, as a rule, bring the most money. It is probable that the savings and remittances sent home annually by immigrants already here amount to from two to three times the amount brought in each year.

Of the total immigration, only about 15 per cent are skilled or professional persons. About 80 per cent are entirely unskilled, and without knowledge of any trade or means of livelihood. The countries of northwestern Europe furnish the largest proportions of skilled immigrants.

The total illiteracy of immigrants over fourteen years of age, in 1905, was 26.2 per cent. The females are, in general, more illiterate than the males. The illiteracy of the races contributing more than 2,000 immigrants was for the same year as follows:

NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Teutonic and Celtic)	
Scandinavian.....	0.6
Scotch.....	0.7
English.....	1.3
Bohemian and Moravian.....	1.7
Finnish.....	1.8
French.....	2.7
Irish.....	3.8
German.....	4.2
Dutch and Flemish.....	5.3
Italian (North).....	14.0
Average.....	3.7
SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Slavic and Celtic)	
Spanish.....	10.1
Magyar.....	11.6
Greek.....	22.4
Slovak.....	25.0
Rumanian.....	28.8
Russian.....	30.8
Croatian and Slovenian.....	38.2
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian.....	38.4
Bulgarian, Servian and Montenegrin.....	38.9
Polish.....	39.6
Italian (South).....	50.4
Lithuanian.....	50.9
Ruthenian.....	62.6
Portuguese.....	66.7
Average.....	42.2
OTHER RACES	
Chinese.....	5.0
Cuban.....	7.7
African (black).....	15.8
Hebrew.....	23.3
Japanese.....	39.3
Syrian.....	53.6

In 1900, of the 10,356,644 foreign born in the U. S., the North Atlantic division contained 22.6 per cent; the North Central, 15.8 per cent; the Western, 20.7 per cent; leaving only 4.6 per cent for the South Central and South Atlantic divisions combined. This shows the tendency of immigrants to settle in certain sections of the country. Indeed, of the total immigration of 1905, 65.3 per cent were destined to Illinois, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania, and only 8.7 per cent to the Southern and Western States. Within these states the recent immigrants, in contrast with the earlier ones, tend, almost entirely, to live in the large cities. Thus, in 1900, the foreign born who were one eighth of the total population furnished one fourth of the population of the cities. Southwestern Europe furnishes three times as many inhabitants as northwestern Europe to the slums of Baltimore, nineteen times as many to the

slums of New York, twenty times as many to the slums of Chicago, and seventy-one times as many to the slums of Philadelphia.

In 1899 the total immigration was divided as to religious belief as follows: Roman Catholics, 52.1 per cent; Protestants, 18.5 per cent; Jews, 10.4 per cent; Greek Catholics, 4.0 per cent; Brahmins and Buddhists, 0.9 per cent; miscellaneous, 13.9 per cent.

The good effects of immigration in building up the country and developing its industries are so obvious as not to need discussion.

The bad effects of immigration are due both to those whom it introduces and to those whom it prevents being introduced. Considering the second effect first, it is a fact that the recent large immigration of unskilled and illiterate races has turned the more skilled and intelligent of all races to the other countries. But more important

still is the lowering of the birth-rate of those already here and ultimately of the immigrants themselves, and in raising the birth-rate in the countries from which the immigrants come, thus keeping the source of the flow undiminished. The number of white children in the U. S. five years of age to 1,000 white females fifteen to forty-nine years of age has fallen steadily from 781 in 1830 to 465 in 1900; although in the South, which has received practically no immigrants, the birth-rate has been nearly constant. Under a system of unselected immigration, all the benefits which might accrue from a careful selection of the best specimens of European races and their interbreeding to produce a still finer race here will be lost.

Immigration has stimulated the development of the factory and industrial system, and this has, in turn, produced an economic and social stratification. There seems to be no doubt that it tends to retard, at least in certain lines of work, the operation of the general tendency toward rising wages. It is true that the volume of immigration is sensitive to the law of supply and demand, but the fact that many recent arrivals have a low standard of living tends to nullify the working of this law. This low standard and the accompanying ignorance are responsible for the development of the sweat-shop and padrone systems of labor, as well as much unemployment at certain periods.

Immigration tends to retard the elimination of illiteracy in this country. In 1900 the average was 4.6 per cent for native whites, as compared with 12.9 per cent for foreign whites. The fact that the illiteracy of the children of immigrants was only 1.6 per cent, as compared with 5.7 for the children of natives, is due to the settlement of the former in states where education is well developed and compulsory.

In regard to criminal tendency, we find that, comparing male prisoners with the male population of voting age, in 1890, the numbers per million were as follows:

Criminal Tendency

Native white, native parents.....	2.282
Native white, foreign parents.....	6.742
Native white—total.....	3.145
Foreign white.....	3.270

In other words, the foreign whites were nearly one and one half times as criminal as the natives of native parentage; and the natives of foreign parentage were over three times as criminal.

Comparing male juvenile offenders with the

male population of school age, for the North Atlantic division, we find the figures to be, per million, as follows:

Native white, native parents.....	855
Native white, foreign parents.....	2,740
Foreign white.....	2,252

This means that the children of immigrants are nearly one quarter more criminal than the immigrants themselves, and more than three times as criminal as the children of natives.

Immigrants are also responsible for the increase of various diseases such as trachoma, tuberculosis, and smallpox, and their ignorance increases the difficulty of sanitation.

Disease and Insanity

The last epidemic of yellow fever in New Orleans was largely due to this cause. The foreign-born population in 1890 also furnished two and one third times its normal proportion of insane persons; and the males of foreign birth and parentage furnished three times as many paupers per million of voting population as those of native birth and parentage. The proportion of paupers who are foreign born has increased steadily since 1850.

In 1904 there were 44,985 alien inmates of penal, reformatory and charitable institutions in the U. S., of whom more than one half were in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois. An alien population, 1.3 per cent of the total population, furnished 11 per cent of all the inmates of these institutions.

The U. S. took the control of immigration from the states in 1882. The principal laws at present in force are the Act of March 3, 1903, the Contract Labor acts of Feb. 26, 1885, and Feb. 23, 1887, and the Chinese Exclusion acts.

Legislation

The Act of 1903 provides for a head-tax of \$2 on every alien not a citizen of the U. S., Canada, Cuba, Newfoundland, or Mexico. It excludes from admission to the U. S. the following: (1) idiots; (2) insane persons; (3) epileptics; (4) persons who have been insane within five years previous to arrival; (5) persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any time previous; (6) paupers; (7) persons likely to become a public charge; (8) professional beggars; (9) persons afflicted with a loathsome or with a dangerous contagious disease; (10) persons who have been convicted of a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude, not including those convicted of purely political offenses; (11) polygamists; (12) anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the U. S. or of all government or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials; (13) prostitutes; (14) persons who procure or attempt to bring in prostitutes or women for the purpose of prostitution; (15) those who have been within one year from the date of application for admission to the U. S., deported as being under offers, solicitations, promises or agreements to perform labor or service of some kind therein; (16) any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another, or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes; but any person in the U. S. may send for a relative or friend without thereby putting the burden of this proof upon the immigrant.

The Contract Labor laws exclude all alien la-

borers, mechanics or artisans who are under contract, express or implied, to perform labor in the U. S. They do not apply to skilled laborers, if others of like kind unemployed cannot be found in this country, to professional actors, artists, lecturers, singers, ministers of any religious denomination, professors for colleges or seminaries, persons belonging to any recognized learned profession, or persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants.

Under the Chinese Exclusion acts all Chinese are now excluded except: (1) officials; (2) teachers; (3) students; (4) merchants; (5) travelers for curiosity or pleasure (these five classes of persons must have certificates of identification from the Chinese Government or the government of which they are subjects); (6) Chinese merchants domiciled here who have temporarily departed (these must have certificates required by the Act of Nov. 3, 1893); (7) minor children of domiciled merchants; (8) wives of officials; (9) personal servants of officials; (10) Chinese laborers registered under the "Geary" Act of May 5, 1892.

The Act of 1903 provides that persons becoming a public charge within two years after landing from causes arising prior thereto shall be deported, and that persons entering in violation of law may be deported within three years to the country whence they came. In 1905 there were 11,480 debarred and 845 returned. In general the percentage of debarred and returned, to the total immigration, varies from 0.4 to 1.4.

It has been proposed to strengthen the present laws by increasing the head-tax, defining more accurately the term "liable to become a public charge," and by excluding those who cannot read in any language. The last provision passed Congress in 1897, but was vetoed by President Cleveland.

PRESCOTT F. HALL.

Of the whole number of immigrants in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906, 880,036 came through the customs district of New York, 54,064 through Baltimore, 62,229 through Boston, 23,186 through Philadelphia, 4,138 through San Francisco, and 77,082 through other ports; also 43,997 through Canadian ports.

The reported occupations of immigrants arriving during the fiscal year 1906 were as follows: Laborers, 226,345; servants, 115,984; farm laborers, 239,125; tailors, 26,982; merchants and dealers, 17,054; carpenters, 18,185; shoemakers, 12,622; clerks, 11,345; mariners, 8,737; miners, 8,717. The number of professional immigrants (including 1,117 actors, 2,324 engineers, 1,511 musicians, and 2,071 teachers) was 13,766; of skilled laborers, 177,122; miscellaneous (including unskilled), 624,387; no occupation (including children under fourteen years of age), 285,460.

The total number of alien immigrants refused admission to the U. S. in the fiscal year ending 1905 was 12,432, of which 7,069 were paupers or persons likely to become public charges, 2,273 persons with loathsome or contagious diseases, 2,314 contract laborers, 139 insane, 92 idiots, 205 convicts, 30 prostitutes, 2 persons who attempted to bring in prostitutes, 61 returned in one year after landing, 615 returned within three years because here in violation of law.

More than one quarter of recent immigration is Italian, nearly one quarter Hungarian; more than one half are Italian, Hungarian or Russian (largely Hebrew). Their percentage of illiteracy is respectively, 43, 24 and 25 per cent.

Mr. Robert Hunter, of the University Settlement in New York, says:

The fathers and mothers of the American children can be chosen, and it is in the power of Congress to decide upon what merits. . . . No nation has ever had a social responsibility of greater magnitude. The future of American society, industry, religious faith, political institutions, may be decided in a way quite marvelous by the governing powers of this country. The worst aspect of the whole matter is that the selfish forces interested in promoting immigration in every conceivable way are deciding all these questions for us. The ones who come and the numbers who come depend largely upon the steamship companies. Whether we have more Hungarians than Italians, or Syrians than Greeks, or Scandinavians than Slavs, depends to a very large extent upon their ports, their

passage rates and their success in advertising and soliciting. . . . I believe that this country may be ruined by leaving the volume and quality of immigration almost entirely to the decision of the steamship companies. . . . The skill of their agents decides whether we shall have one race or another come in great masses to our shores. . . . If we let the steamship companies and the railroads, wanting cheap labor, alone, we shall not decide what immigrants will be better for coming, and what ones the country needs. They will decide it for us. . . . Our governing bodies . . . in the past . . . have failed to consider the welfare of the people, either immigrants or Americans. The decision has been made as a result of pressure brought to bear upon public officials by private and selfish interests. Our national characteristics may be changed; our love of freedom, our religion, our inventive faculties, our standard of life. All of the things, in fact, for which America has been more or less distinctive among the nations may be entirely altered. Our race may be supplanted by another, by an Asiatic one, for instance, and not because it is better so, nor because it is for the world's good. On the contrary, it is in order that individuals interested in steamships may be benefited, and in order that employers may have cheaper labor. These selfish forces may be disguised, but they are there.

Mr. Ernest Crosby in the *Arena* writes:

Immigrant children learn quickly in our schools, and most of them, especially the Jews from eastern Europe, and the Italians, take high positions, holding their own, as a rule, with our native-born children. Where we fall short too often is in physique. More of us are hollow-chested, sloping-shouldered, and nervous than is the case with the ordinary European, and especially with the peasant. From the purely scientific standpoint of breeding, we have every interest to admit the sturdy farm hand, just as we import the Percheron horse or the Southdown sheep. Whether the man can read and write or understand the Constitution is a matter of trifling importance in comparison. His children will learn all that quickly enough. But he will not know how to vote, we are told. When you consider the fact, however, that nearly one half of our educated Americans vote diametrically against the other half, it is hard to see how the addition of a few uneducated voters can do much harm. Whichever way the ballot of the immigrant is cast, he will have about half of the American people with him, and they should bear the responsibility for the result, not he. Examinations in the three "R's," let in the anemic crook and sharper and "shyster lawyer," the gambler and the pawnbroker, and all that precious parasitic fraternity which lives by its wits and gravitates to the cities, shutting out the independent, self-supporting, brawny son of the soil whom most we need. I cannot in justice overlook our faults nor be blind to the fact that the good points of other races supply our deficiencies, and I have already hinted at some of them. In the great century of music, none of our blood produced a work of even the third class. We have never had a painter who could rank among the first score or two of great artists. We must go to Germany for our highest philosophy and to France for the most finished elegance of thought and manners. We know little of the joy of living. We take our holidays sadly, and laugh with mental reservations. The Europeans come to us with a new capacity for mirth, a genius for joviality and sociability. Are these ingredients to be despised? For a few years he may navigate our streets with his hand-organ or his plaster-casts and frequent his genial café, but before long he must fit himself to our Procrustean bed, and at last we find him at work in the regulation store or at rest before the rigid bar or at the taciturn dairy-lunch counter. Is it desirable that we should compass sea and land in this way to make a proselyte? Should we reduce the whole world to one dead level? And not content with stifling the originality of the immigrant, we must needs carry our missionary zeal for uniformity to foreign lands in the hope of destroying all individuality. In Anglo-Saxonizing India and Japan we are crushing out the most wonderful of arts beyond a possibility of resurrection. We are the Goths and Vandals of the day. We are the Tartars and the Turks. And the countries which we overrun have each its own priceless heritage of art and legend which we ruthlessly stamp under foot.

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125, 332-340, 433-443, 533-543; vol. xxxix., pp. 13-22, 115-124, 217-227, September, 1903-May, 1904; *Publications of the Immigration Restriction League*, Nos. 1-44. (Address, 101 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.)

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE: Organized 1894 for the purposes stated in its name. It has been active in agitating for legislation, and in the publication of literature and statistics upon the subject. (See IMMIGRATION.) *Secretary*, Prescott F. Hall, State Street, Boston, Mass.

INCOME TAX: The income tax is a direct levy by a government upon the income of individual citizens, whether that income is received from labor, industry, investments, real estate, or any other source. It is generally computed per annum, but sometimes every three or four years.

Some technical terms and phrases pertaining to the subject need to be explained. *Exemption* from taxation means that small incomes are free,

the State holding that the amount of income required for the maintenance of independence and of the standard of living should not be taxed, since it would not only have to return in the

form of charity what it took in that of taxes, but would, moreover, undermine the morale of its citizens by depriving them of the necessities of life. The excess only is, consequently, to be taxed. *Stoppage at source* has to do with collection of the tax. It indicates that the tax is subtracted from the salary, interest on bonds, dividends on stock, etc., owned by the payer. The paymaster of the navy and army, the Bank of England, and the treasurers of corporations in England always withhold the amount of the tax from the amount due the payee. *Uniform* or *proportional* taxation means that all incomes are subject to the same rate, e. g., 1 per cent, or 3 per cent. A tax is called *graduated* or *progressive* when the rate of taxation increases with the amount of income, e. g., 2 per cent on \$1,000 and 3 per cent on \$4,000. *Degressive* means that a certain amount of taxable income is exempt, e. g., in England a man with an income of £400 has £150 free and is taxed only on £250. The term *regressive* is used to indicate that the rate of taxation increases as income decreases. This form was applied in France before the Revolution. Taxation may, finally, *differentiate* between various forms of income and tax them unequally; e. g., income from farm land is taxed at a lower rate in England than that from real estate in the cities. The differentiation may extend to income from labor, property, permanent and temporary incomes, investments in public and private securities.

HISTORY

Nearly all European countries impose an income tax as a means of revenue. England was the first country to levy this tax. Much money was needed during the Napoleonic wars. Pitt presented his bill for the income tax in September, 1798; it provided that incomes of £60 and under should be exempt, while those over this amount were subject to a progressive tax at the rate of $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent to 10 per cent. It was an additional duty of "assessed taxes," and lasted until the peace of Amiens in 1802. In 1803 Addington presented a bill which contained many changes, and was made the basis of the one passed in 1842, altho it was abolished in 1816, since the people had

England

considered it a war measure and clamored for its repeal. Popular resentment made the passing of any income-tax bill impossible for twenty-five years. In 1842 the Corn Laws aroused the people with the tax on food. They had to be repealed, but the revenue lost by that act had to be made up in some other way. Robert Peel introduced a bill on the income tax, and defended it in a speech lasting three hours and a half. It was carried amid tremendous applause by a vote of 255 against 149. The tax was extended by Peel in 1845 and later, in 1853, by Lord Russell under the name "Income Tax Act," and remained practically unchanged until 1880. In that year the "Taxes Management Act" was passed. Gladstone called it "a code or system of taxation," since it was not so much an income tax but rather a system of raising revenues. It provides for the classification of all taxable income under five divisions or schedules, called by letters from *A* to *E*. Schedule *A*. Income from land and houses.—*B*. Income of farmers.—*C*. Income from interest and dividends.—*D*. Income from commercial, industrial, and professional men, and corporations.—*E*. Income from salaries and pensions. Railroads, mines, canals were originally in division *A*, but have since been placed under *D*. The standard of taxation is eightpence to the pound, and all differentiations are made in regard to it.

It is interesting to note a number of changes and exceptions. In 1842 incomes below £150 were exempt; in 1854 those below £100, the war in the Crimea calling for a larger revenue; in 1873 the degressive feature was introduced, since incomes from £100 to £150 had £80 exempt; in 1877 this feature was increased so that incomes from £150 to £400 had £120 exempt. A declaration is to be made every three to five years under schedule *A*; that is, the amount of rent is to be declared, since that is considered the income. In division *D* the declaration is based on the three prior years. Under schedules *C* and *E* no declaration is necessary, since stoppage at source takes place. Under schedule *B*—income of farmers—the rent is regarded as the income, and that was taxed at four pence per pound in England, and three pence in Scotland and Ireland; since 1894 all farmers of Great Britain pay three pence per pound. In 1887 the law was amended so that land which brings in no rent is free from taxes. A change favorable to certain classes was made in 1890 to the effect that if any taxpayer suffered loss in commerce, industry, etc., he was to report the damage within six months, and have a corresponding amount of taxes returned. In 1894 the amount of income that is exempt was raised to £160, and incomes of £400 have £160 free instead of £120, those of from £400 to £500 have £100. In 1898 the "Abatements of Income Tax" made some new provisions; incomes from £400 to £500 were to have exempt £150; from £500 to £600 only £120; from £600 to £700 only £70. When a large amount of money was needed during the Boer War, the standard of taxation was raised from eight pence per pound to ten pence, later twelve pence, eventually fourteen pence; that is, after 1900. It has since been reduced.

The increase in the property which came under the income tax from 1880 to 1900 was in round numbers: England, £485,700,000 to £678,700,000, equal to 40 per cent; Scotland, £55,100,000 to £75,800,000, equal to 49 per cent; Ireland experienced a decrease from £36,100,000 to £33,-

400,000, equal to 8 per cent. Even this decrease in the latter country is an increase per head, since the population of Ireland declined from 5,203,000 to 4,466,000 during this period. The increase in property per head of the population was: England, £18.5 to £21, 13 per cent; Scotland, £14.8 to £17, 14 per cent; Ireland, £6.9 to £7.5, 9 per cent. The increase in the rate of taxation was from 2.08 per cent to 3.33 per cent; it rose rapidly to 5.83 per cent in 1902 after the Boer War. The net revenue from the tax rose from £9,233,320 in 1880 to £18,828,952 in 1900, and to £35,980,000 in 1902, altho in the latter year incomes under £200 were exempt. The number of people who had over £150 income and paid taxes increased from 1,107,000 to 1,723,000 during the twenty years; that is, there was an increase of people paying the tax from 323 in 1880 to 425 in 1900 per 10,000 of the population.

This fairly full account of the income tax in England is given because that country has had the longest experience with it, has changed the law constantly to make it more equitable to new conditions, has raised a large revenue by it, and gives us, consequently, a typical case of the working of this tax. The results are: First, the tax has increased in popularity; second, it has proved that the wealth of the middle classes increases absolutely and relatively more rapidly than that of the rich; third, that the difference between the two classes is becoming smaller; fourth, that in times of financial or industrial depression the large incomes suffer proportionately more and are reduced more rapidly in number than the smaller.

All of the different states of Germany have an income tax. Prussia introduced this tax in 1811, and levies, at present, on all incomes above 900 marks. The tax is progressive, beginning with 0.6 per cent and rising to 4 per cent. Austria passed an income-tax law in 1812, and has at present a progressive tax beginning with 0.6 per cent on incomes of 600 florins and rising to 0.5 per cent on the highest. Hungary does the same. Since 1864 Italy taxes all incomes above 400 lire at a uniform rate of 12 per cent.

The provisions of the income-tax laws of the different parts of Germany are practically the same as those of Prussia, except in a few details. Holland and New Zealand passed laws on the income tax in 1893, which provided both for graduation and differentiation. Individuals and corporations are taxed, but holders of securities only through the corporations. A significant feature of the law of Holland is that it levies only on the net income. Denmark, Switzerland, Austria also levy a tax on income.

France proposes an income-tax law (February, 1907) which is very severe on large incomes, and punishes misstatements by quintupling the tax as well as by making it retroactive for five years. Exemptions are made in favor of incomes under 1,250 francs in places of 3,000 inhabitants, and 2,500 fr. in Paris; incomes in places of more inhabitants than the former and less than the latter are levied upon according to a schedule corresponding with the size of the city. Incomes above those exempted pay a proportional tax up to 5,000 fr. at the rate of 4 per cent on real estate and 3 per cent on labor; above 5,000 fr. the tax is strongly progressive, rising to 10 per cent on 500,000 fr. and over. The law is very complex in regard to the computation of incomes from

Results

Other Countries

Increase and Exemptions

various sources, mode of collection, etc. Stoppage at source is practised wherever possible. Foreigners pay taxes according to the amount of money spent.

The United States Congress has once proposed, in 1812, under Secretary Dallas, and twice passed income-tax bills. A measure was enacted in 1861

as a fiscal expedient to raise revenues for the war. It provided that all incomes above \$800 should pay a uniform tax of 3 per cent; a differentiation was made in favor of interest on U. S. securities, on which only 1.5 per cent was levied. A discrimination against citizens of the U. S. living abroad was made; they had to pay 5 per cent, except on income derived from Federal securities. The duty was self-assessed according to schedules prepared for the purpose and levied on the total income, irrespective of the source. A penalty of 10 per cent was added in case of default to report. In 1862 the exemption was reduced from \$800 to \$600, and the rate was made slightly progressive, incomes between \$600 and \$10,000 paying 3 per cent, those above 5 per cent. Collectors were instructed not to open the returns to inspection; a ruling which laid the tax open to various evasions, and was soon reversed. The great demand for money induced Congress to pass a new measure on June 30, 1864, which was strongly progressive. Incomes between \$600 and \$5,000 were taxed at the rate of 5 per cent, those from \$5,000 to \$10,000 at 7.5 per cent, those above the latter sum at 10 per cent. The measure was rigorous and burdensome in many respects; and the differentiation in favor of income from U. S. securities was abolished. In 1865 two changes were made: incomes over \$5,000 were rendered taxable at the rate of 10 per cent, those below this sum down to \$600 at 5 per cent. The tax remained in force until 1872, several changes having been made, chief of which was a successive raise of exempt incomes from \$600 to \$1,000 and later to \$2,000. The revenue collected under the income-tax measure rose from \$2,741,858 in 1863 to \$72,982,159 in 1866, and gradually fell to \$5,062,341 in 1873.

The Wilson Tariff Act, passed Aug. 18, 1894, contained a provision for an income tax, since a deficit was feared owing to the reduction of import duties. As the dreaded deficit did not materialize, and since the apportionment among the states was not made according to population and representation, the Supreme Court of the U. S. declared this feature of the act unconstitutional on May 20, 1895, by a vote of five to four, before it became generally operative. This law proposed to levy a uniform tax of 2 per cent on all incomes over \$4,000.

Massachusetts has had an income tax since colonial times; incomes under \$2,000 are free as well as incomes derived from property already taxed. It is seldom levied. Virginia taxes all incomes over \$600 uniformly at 1 per cent. South Carolina has a progressive tax on incomes; exemptions are made in favor of salaries of State and Federal officials and on all incomes below \$2,500; from this figure up to \$5,000 the rate is 1 per cent; \$5,000 to \$7,000—1.5 per cent; \$7,000 to \$10,000—2 per cent; \$10,000 to \$15,000—2.5 per cent; over \$15,000—3 per cent. Some other states of the union have had income-tax laws at one time or another, e. g., Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Louisiana, but the tax was seldom and irregularly levied.

Adam Smith proposed four criteria of a tax: equity, certainty, convenience of payment, economy in collecting. The advocates of the income tax say that it meets all four of these tests; the opponents, that it meets none of them.

The tax is equitable because it taxes "large wealth heavily, small wealth lightly, least wealth not at all," according to the Jeffersonian doctrine that an equality of wealth must be

Advantages preserved among the people. Each man should contribute to the support of the State according to his ability and the amount of protection received, since great wealth needs and gets more protection proportionately, e. g., buildings, than the income of a day-laborer. This tax is, moreover, certain, since the State can always depend on the fact that its citizens have an income. The tax is, furthermore, convenient, because the time of payment is known long before it is due, and arrangements can be made accordingly. It is, finally, economical, since, if self-assessed, the schedules prepared enable each man to ascertain how much he has to pay, and he can send in the amount at the proper time, so that practically no expenses need be incurred in collecting. Additional advantages: the tax does not disturb prices, nor discourage the building of homes; but principally, that it interests all citizens, particularly the professional classes who keep aloof from politics, in civic affairs.

The tax is not equitable, since in 1869 seven states of the union with 40 per cent of the total population paid 75 per cent of the tax. According to the law of 1894 less than 2 per cent of the taxable inhabitants would have been compelled to pay more than 95 per cent of the entire tax. Apropos of this fact, Senator

Dis-advantages Edmunds exclaimed with fine scorn: "And this we call a free government—a government of equal protection of the laws!" If one man is taxed more heavily than others, he should have a proportionate representation, as is done in Prussia. Grant the convenience of payment and the certainty, altho that is no more the case with the income tax than with any other, but how about the economy? If self-assessed, many people will avoid the tax. If assessed by collectors, people will perjure themselves rather than pay. In either case, the State will lose money. In 1869 only 259,388 persons out of 37,000,000 acknowledged an income of \$1,000. In 1870 two maiden ladies in a New York village paid more income taxes than all the men in a large city near by. Commentary not necessary. A tax that makes perjurers of its citizens is certainly neither equitable, convenient, certain, nor economical. The income tax is, in fact, fallacious in its theory as a mode of encouraging a more equal distribution of wealth; it is unjust and impolitic in its discrimination against a small class; it is corruptive and inquisitorial in its practise; it will not interest any more people in civic affairs, since Germany with this tax has about 3,000,000 inactive voters whom only the Socialist specter was able to bring to the booth in Jan., 1907.

What is the truth? Theoretically, the income tax is most just and equitable, but it is most difficult to apply in practise; especially in a democracy where the doctrine of non-interference prevails. The State should not lower itself by becoming a sleuth or inquisitor, nor degrade its citizens to suspected persons for the sake of levy-

ing an unwelcome tax. If all citizens were honest, the tax would certainly be as easy in practise as it is just in theory.

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RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY, THE (ENGLISH): Popularly called the I. L. P.; this party is the outgrowth of the agitation in the United Kingdom for an independent political party to voice the demands of labor. In 1888 there was established a Scotch Labor Party. (See SCOTLAND.) In Jan., 1893, a conference of 115 persons was held at Bradford, England, and the Independent Labor Party organized, largely through the efforts of J. Keir Hardie. Tho not using the term Socialist in its name, it was distinctly socialistic, its constitution, as amended in 1894, declaring its object to be "the collective ownership and control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange."

At present its objects and methods are thus stated:

Object.—An industrial commonwealth founded upon the socialization of land and capital.

Methods.—The education of the community in the principles of socialism. The industrial and political organization of the workers. The independent representation of Socialist principles on all elective bodies.

In 1895 the party with twenty-eight candidates polled a total of 44,321 votes, tho no candidate was returned. In 1900 (the next general election) the party officially contested only 10 seats, and polled 37,209 votes, on a clear Socialist and anti-war platform. Only one candidate was elected, J. Keir Hardie, at Merthyr, with 5,745 votes. In 1906 the party worked practically as a part of the Labor Representation Committee (*q. v.*) (now the Labor Party), but nominated itself ten candidates and elected seven, while a number of the Labor members are also members of the Independent Labor Party. (See LABOR PARTY.)

About 65,000 meetings are now held per annum under the auspices of branches of the party, and in many towns, in addition to the indoor and outdoor meetings, the branches maintain a literature stall in the market place, where propaganda publications are on sale. The party published in 1906 eighteen new pamphlets and over half a million leaflets.

The party has also been very active in local elections, and has now some 900 members on various local bodies. There are at present some 700 branches with 40,000 members. It has a weekly organ, *The Labor Leader*, edited by J. Bruce Glasier, formerly by J. Keir Hardie. In Feb., 1906, Mr. Hardie was chosen leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party.

A recent manifesto of the party address to the working classes says:

We desire it to be plainly understood that the fault of this lies at the door of you, the working classes. Hitherto you have been content to leave your political thinking to be done for you by party politicians, and your opinions to be formed for you by their hirelings in the press. The main reason for the existence of Liberals and Conservatives is to protect the interests of the rich, and keep you divided. This they accomplish by keeping you wrangling over matters which concern you but slightly, if at all. They appeal to your religious prejudices, your racial animosities, your patriotism, and your pride; and while you quarrel among yourselves they quietly fill their own pockets and empty yours.

The chairman of the party is J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P.; the secretary, Francis Johnson. Address: 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, London, E. C., Eng.

INDIA: Social reform in modern India dates from Raja Ram Mohun Roy (born 1774—died 1833), who founded the Brahmo-Somaj and was the most important advocate of the abolition of *suttee* or the self-immolation of Hindu widows on the funeral pyres of their dead husbands. The next great reformer was also a Bengali, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820–1891), who took up the subject of enforced widowhood among the Hindus. As girls among the higher castes were married before they attained puberty it often happened that girls whose marriages had not been consummated had to remain widows, and unmarried all their lives, remarriage being strictly prohibited. The third great reformer was Keshab Chandra Sen, the well-known leader of the Brahmo-Somaj. Since the days of Keshab Chandra Sen, social reform in Bengal has been chiefly confined to the Brahmos whose ladies are well educated and do not observe *purdah*, or seclusion behind a screen so as not to be seen by men. The movement spread to other parts of India. In Bombay, Karsondas Kulji, Madhavdas Raghoo-nathdas, and Vishnu Sastri took up the question of the remarriage of widows in earnest.

Under Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Justice Ranade social reform attained wider scope. The question of reforming the marriage system was agitated and attention was forcibly drawn to the custom of infant marriages as a source of much evil. To these two gentlemen and to the present General Secretary of the National Social Conference, the Hon. Mr. Justice Chandravarkar, it is due that the movement has developed a comprehensive program of national efficiency.

In Madras, Dewan Bahadur Raghoo-nath Rao and Rao Bahadur K. Veerasalingam Pantulu have worked strenuously for the removal of the restrictions upon widow marriage and for social reform generally. In the Punjab, the great movement associated with the name of Dayanand Saraswati has greatly helped the cause of social progress. Rao Bahadur Waman Rao Kolhatkar in the Central Provinces, Prof. K. D. Karve in Poona, Mr. B. N. Bhajekar in Bombay, Rao Bahadur Lal Shanker Umia-shanker and Mr. and Mrs. Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkant in Ahmedabad, and Bala Bakthwar Singh in Shajahanpur deserve mention for their active labors in the cause.

The chief gathering of the social-reform movement is the National Social Conference which meets every year in the same place as the National Congress. It is a federation of Social Reform Associations scattered all over the country, the principal of these being those of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona, Madras, Rajahmundry, Guntur, Bangalore, Mysore, Allahabad, Shajahanpur, Lahore, and Calcutta. There are numerous smaller associations in the districts. The Social Conference offers a common platform for all reformers irrespective of caste or creed.

The reforms on the program of the Conference and the affiliated associations relate to the education of women and the elevation of their position by improvements in marriage and other social institutions; the removal of useless restraints

Leaders

Reforms Advocated

on individual freedom such as the prohibition of sea voyages and intermarriages among the higher castes; and the amelioration of the condition of the lower classes by removing the disabilities of caste. Social purity and efficiency are the aims of all these reforms.

The annual National Social Conference was instituted twenty years ago and is annually increasing in power, tho its followers are relatively few and are all among the educated.

The most striking advance witnessed in the last two conferences was the inauguration of women's meetings in connection with these. It is, indeed, a new thing under the sun, and a very significant thing, that Hindu women themselves are willing and able to conduct public meetings and present strong papers on various subjects connected with their own social disabilities. The battle is half won when the women themselves come to urge their own cause; for the women of India are generally the most conservative members of the community and only ask to be left alone in their bondage.

Another fact connected with social reform in India is the almost total absence of the 60,000,000 Mohammedans from the movement. This is chiefly because the problems thus far approached and urged are Hindu problems, arising within and by the Hindu faith only.

The Indian Social Reformer, in Bombay, *The Indian Messenger*, in Calcutta, *The Arya*, in Lahore, *The Voice of Truth* and *The Carlylean*, in Rajahmundry, are the leading English newspapers devoted to the subject of social reform. There are numerous vernacular papers and the more advanced political organs of the people are generally on the side of social reform.

The Indian Social Reformer, under the guidance of Mr. Natarajan, is worthy of all praise. It is thoroughly bright and able and is characterized by moral vigor and deep convictions. Its ruling motto, published on the front page, is W. Lloyd Garrison's trenchant remark—"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard." It is written in elegant English, is reasonable, yet uncompromising, in spirit and inspiring in its treatment of all subjects.

Perhaps the best method of indicating the scope and of suggesting the limitations of social reform in India will be to mention the principal questions which have been raised and upon which resolutions have been carried in the All-India Annual Social Reform Conferences. This statement will also indicate the unique and very backward condition of India in matters social.

I. The Disabilities of Women: This really constitutes the greatest and, at the same time, the most debasing social evil of India. Woman from time immemorial has been crushed by the Hindu system; her rights have been denied and her social liberties ignored.

Efforts for the amelioration of her condition have been made on several lines:

(1) The prevention of infant marriage. Millions of girls, between infancy and puberty, have been actually married and their destiny practically sealed not only without their consent, but also with the probability of their becoming widows, even during childhood. In view of the great difficulty of preventing this evil entirely, compromise has been sought by trying to secure the enactment of a law to prevent such marriages

before a girl reaches ten years of age. Even this has not been achieved save in the native state of Mysore where such a law was recently enacted.

(2) A vigorous effort has been made to prove from the Hindu Shastras that infant marriage is really only a betrothal, and that therefore, on the death of the young man before the consummation of the union, the girl should not be regarded as a widow. Therefore it is urged that virgin-widows, so called, should not be prevented from marrying after attaining puberty. But reformers have not yet succeeded in carrying this point with the people; so that the remarriage of infant widows is a matter of very rare occurrence.

(3) Effort has also been made to further the education of women. In a land where only six women in a thousand can read or write, and where only a few think that woman is worthy of an education, or can be improved by it, the reformer has thus far not been able to accomplish much. And yet, by annually emphasizing this matter an improvement is noticeable and a desire is being created among the people for an education for their girls.

(4) Such matters as marriage expenses and the marrying of little girls to old men have more than once received the attention of the conference. In view of the terrible poverty of the people, the iron-bound custom which insists upon a man spending, often, even a year's salary in the marriage of a son or a daughter would seem absurd if it were not so tragic. The people themselves have no option in the matter. To lavishly feast a host of relatives and to furnish all sorts of vain display is the demand of a tyrannizing custom.

(5) Much has been done with a view to preventing girls from being dedicated by their parents to Temple Worship, which means to prostitution. The nautch-girl is the bane of India. Without any will of her own she has been dedicated to this life and is the most sinned against among the women of the land. And having grown up to womanhood she not only degrades the religious worship of the people but also becomes a curse in the social system of India. No Hindu entertainment is considered complete without her presence and brazen performances. During the last twenty years reformers have striven hard to discourage nautch-girl performances by rendering them unsavory in the eyes of Europeans. Not a little success has attended their efforts in this line.

II. The Joint Family System: This hoary system has been attacked by reformers with increasing vehemence. For three generations members of a family live together and have all property and interests in common. The joint earnings of the family are its joint possession. Recently a "Gains of Learning Bill" was passed through the Madras Legislature (it has not been enacted as a law) whereby every member of a family might claim individual possession of that part of the family property which was acquired by his own industry. Increasing dissatisfaction is felt with the old system and reformers are fighting it chiefly because of its injustice and of the encouragement which it gives to indolence among the members of a family.

III. Caste Reform: This constitutes the battle-cry of the reformers. As the Hindu caste system is the greatest curse of India and brings within its mighty grip nearly the whole social system, so it becomes one of the chief points of attack.

One of the most beautiful acts of renunciation ever performed in India was that of the veteran

reformer and philanthropist, Rao Bahadur Vee-rasalingam Pantulu, early in 1906 in Madras. Tho a Brahman of high distinction he felt so strongly the bitter curse of caste throughout the land, that, in public, he took off his Brahmanical thread and forever severed himself from this stupendous system of evil. But the ambitions of ordinary reformers do not seem at present very high. They seek in their conferences two alleviations—one in the form of permission for inter-marriage among kindred and closely connected castes; and also the right to interdine at least among men of kindred castes. And it is encouraging to know that, while intermarriage is making very slow progress, interdining among the educated is becoming less and less uncommon.

IV. The Elevation of the Pariah: More than once has this been a subject of reform activity. In the whole Hindu system there is no room for the Pariah, either religiously or socially. In every sense of the word he is an outcast. Nor has the ordinary high-caste Hindu any place in his sympathy for the Pariah. Reformers, however, are sensible not only of the cruelty but also of the stupendous folly of such a system. The Pariah is one of the most useful members of society in India; and to treat him worse than a brute is as unwise as it is unkind. Reformers see also that it is impolitic to drive the Pariah out of Hinduism into Christianity. They therefore demand consideration and charity to the poor outcast. But, so far, their advocacy has brought little relief to the Pariah. He is still the despised and the rejected among men.

V. Temperance: This is one of the subjects advocated by reformers. Intemperance is not a great evil in India to-day. But it is a growing evil. This accursed habit which holds many Englishmen in thralldom is increasingly finding way and power among those who come daily into contact with the English. Thousands of such—and among them many of the noblest sons of India—are becoming slaves to the drink habit. So that the cry of temperance reform is one of increasing importance and urgency.

VI. Advocacy of foreign travel is often heard on reform platforms. An orthodox Hindu has no right to leave his native country. The crossing of an ocean is a sin of the deepest dye; and Hinduism pronounces its ban upon every one who dares to cross the ocean, even for the best purposes. Reformers are raising their voice against the folly of such religious prohibitions and are demanding relaxation in the rules of their faith whereby men may go for training and for their highest development to other countries. So far most men who have defied their religion and have gone abroad have been outcast upon their return. But they have been readmitted, most of them, upon the rendering of an "atonement" which is both disgusting and extremely humiliating. Reformers are demanding that men shall enjoy in Hinduism the right of travel and of intercourse with other people. In this they are more progressive than consistent; yet through their efforts concessions are being slowly made to foreign-traveled men.

VII. Religious Education: Resolutions have been passed in favor of a religious education in public schools. These men feel that a strictly secular non-religious and godless education is a very mixed blessing in this land. In India means of religious training are very few. Hinduism never undertakes to impart its teachings and its spiri-

ual blessings to its youth. In like manner government schools and all Hindu institutions entirely ignore even the fundamental truths of religion. Reformers feel that such an education is fraught with evil to the land; and they have urged, time and again, that the government undertake this very difficult task of framing a scheme of religious training for the scholars, even though they come from the many faiths of India.

VIII. Charity: A cry has been raised by social reformers against the indiscriminate charity of India. Truly in this land "Charity is blind." Every religious mendicant, however sleek and corrupt he may be, must be fed. And there are 5,500,000 of such at present in India. There is a no more charitable soul upon the earth than the Hindu; nor is there a more indiscriminate giver. And he gives largely with the semiselfish purpose of acquiring merit and blessing in the world to come. There is here no such thing as organized charity. The reform movement has therefore sought to call attention to the evils caused by this bad method of doing a good thing.

IX. Readmission of Proselytes: One resolution has been passed urging upon Hindus the importance of opening a way by which converts to Christianity and other faiths may be readmitted into their ancestral religion, should they desire it. It has often been said that Hinduism has many doors of exit, but only one—that is, through birth—of entrance. A man who has left his ancestral faith of Hinduism and has abandoned its outward bond of caste, cannot, according to the Hindu Shastras, find a way of return, should he ever desire it. The Zoroastrian religion of the Parsees in Bombay went further than this and maintained recently that no one not born in the faith could by any possibility enter it. Reformers have carried their conflict into the heart of Hinduism and are demanding that men who have repented of their desertion of their religion might still find "room for repentance."

The most striking thing about the foregoing list of subjects which has received the attention and prompted the energy of the Indian social reformer is the strange way in which religious and social matters are mixed in a platform of action. Subjects which, in the West, strictly belong to the domain of religion are here in India a part of the social reformer's program. And matters which the Westerner regards as purely social are emphatically under the control of faith in this land.

This is natural enough; for India has never distinguished between the social and the religious. Religion has claimed for herself the right to control the whole of human life, individual and corporate. The mighty caste system has welded together the two hemispheres of human life and interests and brought them under the centralized control of faith. Society, in all its departments, is dominated by caste. Every act of human life, from the cradle to the burning-ground, is strictly prescribed according to caste rules. And caste, in its turn, is the chief agent of an all-controlling Hinduism. And it enforces all its behests through threats of religious penalties. Hinduism and caste are convertible terms.

Thus the reformer, no matter what evil he may attack, finds it entrenched behind the religious permissions or exactions of the country. So that in three fourths of all his social-reform efforts he runs full tilt against the religious institutions of the land.

Difficulties

It is just here that the Indian social reformer finds his greatest limitations and his chief discouragement. Upon all sides he finds hoisted the red flag of danger, and he is commanded to "keep hands off" institutions established and fostered by his own ancestral faith.

In connection with this there has recently arisen another hindrance to reform. This has developed within the ranks of social reformers themselves. The more timid and conservative among them have become fearful lest the more daring should drag them into hostility to, and bring them under the penalty of, their old religion. Therefore they raise a protest against the radical spirit and against methods which seem subversive of their faith. These timid ones have therefore organized themselves into "The Party of Progress," and delight in abusing their erstwhile companions in service.

These "Progressists" claim that progress is better than reform, and that efforts for the social advancement of the people should be *evolutionary* rather than *revolutionary*. They

The "Progressists"

would move along lines of least resistance and, in all their efforts for reform, they would try their utmost to keep on friendly terms with the faith of their fathers and disturb the institutions of the past as little as possible. They have taken upon themselves the contract, with *Bottom*, "to roar as gently as cooing doves"! Under existing circumstances in this land the attitude of this party is cowardly in the extreme and will do much more than pronounced reactionaries can possibly do to retard the cause of reform. It is, indeed, one of the most subtle and sinister blows that has been struck at reform in this land of late years, and will do much to embarrass the movements of that now diminished party of faithful men who are trying to raise their country from the bondage and curse of the past.

It may be said that even among the best reformers in India the great need is for men of stern conviction and unbending loyalty to the cause they advocate. The ordinary reformer of India is a man vehement in public words, but shockingly tame in his private acts. Upon the platform he will thunder like a Webster, but in his private and domestic life he is, too often, the abject slave of customs which he publicly denounces, and the obedient servant of the grandmothers of his household.

To a Westerner the most radical reform that is sought in India to-day will seem absurdly inadequate to the demands of modern times. And to him the Hindu reformer seems the most unambitious and the most *timid* of mortals. But to one who well knows the immobility of the East and the spirit with which it resents every change, the reformers of India are men worthy of admiration, sympathy, and pity. For the social reformer of India is always in danger of being wrecked either on the Scylla of conservative Hindu hostility, or on the Charybdis of Western contempt.

Recently social reform has suffered another setback through the New Patriotism which has pervaded the land. This Nationalism is a very recent ebullition and has been very much strengthened through the great success of the Japanese. In Bengal it was kindled into a blazing fire through Lord Curzon's "Partition of Bengal" scheme. The Bengali Babus resented this act and organized themselves into a *Swadeshi* ("Home Country") movement under the watch-

word *Bande Mataram*. Its object has been in the main a good one—to encourage home industry and to oppose the sale of all foreign merchandise. But, unfortunately, the movement has also created, and fostered, a great deal of race animosity. It has, moreover, exalted unto heaven everything Eastern, because it is of the Orient, and has striven to create ill feeling against all that is of the West. This has not been confined to matters industrial and commercial. It has led also to a reactionary spirit in matters social, political, and religious. It is not likely to continue long; but it is a passing fad which has done much, and is still doing not a little, to turn the faces of the people against progress and reform. For, however much the reform movement may be in the hands of natives, the people are wont to associate the movement with Westerners and Western ideas; and consequently it is a thing not largely in favor at present.

There is, however, no land upon earth where protection of home industries is more imperatively and urgently needed than in India. The natural resources of the country are great. Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, in his presidential address, tells us that

India possesses enormous natural wealth and resources, agricultural, mineral, or industrial, but they are to a great extent undeveloped. Her coal-fields, so far as they have been explored, cover an area of 35,000 sq. m., and are estimated to contain 20,000,000,000 tons of coal! Some of the seams are 70 feet to 100 feet thick. In Bengal and Assam there is coal nearly equal in evaporative power to medium Welsh steam-coal, though inferior to Aberdeen. In some parts of India the supply of iron ore is on a scale of extraordinary and unparalleled magnitude, whole hills and ranges of it being of the purest varieties. There is chrome-iron capable of making the finest Damascus blades, manganiferous ores, magnetite, splendid hematites in profusion, peat, petroleum, gold, silver, aluminum, lead, tin, copper, plumbago, lime, magnesia, mica, gypsum, salt, soda, and asbestos. There are immense forests of valuable timber. There are food grains of every description, soft wheat equal to the finest Australian, hard wheat rivaling the best Kabanka, oil-seeds, rubber, tobacco, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, spices, dyes, cotton, jute, hemp, flax, coir, and fibers of every description—in fact, products too numerous to mention.

The great problem of India is how best and most speedily to develop these immense resources. The two chief obstacles to this are a lack of mutual confidence among the people and the well-organized competition of England. Hindus do not repose confidence in each other, so that joint stock companies are very rare. And even the few that exist are not a financial success. In a land which is doomed to be an "open door" of trade the industrial well-being must inevitably depend upon financial organization and a pooling of the interests of business men into large companies which can successfully compete with rival foreign industries. But the persistent unwillingness of native money to flow into Indian joint stock companies is, at the same time, a prime obstacle to Indian industries, and a frequent commentary upon Hindu character.

Moreover, India is confronted by the impossibility of these small unprotected industries competing with the mighty industrial rivals of the West.

Herein lies the unvarnished tale of India's miserable industrial condition. And yet there is hope; for increasing effort is being made and growing success attends the endeavor of the government and the people to resuscitate defunct industries, and to establish new ones. The recent growth of the cotton industry is a testimony to this; for 175 large cotton mills (the product of the last few years) are now running in this land.

At the same time the people are growing increasingly convinced that home industries can thrive only under theegis of a protective system. And as this government dare not rouse opposition in England by instituting such a system, the people feel that it is time for them to do something in their own way. Hence the home protection of *Swadeshim*. Unless the movement is wrecked on political rocks it will thrive for a while and do much to revive home trades that are languishing. On the other hand the folly of boycotting foreign articles when home institutions cannot, even under the most favorable circumstances, supply a tithe of the market, is apparent. In the wildness of their enthusiasm they now ban foreign articles such as are not and cannot at all be manufactured in this country. The cry of self-denial and of a return to the "simple life" will not avail, as Indian taste for many foreign things has become a passion which must be satisfied at all costs.

However much this movement may ultimately fail of its great purpose, it certainly is doing and will do much to encourage and develop Indian industries, than which there is hardly anything more needed in the land to-day.

There is a brighter future in store for social reform in India. The growing intelligence and the increasing love of freedom and individual liberty which is taking possession of the minds of the people, will eventually reassert itself. Then, with ever-increasing power, reform will triumph over progress and the ideas consonant with modern thought and life will overthrow the unrighteous and worn-out customs of the past and will bring full life and liberty to the people everywhere.

J. P. JONES,
PASUMALAI, INDIA.

STATISTICAL INFORMATION.

The total area of India, including native states, is 1,766,597 sq. m. ($\frac{1}{10}$ of the habitable globe), and the population (1901), 294,361,057 (about $\frac{1}{5}$ of the world's population). Chief cities: Calcutta, 1,125,400; Bombay, 776,006; Madras, 509,346; Haidarabad, 448,466; Lucknow, 264,049; Rangun, 234,881; Delhi, 208,575; Benares, 209,331. In India about 207,000,000 are Hindus, 62,500,000 Mohammedans, 9,500,000 Buddhists (chiefly in Burma), 2,923,349 Christians (chiefly in Madras), 94,200 Parsees.

Acquired by the East India Company (beginning in 1757), India in 1858, after the mutiny of the Sepoys, was transferred to Great Britain and in 1877 was made an empire. It is governed by a viceroy, with a council mainly English though some are always natives. The viceroy is appointed by the crown usually for five years. There is also in London a Secretary of State for India, only nominally responsible to Parliament. His salary is not

Government

upon the British estimates and therefore his actions do not come under the attention of the House of Commons. The council is composed of eight members, appointed by the crown, and sixteen others, nominated by the governor-general. The two presidencies of Madras and Bombay are administered by governors, appointed by the crown, and the provinces by lieutenant-governors, appointed by the viceroy. There are in India 250 districts under deputy commissioners, and 764 municipal bodies, whose members are partly elected, partly appointed. Administration is conducted by appointees who have passed its civil-service examinations in England, natives of the civil service in India, military officers in civil employ, and other civil servants of different grades, European or native. The present viceroy is Earl Minto, Lord Curzon having resigned Aug. 12, 1905. The Secretary for India, appointed 1905, is John Morley.

There is also an Indian National Congress (begun in 1885), where Hindus of all races, religions, and provinces can meet and discuss their needs. President, Hon. Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Lord Curzon was called by some "The Great Viceroy." During his seven years' office he added a new department of Commerce and Industry to the government, converted annual deficits into surpluses in the revenue, reduced taxes (especially the odious salt tax) and postal and telegraphic charges, created an imperial cadet corps, purified the police service, improved the railway service, developed the wonderful irrigation system, resisted the proposal of the home government

to saddle India with South African and other war expenses, organized more fully and thoroughly the educational and university system, almost eliminated frontier raids and wars, rendered innocuous Tibet and the Persian Gulf, and added mightily to the prestige of the Indian Government. Nevertheless, the government is much criticized. The Extreme Party, led by Mr. Tylak and Bepin Chandra Pal, have come to the conclusion that reform is only to be obtained by direct conflict with the British authority.

It is claimed principally: (1) That Indian exports exceed by roundly £30,000,000 her imports, the balance of trade against India all going into English pockets in gold payments made in England on account of pensions, private remittances, establishment, interest on loans raised in England to meet unnecessary and unproductive expenditure in India, such as the cost of foreign wars, strategic railways, and the like.

The Opposition

(2) That though India is a very poor agricultural continent, subject to devastating famines, and has consequently urgent need for home industries, the aim, or at least the effect, of England's commercial policy from first to last has been to destroy her few industries and prevent the establishment of new manufactures, which may interfere with our trade. In furtherance of this policy it is instanced that England deliberately killed India's silk industry, and later attempted to ruin her struggling cotton factories by forcing the government of India to repeal the cotton duties.

(3) That to find money to pay the "tribute," and meet the expenses of India's unnecessarily costly system of government, England exacts, under the name of land revenue, from the poverty-stricken cultivators in a rigid and harsh manner the estimated equivalent in rupees of from 33 per cent of the gross produce of the land to half the estimated rental, or, say, 20 per cent of the produce.

(4) That contrary to the queen's proclamation of 1858, and to solemn pledges made from time to time, England practically excludes fully qualified Indians from all good administrative posts, reserving them for Englishmen.

These charges are denied by the government and considered at least as exaggerations by most Englishmen.

Nevertheless, every day that the government delays to meet their wishes, the opposition carries over into the camp of the extremists an additional number of men who are really concerned for the welfare of the country. Men like Mr. Gokhale, whom Lord Curzon described as the ablest man in India, believing that in the last few years the clock of progress and liberty has actually been put back by the government, are becoming more and more dissatisfied. Mr. Gokhale sees that British rule has produced disastrous economic results, and while these great evils might be borne as a necessity of a state of transit, they are absolutely impossible if the bureaucracy attempts to make them permanent.

The revenue of India (1904-5) was £84,699,000. Expenditures, £81,213,000. Public debt, £81,529,000 in India, and £132,887,000 in England.

The army is under a commander-in-chief (Lord Kitchener), directly responsible to the governor-general in council. Officers and men, regular and reserve, 324,650, of whom more than half are Indians.

The exports (1904-5) were £116,002,000. Imports, £95,948,000. Of the exports 27.5 per cent go to the United Kingdom and 28.5 per cent to Europe. Of the imports, 63.2 per cent come from the United Kingdom. There is a general duty of 5 per cent, except on railway material, agricultural and industrial machinery, food, grains, and some raw material. Cotton goods pay 3½ per cent, iron and steel 1 per cent. The chief exports are wheat, rice, jute, cotton, hides, opium, indigo, tea.

India is mainly agricultural. The principal crops are rice, wheat, millet, pulse, oil-seeds, tea, cotton, sugar, tobacco. Opium is a government monopoly, mainly restricted to Bengal. There are 15,756,000 acres under cotton. Land is held under two tenures, the *Zamindari* tenure, where the land is held in large estates, by zamindari and village communities, and the State revenue is assessed and paid as a whole for stated periods, and the *Rayatwari* system, of petty proprietors. About 318,000,000 acres are under the former and 278,000,000 under the latter system. The land revenue (1903-4) was £19,234,388.

Education is increasing. There were in 1906 five universities with 194 affiliated colleges; 5,741 secondary schools with 662,287 scholars; 105,735 primary schools with 3,513,156 pupils; including private schools there are 4,883,000 scholars, of whom 513,300 are girls.

The masses of the people are very poor. The average annual income of the people is about 24 rupees, equal to some \$8. Multitudes have only from 6 to 12 rupees per year.

One sixth of the people, 40,000,000, go through life on insufficient food (Sir W. Hunter in "England's Work in India"). Failure of food means famine. There have been seven famines in the last 123 years. In 1900, 417,000 sq. m. (one quarter of the empire) were affected, with 54,000,000 persons; 5,607,000 received government aid, 15 per cent of the entire population, and in some sections 30 per cent. One cause is lack of transportation, there being enough food in India for all. Overpopulation is another

Poverty

cause. Ruinous marriage and funeral expenses are another. Caste prevents one class from feeling for another.

Hindus call India "The Land of Charity," foreigners add "of beggars." The laws of Manu make it the Brahman's duty to beg. There is no poor law. Charity is all private. The government, in time of famine, supplies relief works. In all the principal cities and mission stations Europeans have established friend-in-need societies or charity boards. There are forty-eight houses for opium refugees. The Lady Dufferin Association (1885) had 133 hospitals and dispensaries, 74 lady doctors, 52 assistants and 257 medical students. There are probably 500,000 lepers in India; and there are now 47 leper asylums. The largest has 545 inmates. There are 9 asylums and schools for the blind and deaf-mutes, and 23 for the insane; 115 orphanages and 7 juvenile reformatories. The government is developing great schemes of irrigation, commerce, and industry. It is introducing agricultural banks and postal savings-banks.

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INDIVIDUALISM: The term *individualism*, as used in social science, has been defined as "the theory of government which favors the non-interference of the State in the affairs of individuals. ('Century Dictionary')." It is, however, more commonly, and much more correctly, used for the *tendency* to oppose State interference in the affairs of the individual rather than for any cut-and-dried theory of the function or lack of function of the State. When a man says he is an *individualist*, he usually means not that he holds any exact *a priori* theory as to what the State should or should not do, but that he

Definition

inclines to oppose State interference, unless it be very clearly proved that it is necessary. The presumption with him is against interference. He inclines to resist socialistic legislation, even in small matters, lest they lead to a general State socialism. He believes that we must finally decide from experience and history what in each particular case is wise. Individualism must not be confounded with anarchism (*q. v.*), nor with the positive program laid down by particular individualists, however prominent. (See SINGLE TAX; SPENCER; VOLUNTARISM.)

We find individualism somewhat developed among the Greek Sophists and in all Greek thought. Greek political philosophy conceived, it is true, of the individual as living for the State rather than for himself; but with this went a high conception of the complete man, the sound mind in a sound body, and this developed a practical, ethical, if not a political individualism. Aristotle, with his tendency to exalt the concrete over Platonic abstractions, may be said to be the first great thinker of individualism, tho even he held the high Greek conception of the State. The Cyrenaic and the Epicurean schools both developed a type of ethical individualism. Still more did Stoicism lend itself consistently to individualism. Some of the profoundest thoughts of ethical individualism have come down from the Greek Stoics, while some of its noblest and most classic utterances must be sought in the pages of the Roman Stoics.

The Roman Empire, it is true, developed into a strong imperialism; nevertheless, in Roman thought, and above all in Roman jurisprudence, the individual is in a large sense supreme over the State, since we have here the first clear development of the theory of contract between free individuals. Meanwhile, the life and teachings of

Christ were developing, many hold, an individualism flowering into fraternal charity rather than the primitive Christian communism, of which so much is said to-day. (For a discussion of this, see CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Be this as it may, the Middle Ages, inheriting the traditions of Roman power, together with the religious teachings of Christ, developed an ecclesiastical paternalism removed alike from a primitive communism or an ethical individualism. Nevertheless, in some of

Modern Individualism

the schoolmen we trace an individualist thought based in part upon the teachings of Aristotle, while some of the ascetics practised what may be called a selfish individualistic spirituality. The characteristic ages of individualism, however, are those between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Revolting alike from the despotism of the Church and the tyranny of the warrior, we find the individual asserting himself everywhere, in religion and in philosophy, in political science and in practice. In religion, Luther, by the doctrine of salvation by faith, lifts the individual into the right of private judgment; while Calvin, with his doctrine of the divine decrees, by making man obedient to God alone, lifts him above obedience to any human power. From the position of Luther or Calvin it was but a step toward the practical realization of their theories by an assertion of the right of private judgment in morals and of civil liberty in matters where unity of action was not a social necessity. Kant, Bentham, John Stuart Mill, all helped people to take this step more and more fearlessly. The line of thought advanced by these men finds its legitimate development in the writings of John Morley and its exaggeration in those of W. K. Clifford.

Says Mr. Morley ("On Compromise," pp. 278-281):

We may best estimate the worth and the significance of the doctrine of liberty by considering the line of thought and observation which led to it. To begin with, it is in Mr. Mill's hands something quite different from the same doctrine as preached by the French revolutionary school; indeed, one might even call it reactionary, in respect of the French theory of a hundred years back. It reposes on no principle of abstract right, but, like the rest of its author's opinions, on principles of utility and experience. . . . Mr. Carlyle and one or two rhetorical imitators poured malediction on the many-headed populace, and with rather a pitiful impatience insisted that the only hope for men lay in their finding and obeying a strong man—a king, a hero, a dictator. How he was to be found, neither the master nor his still angrier and more impatient mimics could ever tell us.

Now Mr. Mill's doctrine laid down the main condition of finding your hero—viz., that all ways should be left open to him, because no man, nor majority of men, could possibly tell by which of these ways their deliverers were from time to time destined to present themselves. Wits have caricatured all this by asking us whether by encouraging the tares to grow, you give the wheat a better chance. This is as misleading as such metaphors usually are. The doctrine of liberty rests on a faith drawn from the observation of human progress, that tho we know wheat to be serviceable and tares to be worthless, yet there are in the great seed-plot of human nature a thousand rudimentary germs, not wheat and not tares, of whose properties we have not had a fair opportunity of assuring ourselves. If you are too eager to pluck up the tares, you are very likely to pluck up with them these untried possibilities of human excellence, and you are, moreover, very likely to injure the growing wheat as well. The demonstration of this lies in the recorded experience of mankind.

Pres. Hadley thus sums up this philosophy of individualism ("Economics," p. 14):

Constitutional liberty in politics, rational altruism in morals, and modern business methods in production and distribution of wealth have been the outcome of the great individualistic movement of the nineteenth century. The individualist has taught people not to confound public morality with a state church, public security with police activity, or public wealth

with government property. He has taught men that, as society develops, the interests of its members become more and more harmonious; in other words, that rational egoism and rational altruism tend to coincide.

But the characteristic modern development of individualism is economic. With many fore-runners, and perhaps particularly Hume, Adam Smith is here the great name, the father of the school of natural liberty, which we

Causes

do not dwell upon here only because it is treated in full elsewhere. (See **POLITICAL ECONOMY**.) Yet perhaps even here the school of natural liberty and Adam Smith are a result rather than a cause. It was necessary to break the old economic restraints. New discoveries, new inventions, new processes refused to be fettered by old laws. In France, the Revolution; in England, Adam Smith; in Germany, the Stein Hardenberg legislation; in America, the bills of rights incorporated into the national and state constitutions, all witness to and develop the same tendency to free and to protect the individual from restraint. In every country it has produced reaction—in France, the empire; in Germany, state and democratic socialism; in England, factory laws and more recently municipalism; in the United States, federalism, republicanism, and protection. Through all the first half of the nineteenth century, however, individualism was in all directions dominant. Its results are well known. The individual, free from legislative restraint, seeks gain. The producer who can produce the most, the best, or the cheapest gains the market. Out of competition to do this has sprung the modern mastery of the

Results

methods of production, division of labor, improved machinery, gigantic plants, the factory system, industry on the large scale; if it has produced the capitalist and the millionaire, it has also both lowered prices and raised wages for the million. In its search for new markets and commercial gain it has girded the world with the telegraph, continents with railroads, and whitened the sea with sails. It has developed more progress in 100 years than all the other centuries put together. If its characteristic results have been material, it has made education common. It is true that large producers and the development of colossal transportation corporations have created difficulties for the small producer, made the workman largely dependent upon the capitalist, and developed the means of production beyond the present ability to consume, causing the phenomena of the unemployed and the tramp. But it must be remembered, in the first place, that these evils are due to the very success of individualism, so that we should think twice before we attempt to cure them by destroying the system which has created this success; secondly, it is to be doubted if there are more unemployed than before, while certainly real wages, measured by prices, are materially advanced; thirdly, individualists believe that the cure lies not in forsaking the principle which has been the very life of modern progress, but in lifting up every individual to a level of more effective competition till every man receive the means of life because every man is able to contribute something to the social need. What is needed, according to this view, is not less but more individualism.

Modern practical individualism does not urge that at present we should do away with all industrial legislation or all interference of the State

with the affairs of individuals; it believes that till men grow wiser they need some legislative checks, but it holds that in general it is wiser to let the individual act as he will and seek to overcome the ills resulting from his mistakes by educating wiser and better individuals.

THE ARGUMENT FOR INDIVIDUALISM

The arguments for individualism may be conveniently divided into four heads: (1) The ethical argument; (2) the biological; (3) the inductive positive argument; (4) the inductive negative argument from the follies and evils of State interference. The ethical argument probably affects the common consciousness far more than any other. Prof. S. N. Patten, in the Introduction to his "Theory of Social Forces," considers individualism to rest largely on eighteenth-century philosophy, and says:

I question whether the hold which this social philosophy has on the popular mind can be shaken by an appeal to inductive evidence. This hold depends upon certain concepts and ideals which have received classical statements at the hands of our ablest thinkers, and which cannot be displaced by unorganized facts.

The basis of popular individualism undoubtedly lies deep down in the fundamental facts of the universe, in the power, the worth, the consciousness of responsibility in the individual soul.

The Ethical Argument

It takes ordinarily a form either religious or one of so-called natural ethics. One of the fundamental principles of Christianity is the worth of the individual soul. Protestantism, with its right of private judgment, its doctrine of salvation by faith, is particularly in accord with the individualistic tendency.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, in his "Evolution of Christianity," says:

It has been said that Jesus Christ was the first Socialist. This is certainly an inexact, if not an absolutely erroneous, statement. It would be more nearly correct to say that He was the first individualist. The Socialist assumes that the prolific cause of misery in the world is bad social organization. Christ assumed that the prolific cause of misery in the world is individual wrong-doing.

Says Mr. N. P. Gilman ("Socialism and the American Spirit," pp. 324-327):

A higher individualism is possible, and has long been actual, with at least a few of each generation of mankind. It respects every person as having something of infinite worth in him, and would begin to improve the world by elevating the single spirit, counting no advance permanent that is not based on reformed and cultivated individuals. This method fully deserves the epithet "Christian," derived from "the only soul in history who has appreciated the worth of a man." The teaching of Jesus was profoundly individualistic in its imperative address to the private conscience. Such a spiritual doctrine does not find its natural alliance with a mechanical socialism. This, with most of its expounders, is materialistic to the core. The Christian spirit is in full harmony with a rationalized individualism in social life. So inspired, individualism includes voluntary cooperation, the method of modern civilization; and the ideal to which it tends is fraternalism, not paternalism. The inquiry is extremely pertinent: "Have we yet even discovered the resources of an individualism which is not synonymous with selfishness, but welcomes and fosters public spirit?" Few wise persons will answer this in the affirmative.

This higher individualism, perhaps, quite as often to-day takes the form of so-called "natural ethics."

Mr. M. D. O'Brien, in the Introduction to his "Socialism Tested by Facts," says:

Weak and little, low and corrupt as he is, yet nature has endowed man with such a spirit that he can never permanently become the slave of men. This spirit is individualism, the deepest and mightiest fact in existence, which brings

man closest to nature herself, to his central silent home, and plants the root of his life in a substance that cannot perish. Through this spirit works the infinite, and while the heavens bend above, it can never break or fail. . . . This spirit of individualism, of non-conformity of social, political, and religious heresy is the sword which Nature forges while despots sleep; and just when they dream themselves insured in an eternity of comfortable stagnation it suddenly flashes before them, scattering their plans, circumventing their cunning, and breaking all their pet idols in pieces. This spirit opens the enslaving shell of custom, throws it aside, and allows the inner life to grow. Low slavish natures hate and fear it above everything, and no means are too bad for them to use against it; but it has always managed in the long run to undo them, and it will yet live and flourish when they and all their works are lost in the slavery of the past.

"Individualism," says Draper ("Conflict Between Religion and Science," chap. ii., p. 295), "rests on the principle that a man shall be his own master."

It is in such thoughts, of the worth of the individual, either because of its individual union with God, if the theory take a religious form, or because of the conviction that simple character, self-rule, self-reliance, self-poise, is the one thing of worth in the universe, that most men base their argument for individualism. They argue that for the State to interfere with the action of the individual weakens character. It is far better, says the individualist, for men to carve their own way, to live their own lives, to learn by experience their own lessons, even if they make continual blunders, than for the State to be interfering, even if, so far as the immediate step be concerned, it interfere wisely, because the latter course will weaken the individual will and lessen individual ability. Few individualists think that any government is wise enough to interfere wisely, but even if it were, individualists would still oppose it because of its undermining influences upon character. A wise government, they would argue, may be even worse than a foolish government. A foolish government would probably call out resistance and activity. A wise paternalism might lull to eternal sleep the power of self-choice and self-will.

The second argument for individualism is a biological one. (For a completer statement of it, see BIOLOGY; EVOLUTION.) We shall also notice it again in considering the objection to socialism. It may be said in a word to be that there can be no progress save by competition, no progress save by natural selection and the survival of the fittest, so that the struggle for life between individuals is of the very essence of progressive life, while just so far as the State interferes with this struggle between individuals, and either forces or leads all men into cooperation, it must induce a low and lowering social level and the gradual degeneration of the individual. This is one of the

arguments for individualism most prevalent today. We do not dwell upon it here simply because it is considered elsewhere. (See BIOLOGY; EVOLUTION.)

The third argument, or the induction from positive experiences of individualism, may be deemed but a form of the biological argument.

It is, however, such an important form as to make it worthy of treatment by itself. It argues that the highest civilization, materially and in character, has as a matter of fact been developed when there has been the most individualism. We have seen something of this in considering the history of individualism.

Beginning largely with Adam Smith and the so-called school of national liberty (see POLITICAL ECONOMY), we have had less interference of the State with the individual than ever before in the history of civilized man. What has been the result? There have been evils; no man claims perfection for the nineteenth century; but there has been more progress in most directions than in all the other centuries of civilization put together. In science, in the means of livelihood, in popular education, in the art of preserving life, in acquainting men with the facts of the universe, in the means of communication, man has advanced as never before in all his history. Generally speaking, perhaps, the country where individualism has been carried to the farthest degree is the United States, with Great Britain next. With what result? These two countries are to-day the wealthiest, the strongest, the most vital countries of the world. The language and the commerce of these two nations are dominating the world. Particularly has the U. S. stood for individualism.

Says Mr. N. P. Gilman ("Socialism and the American Spirit," p. 90):

In more senses than one America may be called the paradise of the individual. No other country has held out such great prizes to private talent for the last century, or offered it a freer field to work in. A manly, capable, and self-reliant people, Americans have had an opportunity the like of which is unknown to history. Least of all peoples have they had reason to put their faith in governmental machinery, even that of their own devising, in preference to individual initiative and voluntary cooperation. Especially in the building up of great manufacturing industries and the development of immense transportation systems has the practical genius of the people asserted itself, with the results in the gigantic operations and colossal fortunes which we see to-day in all directions. The American is always ready to receive help from the State in starting a railway or a steamship line (the old flag and an appropriation), but he is not at all inclined to consider the government a proper agent for the management or ownership of either.

Mr. Gilman quotes Alfred Fouillée as saying ("Education from a National Standpoint," Am. ed., p. 6): "Scarcely an American can be found who has not in his mind, in a more or less nebulous form, this idea of illimitable individualism and indefinite expansion."

Now, what has been the result? America's material wealth, her popular education, and her progress in almost all ways, are the marvel of the world. Nowhere do the common people begin to be so well off. In wages, in home comforts, in liberty, in popular education, the working people native to the U. S. are far ahead of any working classes of the world, unless it be in New Zealand and in Australia. Particularly has business in America been free from governmental restrictions, with the result that nowhere else does business begin to be carried on in so effective or colossal a way, and nowhere else are the masses of the people so well off. This last thought leads to the reflection that the very fact of the prosperity of the people is the cause of the present social unrest.

Says Herbert Spencer, in the Introduction to "A Plea for Liberty":

Of the many ways in which common-sense inferences about social affairs are flatly contradicted by events . . . one of the most curious is the way in which the more things improve, the louder become the exclamations about their badness. In the days when the people were without any political power, their subjection was rarely complained of; but after free institutions had so far advanced in England that our political arrangements were envied by continental peoples, the denunciations of aristocratic rule grew gradually stronger, until there came a great widening of the franchise, soon followed by complaints that things were going wrong for want of still

The Biological Argument

The Argument from Experience

further widening. . . . A century ago, when scarcely a man could be found who was not occasionally intoxicated, and when inability to take one or two bottles of wine brought contempt, no agitation arose against the vice of drunkenness; but now that, in the course of fifty years, the voluntary efforts of temperance societies, joined with more general causes, have produced comparative sobriety, there are vociferous demands for laws to prevent the ruinous effects of the liquor traffic. . . . And so it is, too, with the general state of the population in respect of food, clothing, shelter, and the appliances of life. Leaving out of the comparison early barbaric states, there has been a conspicuous progress from the time when most rustics lived on barley bread, rye bread, and oatmeal, down to our own time, when the consumption of white wheaten bread is universal; from the days when coarse jackets, reaching to the knees, left the legs bare, down to the present day, when laboring people, like their employers, have the whole body covered by two or more layers of clothing; from the old era of single-roomed huts without chimneys, or from the fifteenth century, when even an ordinary gentleman's house was commonly without wainscot or plaster on its walls, down to the present century, when every cottage has more rooms than one, and the houses of artisans usually have several, while all have fireplaces, chimneys, and glazed windows, accompanied mostly by paper-hangings and painted doors, there has been, I say, a conspicuous progress in the condition of the people. And this progress has been still more marked within our own time. Any one who can look back sixty years, when the amount of pauperism was far greater than now, and beggars abundant, is struck by the comparative size and finish of the new houses of operatives; by the better dress of workmen, who wear broadcloth on Sundays, and that of servant girls, who vie with their mistresses; by the higher standard of living, which leads to a great demand for the best qualities of food by working people. . . . Not that the evils to be remedied are small. Let no one suppose that by emphasizing the above paradox I wish to make light of the sufferings which most men have to bear. The fates of the great majority have ever been, and doubtless still are, so sad that it is painful to think of them. Unquestionably the existing type of social organization is one which none who care for their kind can contemplate with satisfaction, and unquestionably men's activities accompanying this type are far from being admirable. . . . But it is not a question of absolute evils; it is a question of relative evils—whether the evils at present suffered are or are not less than the evils which would be suffered under another system; whether efforts for mitigation along the lines thus followed are not more likely to succeed than efforts along different lines. . . . The present social state is transitional, as past social states have been transitional. There will, I hope and believe, come a future social state, differing as much from the present as the present differs from the past, with its mailed barons and defenseless serfs. . . . My opposition to socialism results from the belief that it would stop the progress to such a higher state, and bring back a lower state. Nothing but the slow modification of human nature by the discipline of social life can produce permanently advantageous changes.

Progress under Individualism

And so it is, too, with the general state of the population in respect of food, clothing, shelter, and the appliances of life. Leaving out of the comparison early barbaric states, there has been a conspicuous progress from the time when most rustics lived on barley bread, rye bread, and oatmeal, down to our own time, when the consumption of white wheaten bread is universal; from the days when coarse jackets, reaching to the knees, left the legs bare, down to the present day, when laboring people, like their employers, have the whole body covered by two or more layers of clothing; from the old era of single-roomed huts without chimneys, or from the fifteenth century, when even an ordinary gentleman's house was commonly without wainscot or plaster on its walls, down to the present century, when every cottage has more rooms than one, and the houses of artisans usually have several, while all have fireplaces, chimneys, and glazed windows, accompanied mostly by paper-hangings and painted doors, there has been, I say, a conspicuous progress in the condition of the people. And this progress has been still more marked within our own time. Any one who can look back sixty years, when the amount of pauperism was far greater than now, and beggars abundant, is struck by the comparative size and finish of the new houses of operatives; by the better dress of workmen, who wear broadcloth on Sundays, and that of servant girls, who vie with their mistresses; by the higher standard of living, which leads to a great demand for the best qualities of food by working people. . . . Not that the evils to be remedied are small. Let no one suppose that by emphasizing the above paradox I wish to make light of the sufferings which most men have to bear. The fates of the great majority have ever been, and doubtless still are, so sad that it is painful to think of them. Unquestionably the existing type of social organization is one which none who care for their kind can contemplate with satisfaction, and unquestionably men's activities accompanying this type are far from being admirable. . . . But it is not a question of absolute evils; it is a question of relative evils—whether the evils at present suffered are or are not less than the evils which would be suffered under another system; whether efforts for mitigation along the lines thus followed are not more likely to succeed than efforts along different lines. . . . The present social state is transitional, as past social states have been transitional. There will, I hope and believe, come a future social state, differing as much from the present as the present differs from the past, with its mailed barons and defenseless serfs. . . . My opposition to socialism results from the belief that it would stop the progress to such a higher state, and bring back a lower state. Nothing but the slow modification of human nature by the discipline of social life can produce permanently advantageous changes.

The Follies of Legislation

An even stronger argument for individualism is drawn from the follies and miscarriages of the wisest and best-intentioned State legislation and control. As is well known, Herbert Spencer calls the notion that evils can be readily righted by legislation the great modern political superstition. He says: "The great political superstition of the past was the divine right of kings. The great political superstition of the present is the divine right of parliaments" ("Essay on the Great Political Superstition"). He is never weary of illustrating the sins of legislators. He argues that legislators never know where the effect of their legislation will end. He says ("The Coming Slavery"):

The legislator contemplates intently the things his act will achieve, but thinks little of the remoter issues of the movement his act sets up, and still less its collateral issues. When, in war time, "food for powder" was to be provided by encouraging population—when Mr. Pitt said, "Let us make relief in cases where there are a number of children a matter of right and honor, instead of a ground for opprobrium and contempt," it was not expected that the poor-rates would be quadrupled in fifty years; that women with many bastards would be preferred as wives to modest women, because of their incomes from the parish, and that hosts of ratepayers would be pulled down into the ranks of pauperism. . . . Even less, as I say, does the politician who plumes himself on the practicalness of his aims conceive the indirect results which will follow the direct results of his measures. Thus, to take a case connected

with one named above, it was not intended through the system of "payment by results" to do anything more than give teachers an efficient stimulus; it was not supposed that in numerous cases their health would give way under the stimulus; it was not expected that they would be led to adopt a cramming system and to put undue pressure on dull and weak children, often to their great injury; it was not foreseen that in many cases a bodily enfeeblement would be caused which no amount of grammar and geography can compensate for. The licensing of public-houses was simply for maintaining public order; those who devised it never imagined that there would result an organized interest, powerfully influencing elections in an unwholesome way. Nor did it occur to the "practical" politicians who provided a compulsory load-line for merchant vessels, that the pressure of ship-owners' interests would habitually cause the putting of the load-line at the very highest limit, and that from precedent to precedent, tending ever in the same direction, the load-line would gradually rise in the better class of ships, as from good authority I learn that it has already done. Legislators who, some forty years ago, by act of Parliament compelled railway companies to supply cheap locomotion, would have ridiculed the belief, had it been exprest, that eventually their act would punish the companies which improved the supply; and yet this was the result to companies which began to carry third-class passengers by fast trains: since a penalty to the amount of the passenger duty was inflicted on them for every third-class passenger so carried. . . . "We must educate our masters," is the well-known saying of a Liberal who opposed the last extension of the franchise. Yes, if the education were worthy to be so called, and were relevant to the political enlightenment needed, much might be hoped from it. But knowing rules of syntax, being able to add up correctly, having geographical information and a memory stocked with the dates of kings' accessions and generals' victories, no more implies fitness to form political conclusions than acquirement of skill in drawing implies expertness in telegraphing or than ability to play cricket implies proficiency on the violin. "Surely," rejoins some one, "facility in reading opens the way to political knowledge." Doubtless; but will the way be followed? Table-talk proves that nine out of ten people read what amuses them or interests them rather than what instructs them; and that the last thing they read is something which tells them disagreeable truths or dispels groundless hopes. That popular education results in an extensive reading of publications which foster pleasant illusions rather than of those which insist on hard realities is beyond question.

In other writings, Mr. Spencer gives still more detailed instances of the ways in which State legislation works unexpected ills. He says ("Social Statics," ed. of 1851, p. 384):

An architect and surveyor describes it (the Building Act) as having worked after the following manner: In those districts of London consisting of inferior houses built in that unsubstantial fashion which the New Building Act was to mend there obtains an average rent, sufficiently remunerative to landlords whose houses were run up economically before the New Building Act passed. This existing average rent fixes the rent that must be charged in these districts for new houses of the same accommodation—that is, the same number of rooms—for the people they are built for do not appreciate the extra safety of living within walls strengthened with hoop-iron bond. Now it turns out upon trial that houses built in accordance with the present regulations, and let at this established rate, bring in nothing like a reasonable return. Builders have consequently confined themselves to erecting houses in better districts (where the possibility of a profitable competition with preexisting houses shows that those preexisting houses were tolerably substantial), and have ceased to erect dwellings for the masses, except in the suburbs where no pressing sanitary evils exist. Meanwhile, in the inferior districts above described, has resulted an increase of overcrowding—half a dozen families in a house, a score of lodgers to a room. Nay, more than this has resulted. That state of miserable dilapidation into which these abodes of the poor are allowed to fall is due to the absence of competition from new houses. Landlords do not find their tenants tempted away by the offer of better accommodation. Repairs, being unnecessary for securing the largest amount of profit, are not made. . . . In fact, for a large percentage of the very horrors which our sanitary agitators are trying to cure by law, we have to thank previous agitators of the same school!

Later, in "The Sins of Legislators," Mr. Spencer says of the building laws:

See then what legislation has done. By ill-imposed taxes, raising the prices of bricks and timber, it added to the costs of houses and prompted, for economy's sake, the use of bad materials in scanty quantities. To check the consequent production of wretched dwellings, it established regulations which, in medieval fashion, dictated the quality of the commodity produced; there being no perception that by insisting on a higher quality and therefore higher price, it would limit

the demand and eventually diminish the supply. By additional local burdens, legislation has of late still further hindered the building of small houses. Finally, having, by successive measures, produced first bad houses and then a deficiency of better ones, it has at length provided for the artificially increased overflow of poor people by diminishing the house capacity which already could not contain them!

Where then lies the blame for the miseries of the East End? Against whom should be raised "the bitter cry of outcast London"?

So, too, with State supervision. Guaranteeing of quality by inspection has been shown, in the hall-marking of silver, to be superfluous, while the silver trade has been decreased by it; and in other cases it has lowered the quality by establishing a standard which it is useless to exceed; instance the case of the Cork butter market, where the higher kinds are disadvantaged in not adequately profiting by their better repute; or instance the case of herring-branding (now optional), the effect of which is to put the many inferior curers, who just reach the level of official approval, on a par with the few better ones who rise above it, and so to discourage these. But such lessons pass unlearned. Even where the failure of inspection is most glaring, no notice is taken of it; as instance the terrible catastrophe by which a train full of people was destroyed along the Tay Bridge. Countless denunciations, loud and unsparing, were vented against engineer and contractor; but little, if anything, was said about the government officer from whom the bridge received State approval. So, too, with prevention of disease. It matters not that under the management or dictation of State agents some of the worst evils occur; as when the lives of eighty-seven wives and children of soldiers are sacrificed in the ship *Accrington*; or as when typhoid fever and diphtheria are diffused by a State-ordered drainage system, as in Edinburgh; or as when officially enforced sanitary appliances, ever getting out of order, increase the evils they were to decrease.

These instances of the failure of legislation, quoted by Spencer, are now somewhat classical and out of date, but they can be easily replaced by modern ones. Mr. Charles Fairfield, in his chapter on "State Socialism in the Antipodes" contained in "A Plea for Liberty," instances many failures of legislation in Australia, supposed to be in the vanguard of socialistic progress. He shows how the early-closing law in Melbourne in 1885, whereby shops could not keep open after 7 P.M., proved utterly impracticable, robbing all the small suburban stores, which did their main business in the evening, of all chance of success and creating such an opposition that the law was repealed in a few days. He argues that the conduct of the Australian State railroads has been at a heavy loss, only concealed by government book-keeping. In England herself instances of the failure of State operations can be multiplied almost indefinitely.

Says Mr. L. J. Jennings, M.P. (*Fortnightly Review*, August, 1888, p. 185):

Look, for instance, at the Admiralty and the War Office. These two departments alone cost the country £563,324 a year. The waste of labor that goes on daily is incredible. At the Admiralty the officials, sitting under the same roof, write long letters to one another on the most trivial subjects, just as if they were 500 miles apart. An immense heap of correspondence may be accumulated about a stick of sealing-wax or a bit of string. The accountant-general's department, crammed with extravagantly paid officials, involves charges for the working staff of £63,557 a year, and a pension list of £32,324. . . . The Secretary of the Admiralty, Mr. Forwood, has admitted ("First Report of Sir Matthew White Ridley's Commission," Q. 9751) that if the salaries were placed on a "commercial basis" the expense of the accountant-general's office would be brought down to £35,000 or £40,000 a year. Why is it not placed on a commercial basis? It cannot be because the authorities have not had a free hand in the "game of reorganization." There have been at least five heroic operations of this kind since 1869, at tremendous cost to the country. . . . What sort of commentary is it on the great reorganization of 1878-80, which cost the country £20,000 a year in pensions and £52,199 in bonuses, that the department is now found to be filled, as the heads of it allege, with extravagantly paid or incompetent officials. . . . The War Office clerk goes leisurely to his duties at ten or eleven, and remains till four or five, his prescribed hours being six each day. And what is the nature of his work? A good deal of it is utterly thrown away. Accounts are audited and re-audited in a purely arbitrary and farcical manner. . . . Correspondence rolls on in huge volumes about trifles light as air; a charge for the use of a cab, a bill of 2s. 6d. for candles, a

rent in a soldier's jacket, the loss of a nosebag (actual instances of these cases will be found in the evidence taken before the Army Estimates Committee, 1887 and 1888) may form the theme of an almost interminable number of letters. The cut in the soldier's jacket was "inquired into" by colonels, lieutenant-colonels, deputy adjutant-general, assistant deputies, and all sorts of high officials. The documents were entered into books, signed, stamped, and passed on from one to the other for nearly four weeks.

In the United States illustrations of the costliness and inefficiency of State operations are notorious. All municipal operations are full of jobs. The building of the County Court House in New York City is only an extreme instance of what goes on in all government undertakings. When designed in 1868 its cost was estimated at \$250,000. Before the end of 1871 it had cost a sum variously estimated at from \$8,000,000 to \$13,000,000, and it was still far from finished. Among the items of the cost for fitting it up were \$404,347 for safes and \$7,500 for thermometers. It is from such facts as these of the repeated failures of government activities to-day that individualists drew their negative argument against socialism. From such instances they very naturally draw the inference that if government cannot efficiently conduct the comparatively small activities it now attempts, it must still further fail in the almost infinitely more difficult functions that would be given to it under a complete socialistic régime.

The United States

They further argue that even if government, surrounded and supported by individualistic methods, and with wealth created by individualism for it to tax, can, perhaps, altho clumsily and expensively, carry on the few activities of which

The Impossibility of Socialism

Socialists make so much to-day, were the government to attempt all, it would be quite another thing. Yet if the State cannot do all, the accustoming of people to depend upon the State weakens the power of individuals and teaches them to lean on a reed that finally will break. To argue that government ever can conduct the complete industrial life of the people is to almost all economists and to absolutely all individualists the height of absurdity.

Mr. E. S. Robertson, in his essay on "The Impracticability of Socialism" (chap. i. in "A Plea for Liberty"), argues that, passing by the facts that Socialists very rarely go into practical details; that it is scarcely possible to see how socialism could provide the clothing for a community except by putting it into a strict uniform as in an army, since, if fashion were allowed, no national committee could foretell what would be needed—passing by the enormous problem of how to manage domestic labor under socialism, except by destroying the home, saying nothing of the still greater difficulties of just distribution between labor of different degrees of value and laborers of different degrees of ability—passing by all these and a hundred other similar difficulties, socialism utterly breaks down before the population question. He says: "The situation may be summed up in a sentence: Socialism without restraints on the increase of population would be utterly inefficient. With such restraints it would be slavery. In a word, socialism—the scheme of collective capital and collective production and distribution—breaks down the moment it is subjected to any practical test." How would the community decide, he asks, of the children born in any year—how many boys should be tailors and how many

girls dressmakers? "Socialism, disguise it as we may, is the negation of freedom." Similarly argue all individualists.

But probably the chief arguments raised to-day to show the impracticability of socialism and the necessity of individualism, are, as above stated, biologic. Mr. Kidd argues in his "Social Evolution," p. 209, that socialism has not and probably cannot make any serious attempt to deal with even the initial difficulties of the continued success of a society where the struggle for existence is eliminated. He says: "Underneath all Socialist ideals yawns the problem of population."

Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his latest work, says: "People who in their corporate capacity abolish the natural relation between merits and benefits will presently be abolished themselves. Either they will have to go through the miseries of slow decay consequent on the increase of those unfit for the business of life, or they will be overrun by some people who have not pursued the foolish policy of fostering the worst at the expense of the better." Mr. Lecky says ("Democracy and Liberty," chap. viii.): "The Socialist remedies would only bring evils far greater than any they could possibly prevent. The desire of each man to improve his circumstances, to reap the full reward of superior talent, or energy, or thrift, is the very mainspring of the production of the world. Take these motives away; persuade men that by superior work they will obtain no superior reward; cut off all the hopes that stimulate among ordinary men ambition, enterprise, invention, and self-sacrifice, and the whole level of production will rapidly and inevitably sink. . . . The essential difference of men in aptitudes, capacities, and character, are things that can never be changed, and all schemes and policies that ignore them are doomed to ultimate failure." Says Mr. Kidd ("Social Evolution"):

Degeneration under Socialism

It will not help us, even if there are to be no competing societies, and if in the contemplated era of socialism the whole human family, without distinction of race or color, is to be included in a federation within which the competitive forces are to be suspended. We may draw such a draft on our imagination, but our common sense, which has to deal with materials as they exist, refuses to honor it. We are concerned not with an imaginary being, but with man as he exists, a creature standing with countless eons of this competition behind him, every quality of his mind and body . . . the product of this rivalry, with its meaning, and allotted place therein, and capable of finding its fullest and fittest employment only in its natural conditions.

Individualism, then, bases its argument on the fact that government can scarcely efficiently conduct even now the comparatively limited functions that it does attempt, and would utterly break down before the attempt to control the complete complex interests of all social life; that individualism, on the other hand, so far as tried during this century, while not by any means doing away with all evils, has produced more material and educational progress than in all the other centuries put together, and especially in those countries and in that country where individualism has been tried the most; that even if socialism were practicable, it would inevitably lead to the biological degeneration of the individual and of the race and finally that even the beginnings of socialism tend to undermine that self-reliance, self-rule, free self-sacrifice, which, tho men consider it born of individual communion with God or of natural ethics alone, all men are agreed to be the noblest and the only enduring and eternal quality

of man. Individualism may not produce all progress in a day; individualists are not blind to the evils of the present, but they do know that an infinite progress has been made; that that progress is now going on; that it has been and is now almost solely due to individual struggle and competition in life, and that therefore it is but simple duty to resist even the beginnings of a socialism which for an impossible mirage threatens to attack all progress and to undermine man's noblest possession, individual character and individual aspiration. It is better to let a man struggle and work his own way even slowly toward character than to lift him, were it possible, into an Utopia of physical comfort, at the cost of weakened will and increased tendency to rely on a paternal or even a fraternal organization.

THE INDIVIDUALIST PROGRAM

As asserted above, individualists are neither doctrinaires nor visionaries. Says Mr. Wordsworth Donisthorpe in "The Limits of Liberty," a chapter in "A Plea for Liberty":

It is not fair to assert or even to insinuate that individualism as a practical working doctrine in this country (England) and in the United States is based on reasoning from abstractions. . . . No one with the smallest claim to attention has been known to affirm that this or any other nation is yet ripe for the abolition of the State. . . . I suppose no one acquainted with his political writings will accuse Victor Yarros of backwardness or even of opportunism. Yet says he, "The abolition of the external State must be preceded by the decay of the nations which breathe life and vigor into that clumsy monster; in other words, it is only when the people learn to value liberty and to understand the truths of the anarchistic philosophy that the question of practically abolishing the State looms up and acquires significance."

Mr. N. P. Gilman says of American individualists ("Socialism and the American Spirit"):

The practical effort of those who here accept the name of individualist is to maintain the actual status against the strong tendency toward socialism which characterizes the time. If this can be successfully resisted they trust to gradual enlightenment to weaken gradually the power of the State. The anarchist ideal, into which extreme individualism blends, is not to be reached by crying and striving. The individualist trusts in natural and in the unforced evolution of society; he exerts himself with more or less energy simply to resist efforts contrary to this law which tend to produce an artificial development. . . . The present tendency toward socialism he would explain as a reaction toward primitive ideas which have long since, for the wiser minority, been fully exploded by experience. He stands stubbornly on the defensive against this tendency, feeling sure that, unchecked, it can only result in great evil.

Contrasting individualism with Schaffle's definition of socialism (*q. v.*), Mr. Gilman says concerning individualism in its practical application:

Economic individualism would then be the system of production by means of private capital (held by single persons, firms, corporations, or cooperative associations); this method of production demands a free-labor contract, open competition, and distribution to individuals. The alpha and omega of individualism is, accordingly, private and competing capitals, with a large measure of individual freedom from State control (*q. v.*). If we attend chiefly to the facts of the existing situation in the United States, we should then consider individualism and socialism as two opposite tendencies, moved by either of which an American citizen may advocate or attack a definite and particular measure of legislation. The Utopia of the individualist, if Mr. Herbert Spencer may speak for him, is an approach to anarchy; the Utopia of the Socialist melts into communism, but neither scheme is proposed for immediate adoption here by sensible advocates. . . . The individualist . . . in all his degrees tends to unfavorable criticism, not to high admiration, of the manner and the results of governmental activity at present. He concedes that a nation may well tolerate a certain degree of inefficiency on the part of its officials in executing their present tasks, this being, on the whole, more endurable than the evils which would result from putting the same duties upon private persons. He opposes, however, any considerable further extension of the sphere of the State, and looks

to education of the individual mind and conscience and to general progress for relief from existing evils. The extreme individualist would not only resist the tendency to socialism, but would also retrace some steps already taken in that direction, as he would say, such as universal free education. There are very few, to be sure, in America who hold the creed with such vigor.

So conceiving of practical individualism, it is evident that there can be no fixed universal individualist program. It must be different in different countries; it is differently conceived by different individuals. On all important points the general individualist propositions will be found in this cyclopedia under each respective subject. (See LAND; INTEREST; WAGES; COMPETITION; EDUCATION; RAILROADS; POST-OFFICE; BANKING; MUTUAL BANKING, etc.)

We give here one illustration of how individualists would work out social problems. Of perhaps the most serious problem in modern life Mr. N. P. Gilman says ("Socialism and the American Spirit"):

No evil in our cities appeals more forcibly to the kind-hearted than the crowded tenement houses. . . . Every one who has a particle of philanthropy in him cries out that these evils should be made to cease from off the earth. The end is clear, but what means shall we use? The Socialist will dilate upon what Glasgow and Liverpool have done, and urge that Boston and New York at once purchase whole squares, pull down the noisome houses of to-day, and erect, instead, clean and convenient tenements, to be let at low rates. This, however, would be too much like journeying from Chicago to Minneapolis, via Paris, the Suez Canal, and Japan. The Chicagoan would thus reach Minneapolis in time, indeed, if money and patience held out. But a more direct way would be first to discover what persons are responsible as owners or lessors of these foul habitations, and then to bring home to them as individuals the distress and the crime which they occasion, while drawing profit from such inhuman conditions. Many of these persons sin as much through ignorance as through hardness of heart. . . . But if this should be of no effect, the men and women who are taught by the higher individualism that we are our brothers' keepers to a great degree can then follow the example of Mrs. Lincoln in Boston. Let them singly or in small associations buy or lease one or more city houses in the poorer districts and care for them in person or through kindly and capable agents. A large part of the tenement-house problem is manageable under this simple plan. . . . Where this plan is not expedient, the Peabody trustees in London, the Improved Dwelling-House Associations in Boston and New York, and such individuals as Mr. A. T. White in Brooklyn have demonstrated the eminent success of a more difficult method. Mr. J. A. Riis, a good authority, believes thoroughly in the compatibility of "philanthropy and 5 per cent"—the one as beginning, the other as the result. . . . The tenement-house problem in our American cities is thus fully within the control of a comparatively few persons. . . . Very few of the rich or the moderately rich in the United States would need to be converted to a higher individualism than they now practise to make the tenement-house problem a thing of the past so far as money can do it.

Such is, we believe, a fair example of the individualist program. For the far more radical proposals of such extreme individualists as the philosophical anarchist—the Spencerians, the single-tax men, the voluntarians—we refer the reader to the respective articles which treat of them. Most individualists like Professor Huxley condemn alike the dogmatism of Herbert Spencer and the theories of the Socialists. They hold, with Professor Jevons, that in social reform "the first step is to throw aside all supposed absolute rights or inflexible principles"; they would not, at present at least, destroy the State; what is shown by experience that the State can do better than the individual, that they would have the State do; but they hold that, fundamentally and eternally, all experience teaches that primary reliance must be put on industrial action; that what limits individual initiation limits freedom; that what weakens individual responsibility weakens character, and that therefore, in the words of President E. B. Andrews, of Brown University: "In

all economic activity the presumption is in favor of individual liberty and free competition."

REFERENCES: *A Plea for Liberty* (P. Mackay, Ed., 1891); Wordsworth Donisthorpe's *Individualism: A System of Politics* (1890); *The Man versus the State* (a collection of articles by Herbert Spencer, and published under that name, 1884); N. P. Gilman's *Socialism and the American Spirit* (1893); W. G. Sumner's *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (1883); W. H. Mallock's *Classes and Masses; or, Wealth, Wages, and Welfare in the United Kingdom* (1896); Edward Atkinson's various articles; John Morley on *Compromise*; A. T. Hadley's *Economics, an Account of the Relation Between Private Property and Public Welfare*. See also ANARCHISM; SPENCER; SINGLE TAX; FREE TRADE; VOLUNTARISM. For opposite views to those in this article and for objections to Individualism, see SOCIALISM.

Revised by A. T. HADLEY.

INDUSTRIAL BETTERMENT is a phrase used for the efforts undertaken by employers or firms for the benefit in any way of their employees. It varies from the model village erected for the benefit of a community to the simplest arrangement or device in the factory or store for the advantage of the employees. In this article only a few of the many forms of industrial betterment can be mentioned with a few of the firms most active in this regard. Those important instances which can be classified as model villages will be noticed under that head. (See also SOCIAL SECRETARY.)

In the United States industrial betterment is probably more wide-spread than in any other country, tho it has not gone so far as in the case of a few English firms. The leading American firm in this line is undoubtedly the National Cash Register Company, of Dayton, Ohio, where Mr. Patterson and his coworkers have developed almost every kind of industrial betterment. They

have not created a model village, mainly because it was little needed, but they have a settlement house under a social secretary, with club rooms and library. In the large dining-hall any of the 3,800 employees can get a good meal for fifteen cents. The works are light and airy, amid shrubs and grass-plots, the walls almost all glazed. For twenty-five cents a week they give a warm lunch to the girls, and for slightly more to some hundreds of men. They have bath rooms, a recreation ground with gymnastic apparatus, and rest their girls by exercises in the works. There are special gardens for boys to cultivate, schools of various grades, kindergarten and industrial, and advantages in many other ways, such as giving educational trips to develop their employees. They issue a paper and endeavor to elicit the interest of their employees by calling on them for suggestions of improvements, and by frequent lectures and meetings.

The Natural Food Company, of Niagara, the makers of Shredded Wheat, is also very progressive in this line. In a ten-acre lot they have built "a palace rather than a factory," surrounded by parks, gardens, and playgrounds. The walls seem all windows; there are roof-gardens, an elegant lecture-hall, also used for dances; fourteen bath rooms in Italian marble, free lunches for 350 girls in a spacious dining-hall, and other social features.

In H. J. Heinz & Co.'s pickle factory, in Pittsburgh, much is done for the 2,500 employees. On their works they have roof-gardens with plants and creepers; the rooms are made attractive with pictures and curios; there are admirable dining-rooms; they have a carriage which each fine day carries out some girls for a picnic, cooking and

sewing classes, an auditorium for lectures, concerts, and theatricals, seating 1,600, and other beneficial institutions.

The Waltham Watch Works, near Boston, and the Crane Paper Mills, Dalton, Mass., have handsome buildings in attractive towns. The Acme White Lead Works, at Detroit, Mich.; the Cleveland Varnish Company, the U. S. Playing Card Company, at Cincinnati; the McCormick Harvester Company, at Chicago, have beautified buildings. The Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company, in Michigan, the Plymouth Cordage Company, in Massachusetts, have beautiful grounds. The Ferris corset factory, at Newark, N. J., has flowers inside and outside the works, recreation rooms, cheap, good lunches, seaside cottages, etc. The Sherwin-Williams Paint Company, of Cleveland, does much for the health of its employees. Very many American firms have lunch rooms, rest rooms, and bath rooms for their employees. Marshall Field & Co., of Chicago, have gymnasiums, rest rooms, recreation rooms, shower-baths, on one whole floor of their department store. Mr. Carnegie's Institute, at Homestead, has library, concert-hall, gymnasium, bath, bowling-alleys. The Athenæum of the Illinois Steel Works, at Joliet (1889), was a pioneer in this line. Warner Bros., at Bridgeport, Conn.; the Celluloid Company, and Weston Electrical Instrument Company, of Newark, N. J., and other firms, have similar club-houses. Many railroads, notably the Pennsylvania Railroad, have fine Y. M. C. A. buildings for their men, while several traction companies have reading and club rooms for employees. The Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company, at Ishpeming, Mich., have fine lunch and reading-rooms for their men. The Siegel-Cooper and Wanamaker department stores, in New York, have rest rooms and social secretaries for their girls, tho the latter does not use the name. Many of the model villages, too, considered under that article, have also other features of industrial betterment. The Ludlow Manufacturing Associates have a memorial hall, with almost luxurious club rooms, library, bath, gymnasium, billiard-tables, recreation halls, etc., both for men and women. A social secretary gives all her time to looking after the interests of the employees, particularly of the women. In Mr. Nelson's cooperative village of Leclair there is a cooperative store and club-house with library, billiards, gymnasium, etc. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, at their different works in Colorado, have a social secretary, schools of various kinds, club-houses, libraries, recreation and reading-rooms.

In Great Britain industrial betterment has been largely connected with MODEL VILLAGES, most of these villages having indeed many kinds of industrial betterment. At BOURNEVILLE the Model Village created by George Cadbury, the public buildings include a bath-house, school-houses, a Ruskin Hall, other halls, reading-room, art-gallery, playgrounds, etc. Their works have been called a factory in a garden. In the dining-hall, tables are laid for 2,000 girls, and a fine organ plays at times during meals. Recreation grounds adjoin the works. Special courses of study are encouraged, by prizes or tuitions paid at industrial schools.

Great Britain

Port Sunlight, built by Lever Brothers, near Birkenhead (1888), has a church, two groups of schools of various kinds, a public hall, inn, restaurant, gymnasium, public bath, fountain, cooperative stores, free

library and tennis, bowling- and quoit-grounds. There are dining-halls for men and girls, the latter seating 1,500 girls. Food is sold at very low prices, the covering cost. The company gives excursions to the employees and introduce many other improvements.

At Earswick, near York, Mr. Rowntree employed the first social secretary in England to care for the women and girl employees. So successful has this been that the secretary has now four assistants, while a male secretary, for the men, has one assistant and two visitors. The secretaries suggest improvements, oversee the social life of the factory, and care in every way for the interests of the employees. The works themselves are made attractive, with a rose garden, flowers in the rooms, pictures, good ventilation, three or four dining-halls. They maintain cooking-schools, sewing-schools, concerts, and other advantages.

Messrs. Boden's net factory in Derby, and the Creeper lace works of Messrs. Burroughs & Wellcome, at Dartford, have gardens and lawns. The latter have a fine club building, baths, gymnasium, reading-room, spacious library (500 vols.), and encourage education in many ways. The huge carpet factory of Templeton & Co., on Glasgow Green, is faced with colored brickwork, like the Doge's palace. Jacob & Sons, at Dublin, and J. G. Graves, at Sheffield, have roof-gardens.

French industrial betterment has run largely to profit-sharing (*q. v.*, see also *BON MARCHÉ* and *LECLAIRE*) and to housing, with schools for children.

The Anzin Mining Company, near Valenciennes, has erected houses, also boys', girls' kindergarten and technical schools for its 10,000 employees. Jules Chagot & Cie., at the Blanz mines, have built 1,000 houses in four villages, and also advance money to workmen desiring to build their own houses, the cost to be paid back on instalments, without interest. They have 15 primary and 6 kindergarten schools. Harmel Brothers, with woolen mills at Warmerville, near Rheims, have 182 dwellings with allotment gardens at 1.50 to 4 francs per month. Their mills (1,000 employees) are among gardens and shrubs, with plenty of fresh air, and lighted from above. There are recreation and reading-rooms,

Other Countries

schools of all kinds, with travel for the efficient, a special chapel and vicar. MM. Sainte, Frères, spinners, have built 2 villages at Flixecourt, with 500 houses. There are cooperative stores and schools. M. Menier, at Noisiel-sur-Seine, has 312 semidetached brick houses, dining-halls, and schools. Numerous French firms provide lunches and restaurants for their employees, as at the Bon Marché in Paris, and, still more, provide industrial schools and classes of various kinds.

The leading instances of industrial betterment in Germany are the different villages of the Krupp Steel Works (*q. v.*). They have baths in all their works, dining-halls, club-houses, with concert, recreation, and reading-rooms; schools of all kinds for boys and girls, industrial and otherwise; cooperative stores and societies; boarding-houses, savings-banks, insurance funds.

Baths are provided at the Krupp mines, the Bochum Steel Works, near Essen; the Spindlers of Cöpenick, near Berlin; the Badische Anilin and Soda Fabrik of Ludwigs-Hafen-on-Rhine; the Henkel Company of Düsseldorf; the Brandts

Works, at München Gladbach; and by many other firms. Various firms supply free, cheap or free lunches, notably the Krupps and the Badische Anilin and Soda Fabrik, Messrs. Spindler and Brandts. Prominent in Germany are schools of various kinds developed for employees.

In Austria industrial betterment has not gone far. At Dornbirn, in connection with Herr Hammerle's cotton-mill, a picturesque industrial village has been developed. At Smichof, near Prague, Baron Ringhofer has done much building for the 1,000 men in his machine works. He has also a sick fund and "welfare institutions."

Other countries, like Belgium, Holland, and Italy, are following in the same line.

The late Budgett Meakin, to whose book on "Model Factories and Villages" we are much indebted for information, has collected much testimony on this point. In the introduction to his book he quotes the Reeves Engine Company of New Jersey, the policy of which is to provide the best possible conditions for their men, as saying: "We can get a better grade of men who are able to do finer work and more of it by following this course." The Sherwin Williams Paint

Results

Company says: "The three most important matters for attention should be health, morals, and education, because a vigorous employee can do more work, a conscientious employee will do more conscientious work, and a more intelligent employee will do more intelligent work." Mr. Weston, of Newark, is quoted as saying: "It is interesting to note how frequently the health of employees and the requirements of business are best served by identical conditions." The Ludlow Manufacturing Associates, of Ludlow, Mass., says: "Social betterment to be successful must be free of any suspicion that it is designed to take the place of wages; second, it must not be too paternal or suggest that the recipient of its benefits does not know how to obtain them himself; third, the ideals aimed at must not be too far removed from actual conditions; fourth, as far as possible and continually more and more, the people should assume the management." Undoubtedly one of the main results is in the permanence of employees attached to a firm and their freedom from labor struggles. Especially in the case of girl employees, such betterment attracts a better grade of girls. Workrooms, light, airy, and attractive, and tastefully appointed, undoubtedly largely raise the quality of work and the tone of the workers. The entrance and halls of the Natural Food Company are like those of a first-class hotel. Flowers in factories are becoming frequent. Cleanliness has even a more direct result. Baths, especially shower-baths, and special costumes with provision when necessary against the inhaling of dust or gases, are widely used. The provision of cheap but healthy food and drink is one of the best preventives of drunkenness. Rest rooms in great factories and department stores undoubtedly aid work. Free medical attendance and care for the convalescent are provided by many employers. The provision of healthy recreation is the best guard against dissipation. Stopping monotonous and sedentary work for a little gymnastic exercise, and, above all, the provision of recreation grounds and rooms for the noon hours, are found most beneficial.

REFERENCE: Budgett Meakin, *Model Factories and Villages* (1905).

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION: A congressional commission appointed June 18, 1898, to investigate and suggest legislation upon industrial conditions. Five senators, five representatives and nine gentlemen appointed by the president and approved by the Senate formed the commission. Investigations were conducted by nine experts, and innumerable hearings at which over 700 witnesses testified. The report of the commission, completed Feb. 19, 1902, printed in nineteen volumes and with a general index in the last volume, is the best recent summary of industrial conditions in the United States, including industrial combinations, trade-unions, labor difficulties, labor legislation, immigration, wages, taxation, etc., etc.

INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE (see also special article **INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE [STATE] IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE; OLD-AGE PENSIONS; UNEMPLOYMENT (for insurance against); TRADE-UNION BENEFITS; RAILWAY BENEFITS; FRIENDLY SOCIETIES; FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS; INSURANCE; NEW ZEALAND**): Industrial insurance takes many forms. By far the most developed form of State industrial insurance is that of the German Empire, considered in an especial article, but almost all of the European governments have followed more or less Germany's example. Austria enacted a law for insurance against accidents in 1887 and against sickness in 1888. At present all classes of workers must be insured if they earn less than \$480 per year. The organization is on a territorial basis, and not by trades as in Germany. Holland, Italy, Finland, Norway have enacted similar systems since 1895. All have organized central government banks to manage the insurance, tho the first three permit insurance in private companies.

Great Britain (1898), Denmark and France (1899), Sweden (1901), and Russia (1904) make the employer pecuniarily responsible for indemnities (compensations) or annuities. The employer may or may not insure his employees in private companies. This practise is on the increase in some countries, but the plan often does not work, as the employer frequently has to be sued, a process difficult or impossible for those who need it most. Belgium has developed States savings-banks and unemployment insurance on lines being widely copied in other countries. (See **BELGIUM; UNEMPLOYMENT**.) **OLD-AGE PENSIONS** are being adopted in many countries. (See especial article.) (For a general government insurance, see **NEW ZEALAND**.) Outside of government, the main form of industrial insurance, particularly in the United States and England, is the trade-union insurance. (See **TRADE-UNION BENEFITS**.) Friendly societies in England, fraternal organizations in the U. S., and similar organizations elsewhere do a very large insurance business for many of moderate means, but generally are of the middle rather than of the working classes. (See **INSURANCE; FRIENDLY SOCIETIES; FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS**.)

Very many firms in the U. S. and elsewhere, like Siegel & Cooper's (in Chicago, and later in New York), have insurance organizations for their employees. (See **RAILWAY BENEFIT FUNDS**.)

REFERENCES: See the different kinds of insurance for the U. S. See a series of articles by Professor Henderson in the *Am. Journal of Sociology*, 1907.

INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE (STATE) IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE: Social legislation for the

welfare of the working classes in Germany is constitutionally vested in the empire, and embraces working men's insurance and working men's protection. Both supplement each other and serve the same purpose, to preserve to the workman, as long as possible, his most valuable possession, his power to work, and to afford him a subsistence when the same is lost.

Both branches of this legislation for the care of working men are attributable to imperial initiative: the "working men's insurance legislation" to the Sovereign Message of the first German emperor, William I., of Nov. 17, 1881, and the "working men's protective legislation" to the Supreme Decree of the ruling emperor, William II., of Feb. 4, 1890.

The imperial social politics is built upon the fundamental view that the working class, as created by modern developments, has, in a christianized and civilized State, a claim to be sufficiently protected in its economic existence over against the modern dangers in its vocation and work, as regards life and health, and that this claim is to be legally guaranteed because, as experience teaches, any other mode will fail to reach the desired end.

The industrial insurance legislation includes insurance against sickness, accident, invalidity, and old age. The various measures have been repeatedly revised, improved, and extended, but may be in brief described as follows:

The first of these measures against sickness was passed June 15, 1883. The purpose is to insure a certain and sufficient relief in case of illness during at least twenty-six weeks. The employee pays two thirds of the sick insurance and the employer one third.

In general, all persons regularly employed in factories, mines, on railways, and in other industrial concerns, shop assistants, employees in State services, employees of lawyers, etc., overseers, engineers, etc., must be insured. In general, those intermittently employed, those in dependent positions, employees of the empire (army and navy, etc.), who are otherwise entitled to pensions and free medical aid, are exempted. Other persons, like servants, children, etc., may or may not be insured by the communes. There are six groups of insurance societies or agencies—the sick funds established by the communes for the trades within their limits, the industrial or sick funds of large establishments, the building trades sick funds, the miners' sick funds, the guild funds, and the general funds established by the communes. The funds other than communal are managed by bodies elected by employees and employers, of which the employers may never have more than half as many representatives as the employees. General meetings of all the insured, or delegations of members when there are more than 500, meet annually and elect the managers by secret ballot. The communal funds are managed wholly by the commune, on

which, however, all classes are represented. Premiums may not be over 3 per cent of the wages of the class of the individual insured, tho in some instances higher premiums are allowed when a higher scale of

relief is given. In general, the minimum of relief is medical attendance and one half the daily wage (twenty-six weeks) when unable to work. Special benefits are given to women in childbirth, and for funerals forty-one times the daily sick pay is

given. A working man earning \$6 per week pays seventeen cents per week, and can receive \$3 sick benefit besides attendance.

Accident insurance was commenced July 6, 1884, and at first dealt chiefly with industrial enterprises, but has been much extended. Accident insurance is at the cost of employers wholly.

In general all employees and overseers with salaries less than \$750 must be insured. The employees form themselves into associations by their trades (*Berufsgenossenschaften*), which not only manage the insurance funds, but may require measures, safeguards, etc., against accidents. These associations are self-governing, tho all is under the supervision of the imperial government. In the case of government employees,

Accident Insurance

the government manages the insurance. The various trades are graded according to the degree of risk. Compensation must be paid even tho there be negligence on the workman's part, unless the accident is caused intentionally. The compensation begins thirteen weeks after the accident, the sick fund or employer being responsible meanwhile. The amount payable varies with the earnings of the injured party and the degree to which his capacity to earn is affected. Earnings in excess of \$375 can only be reckoned on one third of the excess. The minimum is 300 times the local wage of the adult day-labor. A full pension for complete incapacity to work is two thirds of the yearly wage, besides medical attendance, etc. In case of fatal accidents one fifteenth of the yearly earnings is paid with a minimum of \$12.50, and a pension to the widow till death or remarriage of 20 per cent of the earnings, and also to every child to the fifteenth year. Other dependents, like parents, grandparents, grandchildren, or a husband through incapacity dependent partly or wholly on his wife, are also provided for. Details, however, vary very considerably with the occupation, etc.

Invalidity and old-age insurance was enacted June 22, 1889, and subjects to compulsory insurance, after sixteen years of age, all persons regularly working for wages in every branch of trade, apprentices and servants included, managing officials and commercial assistants with regular salaries up to \$500. The old-age and invalidity insurance fund is formed by equal contributions from employers and employed, and an imperial subsidy amounting to \$12.50 per annum is granted to every annuity.

Those entitled to other pensions are exempt. The work of insurance is carried on by insurance societies in cooperation with State administrative bodies and under the imperial government. The representation of employers and employees upon these

Old-Age Insurance

bodies must be equal. Premiums are payable weekly and are of five classes: 3, 5, 6, 7, and 9 cents (each payable half by the employer and half by the employee), the class to which a person belongs depending usually on the usual daily wage for his occupation. The annuities commence after 200 weeks for invalidity and 1,200 for old age, together with either incapacity to earn a living or the completion of the seventieth year. The invalidity pension is a minimum of \$12, \$14, \$16, \$18, or \$20, according to the class, with an imperial subsidy of \$12.50 in each class, and increases to a maximum, after fifty years, of \$46.25, \$67.50, \$82.50,

Insurance Against Sickness

\$97.50, \$112.50. In case of the sickness of insured people there are special provisions. Old-age pensions are, \$27.50, \$35, \$42.50, \$50, \$56, in each class. In the event of insured people dying before the age of seventy or of an insured woman's marrying, half the paid premiums are returned.

This "working men's insurance legislation," developed during the years 1883 to 1889, embraces health, accident, inability, and old-age insurance; it is established upon compulsory lines, mutuality, and self-administration, and has been—1899-1903—subjected to a thorough revision, leaving the foundation unchanged, but bringing about many simplifications and improvements. In particular has the legislation supplementary to the health insurance law (1904) extended the obligatory care of the sick from thirteen to twenty-six weeks, thereby establishing an uninterrupted connection with the disability insurance, so that at present, in case of protracted or chronic diseases, a continuous provision is assured.

The principal merits of the German working men's insurance are:

1. It embraces fundamentally everybody needing insurance, over against other systems of provision which, as experience teaches, do not reach the great masses.

2. It affords the working man the most comprehensive provision as it offers not only support by money, but also free medical aid, free medicines and remedies, or free nursing in institutions.

3. It offers the working man the surest and cheapest system, as one third of the health insurance, one half of the inability insurance, and the total of the accident insurance is borne by the employer; the empire contributes in each instance of inability or old-age insurance \$12.50 annually, and the indemnification proceedings are carried out by an impartial body free of charge.

4. The constant cooperation of employer and employed in a common high task works social conciliation and deepens the social sense of one's duty to the whole people.

5. The means and powers of the nation, concentrated in the working men's insurance, have made it possible to solve other problems of civilization, as, for instance, the systematic advancement of popular hygiene, the art of healing in connection with accidents, the fight with tuberculosis, the housing of working men, etc.

Based upon this legislation 60,000,000 persons (the sick, the injured by accident, invalids, and their relatives) received up to the end of 1903 a total of \$1,000,000,000 as indemnity; the working men having raised only the smaller part of this sum in the form of contributions, and receiving an indemnity which was by \$375,000,000 larger than what they paid in.

At the present time \$375,000 are spent daily in Germany for this branch of the working men's insurance alone, and of the accumulated amount of \$375,000,000, nearly \$100,000,000 have been applied to the erection of working men's houses, hospitals, and sanitariums, to places of cure, people's baths, and similar institutions for the advance of the well-being of the public.

In 1904 the following were insured: for sickness, 11,418,446 working people—8,716,816 men and 2,701,630 women; for accident, 18,376,000—13,261,000 men and 5,115,000 women; for invalidism or old age, about 13,756,400—9,105,800

men and 4,650,600 women. Benefits were paid: to 4,642,679 sick people for 90,051,510 days to the amount of 237,107,610 marks; to 834,815 people meeting with accidents for 137,673 days to the amount of 127,308,966 mk.; to 803,232 invalids to the amount of 148,355,804 mk. From 1885 to 1904 the Imperial Insurance Bureau paid: for sick benefits, 2,493,973,793 mk.; for accidents, 1,057,758,585; to invalids from 1891-1904, 1,003,949,912. The expenses of administration for the different departments in 1904 were: insurance against sickness, 14,300,556 mk.; accident insurance, 19,868,251; old age, 14,020,261. The total expenses from 1885-1904 were: sickness, 154,126,770 mk.; accident, 197,126,770; old age from 1891-1904, 116,931,408.

The legislation for the "protection of working men" was inaugurated by imperial edict Feb. 4, 1890, indicating as necessary a revision of the factory laws for the further improvement of the condition of working men, with the aim so to regulate the time, the duration, and the kind of work, that the preservation of health, the laws of morality, the economic requirements of the working men, and their claim to the enjoyment of equal legal rights be taken care of. Legislation of this nature has been largely enacted. (See FACTORY LAWS; RAILROAD LEGISLATION; SUNDAY REST.)

REFERENCE: Report of the U. S. Labor Bureau, in preparation, 1907.

INDUSTRIAL LAW COMMITTEE, THE (England): Organized 1888 to fill the need for fuller knowledge of the legal protection extended to the life and labor of the industrial classes, especially in reference to women and children. It stands for the enforcement of the law and the promotion of further reform. The objects of the committee are:

- (1) To supply information as to the legal protection of the industrial classes with regard to the condition of their trade. This information is given by means of correspondence, lectures, and printed matter to persons working among the industrial classes.

- (2) To constitute a central body to which may be reported breaches of the law, and other matters relating to industrial employment, in order that these may be inquired into, referred to the proper authorities, and otherwise treated as may be deemed advisable.

- (3) To consider all information received, to promote further legislation, and the more effective administration of the existing law.

The following injurious conditions are among the most important with which the committee is concerned: Such *injury to life and limb* as may be prevented by the fencing of machinery, lifts, etc., and by provision for escape from fire; and all *injury to health* which may be prevented when it arises from any of the following causes: *Overcrowding, defective ventilation, effluvia* or other insanitary conditions; *insufficient* sanitary accommodation; *insufficiently* warmed workrooms; *insufficiently* drained floors; *neglect of precautions* in dangerous trades; insufficient meal-times; *overwork*. Secretary, Miss Edith Maynard, York Mansion, York Street, Westminster, London.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (called also **REFORM SCHOOLS**): In the article on CHILD-HELPING there is found a classification of children who require social care—the normal, defective, abnormal, and delinquent. In this article children in the last class are considered—the vicious, depraved, and delinquent above the age of six years and under eighteen. Delinquent youth over eighteen

years of age are treated in the article on REFORMATORIES (or intermediate prisons). Further classification of delinquent children is required according to sex, age, and character. A purely legal mark is that of specific culpability, the act in which some particular law has been violated. But for the present purpose there is not in mind a deed to expiate nor a criminal to punish, but an incomplete and wayward human being to educate. Children of this group should be separated in different institutions or departments according to sex even in the earlier period, for such children are precocious in vice. Children must be classified by age or stage of development, and this requires specialized institutions or several cottages under one management. In order to avoid contamination, the relatively innocent must not be exposed to contact with the more depraved and aggressively demoralizing persons. The bad influence of a girl of only twelve years is sometimes frightful.

In the seventeenth century the Pietists of Germany, under the lead of H. K. Francke, of Halle, established a vast asylum on the congregate plan which still exists. The modern movement for reformatory education derived inspiration from the genial philanthropist and teacher, Pestalozzi, who started a school for neglected children at Neuhaus, Switzerland, in 1775, and opened a rescue home at Stanz, in 1798. J. Falk, at Weimar, founded a school in 1821, to prepare wayward children to be placed in family homes. C. H. Zeller organized Pestalozzi's ideas in more practical form at Basel in 1820. J. H. Wichern founded the Rauhe Haus, near Hamburg, in 1833. He broke with the congregate plan and placed the children in family-like groups, each group under a house-father and house-mother. Schaefer reported in 1903 that there were about 400 rescue homes in Germany, with 14,000 places.

In France, with its multitude of societies and institutions working for children and youth, the farm colony at Mettray is best known and has exerted a wide influence. In the establishment of the Ohio school the commissioners brought thence their essential principles of organization, through Mr. Reemelin. In the United States, the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents established the House of Refuge in New York City in 1825. Boston (1826) and Philadelphia (1828) followed this example. In 1835 a farm-school was opened for orphans and poor children on Thompson's Island in the harbor of Boston. The Massachusetts reform school was established at Westboro in 1847, and the girls' school at Lancaster in 1855. The CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY of New York, founded by Charles Loring Brace, has always employed schools in its work of prevention of crime and correction of vicious children.

In the evolution of reformatory education agencies have been specialized. The juvenile or children's court has recently become in cities the judicial center of reformatory discipline. This court, through its probation officers and auxiliary societies, attempts first to fortify and improve family control, and to prevent truancy, and only as a last resort to send a child to an institution. It uses any agency that gives the most promise of helping the particular child. Parental or truant schools are sometimes connected with the public schools, and truant officers seek to help and

guide parents in securing steady attendance. The specialized school trains wayward children until they are ready to take their place again in home and in school. Several states have established reform or industrial schools for children who have violated law and who cannot be kept under restraint and training at home. Private institutions, supported by churches or associations, supplement the public institutions. Such are schools of prevention, refuges for girls, and rescue homes for girls betrayed and corrupted. In some instances these private institutions are subsidized by cities, counties, or by the state. The GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC is a farm-school for dependent and delinquent children which emphasizes the principle of self-government.

The farm-school, as developed in modern lands, has great advantages over institutions in crowded cities. It permits a more rational classification and grouping by providing separate cottages; it isolates the vicious from close contact with the other children; it offers the refining and spiritual influence of nature, its beauty and sublimity. Outdoor life builds up vitality and supplies energy for will. Farm life offers a variety of occupations; all can learn a craft; each can cultivate his peculiar talents. There is variety of service and community of interests. Economically, a school in the country can be maintained at low cost, and much of the vegetable and animal food can be produced by the labor of the children and youth. The educational principles applied in these schools are those which control successful schools for normal children. Rarely have the industrial schools any of the features of a prison, except when a group of older and more depraved youth is present. The physical conditions of health in the situation and equipment of buildings, and in such matters as food, shelter, clothing, exercise, are those prescribed by medical science for all boarding-schools. The regulations for work, play, and moral instruction which succeed with normal children succeed also in these schools. Indeed, the reform schools are exerting a strong influence in improving public-school methods. If the introduction of artistic and trade classes help to reform a bad boy, why will they not help to prevent any boy from becoming depraved? Doubtless, the discipline must be somewhat more watchful and rigorous in reform schools, but prison discipline is not necessary, and is not helpful.

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C. R. HENDERSON.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD:

A labor organization formed in Chicago, 1905, to stand (1) for the policy of trade-unions entering into class-conscious Labor or Socialist politics as opposed to the policy of the American Federation of Labor, which opposes trade-unions, as unions, entering politics, and (2) for the solidarity of all branches of labor in one organiza-

tion, as opposed again to the policy of the American Federation of Labor, which grants the largest amount of autonomy to each trade and only federates them in a concerted movement. The preamble to the constitution adopted says:

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor, through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trade-union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade-unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. The trade-unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as "The Industrial Workers of the World."

Sec. 2. (a) And shall be composed of thirteen (13) International Industrial Departments, subdivided in industrial unions of closely kindred industries in the appropriate organizations for representation in the departmental administration. The subdivision International and National Industrial Unions shall have complete industrial autonomy in their respective internal affairs, provided the General Executive Board shall have power to control these Industrial Unions in matters concerning the interest of the general welfare.

Several unions, notably the Western Federation of Miners, with 30,000 members, have joined the Industrial Workers (tho the Western Federation is bolting from it), with other individuals, mainly Socialists, making a membership at one time of 60,000. In 1907 only 7,000, however, have paid dues. *Secretary:* Wm. J. F. Hanneman, 148 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

INFANT MORTALITY (see DEATH-RATES):

Infant mortality in most countries seems upon the increase even where the general death-rate is falling. This is the conclusion arrived at, among others, by Dr. George Newman, in his book "Infant Mortality" (1907). He gives the following table, which shows both the enormous death-rate for infants compared with the general death-rate, and also for almost all countries an increase in the rate.

INFANT MORTALITY RATE

	General death-rate, 1893-1902	Infant death-rate		
		1883-1892	1893-1902	1903
England and Wales...	17.6	144	152	132
Scotland.....	18.0	120	127	.....
Denmark.....	16.5	132	133	.....
Russia.....	32.9	270	272	.....
Germany.....	21.5	...	195	.....
Prussia.....	21.2	207	199	194
Austria.....	25.9	...	227	.....
Hungary.....	26.3	...	224	212
Netherlands.....	18.5	176	152	135
Belgium.....	18.3	161	157	155
France.....	20.8	167	158	.....
Spain.....	28.7	...	190	.....
Switzerland.....	18.5	160	145	133
Italy.....	23.3	209	173	.....
Chile.....	29.8	297	333	352

The causes of infant mortality and of its increase are undoubtedly involved, but Dr. Newman finds them largely antenatal. From his studies in Great Britain he concludes that 30 per cent of the deaths are due to premature birth. This and other antenatal causes he finds largely due to economic causes in the increased stress of modern life, and particularly to the increase of woman's work. Recent German medical investigations have also shown the intimate connection between high infant mortality and woman's work, particularly in mills, working often during advanced pregnancy and too soon after birth. Unhealthy and overcrowded housing among the poorer classes is another fatal cause. Dr. Newman shows this by the following table:

INFANT MORTALITY FROM ALL CAUSES IN HOUSES OR TENEMENTS OF DIFFERENT SIZES AT THE METROPOLITAN BOROUGH OF FINSBURY, LONDON, 1905

SIZE OF TENEMENT	Census population, 1901	Number of births	ALL CAUSES	
			Number of infant deaths	Infant mortality per 1,000 births
One room.....	14,516	532	117	219
Two rooms.....	31,482	1,216	192	157
Three rooms.....	21,280	468	66	141
Four rooms and over.....	33,185	464	46	99
Institutions and deaths and births not traced.....	1,000	206	8	39
The borough.....	101,463	2,886	429	148

Mr. B. Seeborn Rowntree found the same in York in his investigations in 1898, as is seen by the following ("Poverty, a Study of Town Life," 1901):

INFANT MORTALITY IN YORK (1898)

AREA	Infant mortality rate	General death-rate	Death-rate over 5 years of age
Area 1. Poorest working class...	247	27.7	13.8
Area 2. Middle working class...	184	20.7	10.2
Area 3. Highest working class...	173	13.4	7.5
Servant-keeping class.....	94	.....	.....
City of York as a whole.....	176	18.5	11.1

All these facts point to poverty as the cause, with its indirect results of ignorance, neglect, and vice.

Fabian Tract No. 5 (1906) says of children:

Their death-rate from all causes in England and Wales in 1904 was 51.62 per thousand; 60.69 in urban counties, and 38.14 in rural counties. The highest death-rate among children was in Lancashire (67.67); the next highest was Durham (62.37); while London came twelfth (54.79). The lowest death-rate was in the county of Westmoreland (24.02).

The infantile death-rate at Bethnal Green is twice that of Belgrave. Holborn (151,835) and St. George's, Hanover Square (149,748), have almost equal populations; yet, in the former, 1,614, in the latter only 1,007 children under five died in 1884. (Registrar-General's Report, 1886, pp. 32, 126, C-4,722).

Dr. Playfair says that 18 per cent of the children of the upper class, 36 per cent of those of the tradesmen class, and

¹ No figures for a comparison of this kind are given in the Registrar-General's Reports for years subsequent to 1884.

55 per cent of those of the workmen, die before they reach five years of age (quoted at p. 133 of "Dictionary of Statistics," by Mr. Mulhall, who, however, thinks it "too high an estimate").

Mr. John Spargo in his "The Bitter Cry of the Children" has compiled considerable testimony on this point (p. 7-56):

He tells us that Wolf, in his studies based upon the vital statistics of Erfurt for twenty years, found that of every 1,000 children born in working-class families, 505 died the first year; among the middle classes, 173; and among the higher classes only 89 ("Diseases of Children," by H. Ashby, M.D., and G. A. Wright, p. 12). Dr. C. R. Drysdale, senior physician of the Metropolitan Free Hospital, London, says that the death-rate of infants among the rich is not more than 80 per cent, while among the very poor it is often 40 per cent ("Transactions of the Nat. Assn. for the Promotion of Social Science," 1882, p. 388). He quotes Dr. Ashby as saying: "In healthy children among the well-to-do class, the mortality (from measles) is practically nil; in the tubercular and wasted children to be found in workhouses, hospitals, and among the lower classes the mortality is enormous (idem, p. 228). Yet there were 8,645 deaths of infants by measles in the U. S. in 1900. Convulsions, tuberculosis, etc., are also largely diseases of poverty. A list of sixteen consecutive cases, copied from the New York Babies' Hospital, showed the most prominent feature of 75 per cent of the cases to be malnutrition. Says a clerk to the health board of Lawrence, Mass.: "Ignorance in the preparation of food, illy ventilated tenements, and, in many cases, unavoidable neglect occasioned by the mothers being obliged to work away from their children, often leaving their babes in the care of other children, seem to be the prime factors in the high mortality among children."

REFERENCES: Dr. G. Newman, *Infant Mortality* (1907); John Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906); also *Fabian Tract* No. 5.

INGRAM, JOHN KELLS: Economist, positivist; born in Donegal, Ireland, 1823. Educated at Newry School, and at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was successively scholar, fellow, professor of oratory and English literature, regius professor of Greek, and librarian. In 1878 he became president of the Statistical Society of Ireland, when his address in that capacity on "The Present Position and Prospects of Political Economy" attracted much attention. He is the author of the article on political economy in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (9th ed.), and on slavery, both of which have since been published in book form as "A History of Political Economy" (1888) and "A History of Slavery and Serfdom" (1895). His later writings have been on positivism. Address: 38 Upper Mount Street, Dublin, Ireland.

INHERITANCE TAX, THE: The inheritance tax is a tax levied on the occasion of the transfer of property at death. A collateral inheritance tax is one that exempts from its provisions inheritances passing to the father, mother, husband, wife, or a lineal descendant. A graduated or progressive inheritance tax is one in which the rate of the tax increases with the size of the estate or the amount passing to a single individual.

Inheritance taxes tho imposed in various forms and at various times for centuries are in their present form a modern development. The inheritance tax to-day is found in almost every civilized country of any importance. It is found in the Australian commonwealths, Austria, Belgium, the Canadian provinces, Cape Colony, Denmark, France, the principal German states, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Italy, Norway, Rumania, Russia, Spain, Sweden, the cantons of Switzerland, and in thirty-five of the states and territories of the United States.

Numerous divergent theories have been evolved

to justify the imposition of an inheritance tax. Dr. West has summarized these as follows:¹

Inheritance and bequest may be restricted in two directions—according to relationship and according to amount; the circle of relatives between whom inheritance operates may be narrowed, or a limitation may be put upon the amount which one person may receive from the estate of another. Corresponding to these two methods of limitation there are two arguments for the inheritance tax: (1) That which looks to the limitation of collateral inheritance or the extension of escheat, and (2) that which concerns itself with the effect on the diffusion of wealth. Regarding the tax as a fiscal imposition, it may be considered either as a fee or as a tax—as a payment in return for benefits received, or as a public contribution according to the ability of the taxpayer. Each of these two conceptions, again, may be supported by either of three different arguments. The payment may be regarded as (3) a return for government services in general, or (4) for special services connected with the system of inheritance and bequest, according to the value of the service to the individual, or (5) as a means of defraying the cost of probate courts; and accordingly we have what may be called the partnership, the value of service and the cost of service arguments. Leaving the matter of individual benefit out of consideration altogether, the inheritance tax may be explained as (6) a payment of back taxes evaded during life, (7) a property tax paid in a lump sum once in a lifetime, or (8) a tax on a particular form of accidental income.

In the present brief article these numerous theories cannot be considered. It seems clear, however, that the controlling justification of the inheritance tax in its present-day

Justification form lies in the privilege and duty of the State to regulate the inheritance of property in such a way as to best promote the general welfare. Inheritance is a social institution which like all others must stand the test of social utility. It is good in so far as it is socially useful and must always be subject to such regulation and modification as is demanded by the supreme test, social utility. This has been practically recognized in all lands and ages. The legal right to determine the control of one's property after death has always been limited in the interest of the supposed public welfare. The legal right of kin to inherit in case of intestacy has also been limited.

The right of bequest and inheritance is a natural right only to the extent that it is socially useful; that it furnishes an incentive to the creation of wealth or furthers its preservation and judicious management. Altho device and descent are upheld as the best-known method of securing this end, yet it must be admitted that this method is open to serious objections and often fails completely. While the man who acquires wealth by that act gives evidence of his ability to manage it properly, it is by no means so certain that his heirs will possess that qualification. It is most fitting, therefore, that the State in apportioning the burden of taxation should take cognizance of this condition and obtain a portion of its revenue from estates at the time of their transfer to hands that have given no evidence of ability to manage them economically. Such a tax, if the rate be moderate, can only further the true social function of devise and descent, i. e., the furtherance of the creation and the judicious management of wealth. The tax is an incentive rather than a hindrance to the creation of wealth and insures that after its transfer at death a certain portion, at least, will serve a socially useful purpose.

The inheritance tax will decrease the number of social drones. There will be fewer Newport palaces built by widows and sons and daughters, whose only conception of social service is typified

The inheritance tax will decrease the number of social drones. There will be fewer Newport palaces built by widows and sons and daughters, whose only conception of social service is typified

¹ See his article entitled "Theory of the Inheritance Tax," in *Political Science Quarterly* for Sept., 1893.

in the Newport round of lavish expenditure and selfish pleasure. The support of the idle rich is becoming a heavy drain upon the wealth of the nation. This class is made up almost entirely of persons who have inherited their wealth. Men have amassed such enormous fortunes that after their death the natural increase from the property is more than enough even with the most lavish expenditure to maintain their descendants in idleness forever. It would be difficult to find any social or economic justification for such a manifest social wrong. In every community, and especially in the older communities, there are able-bodied men and women living in complete or partial idleness as a result of inherited wealth. Their lives would have been more useful and the world would have been richer had they received no inheritance or one smaller in amount.

The inheritance tax is a tax on property that can in no way be shifted so as to become a tax on labor or industry. It is generally recognized that property should be taxed at a much higher rate than labor, and from this it follows that the man in active business whose income is largely the result of his own energy and labor should not be subject to as high a rate of taxation measured by income as the man whose income is from money in savings-banks, bonds, and other perfectly safe investments. The income in the one case is largely the reward of labor, and in the other the interest on past accumulations in the investment of which only a trifling amount of labor is involved. The tendency of a moderate additional tax on the latter form of income is to decrease the number of those who do or may enjoy a competence without any personal exertion. It decreases the number of social drones and adds to the effective labor force. Its effect is somewhat similar to that of a decline in the rate of pure interest. When it is remembered that most fortunes are created by men in active business, who give their entire time and strength to the work, and that those who live from their incomes without themselves engaging in active business, or, in other words, laboring, are in most cases those whose fortunes have come to them through inheritance, the advantage of the inheritance tax as a means of placing an additional burden on property, without at the same time taxing labor or industry, is very apparent. A tax of 10 per cent on a bequest is equivalent to an annual tax of 10 per cent on the income from the bequest.

The inheritance tax is, moreover, the best substitute for the present ineffectual attempt to tax intangible personality directly by means of the general property tax. A common sense of justice demands that the bond and mortgage holder should pay a substantial tax on his income from the investment, but, as is well known, the direct tax on this class of property is either evaded entirely or shifted to the borrower. The inheritance tax, however, can only with great difficulty be evaded and cannot be shifted; and will most effectually reach this class of wealth that is at present practically exempt from taxation. To partly compensate for their exemption from direct taxation, bonds and mortgages passing at death should be subject to taxation at a higher rate than property not thus exempt. And even if no bonds or mortgages are included in the estate, the inheritance tax nevertheless indirectly reaches this kind of property, for the recipient will most probably invest a portion of his inheritance in stocks and bonds, and the tax is

equivalent to annual tax on the income from this investment.

As a result of the fact that the inheritance tax does not tax industry and can in no way be shifted, its imposition or alteration results in no disturbance of business or industrial relations. This is a most notable advantage, for the restrictive and prohibitive effects of some taxes and the severe disturbance of industrial conditions resulting from the introduction of other taxes are extremely important, and are the causes that most often prevent the adoption of legislative reforms. The inheritance tax can be imposed and its rate altered from time to time in response to the demands of justice or to the needs of the state without producing industrial disturbance or hardship.

The justification and desirability of the tax having been considered, the next question is that of a proportional or a progressive rate.

Progressive Rate

1. In the first place, it is universally recognized that there should be some progression in rate as between different classes of heirs. If direct heirs are taxed at all they are almost invariably taxed at a lower rate than collateral heirs. In many American states direct inheritances are taxed 1 per cent and collateral inheritances 5 per cent. The heirs should be divided into a certain number of classes based on the equitable claim which they have to the property of the decedent, due to dependence on him for support or to cooperation in any degree in the accumulation of the property. It seems just that in the case of husbands, wives, and minor children there should be a larger exemption or lower tax than for any other class of heirs, and that adult children and parents should not be taxed so highly as collateral heirs.

2. The same reasons that have been adduced to show the justice of the inheritance tax are also arguments for a rate progressive as to the amount of the inheritance. (1) The danger of mismanagement is greater in the case of large than of small inheritances; (2) the larger the inheritance the greater the probability that its recipient will render no adequate social return for the income he receives; and (3) the larger the inheritance the greater the probability that it will be invested in such a way as to largely escape direct taxation. The practical limit to the progression is the point at which the creation of wealth is discouraged or means of evasion devised.

Inheritance taxes having graduated or progressive rates exist in the leading foreign states and countries. They are found in the Australian states, the Canadian provinces, the cantons of Switzerland, and in France and Great Britain. In France the rate on inheritances passing to collateral heirs or to strangers in blood varies from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to $18\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The rate in the case of direct heirs varies from 1 per cent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In Queensland the rate for collateral heirs or strangers in blood varies from 2 per cent to 20 per cent, and for direct heirs from 1 per cent to 5 per cent. In the province of Ontario the rate for collateral heirs or strangers in blood varies from 5 per cent to 10 per cent, and for direct heirs from 1 per cent to 8 per cent. In the canton of Lucerne, Switzerland, the rate for collateral heirs or strangers in blood is from 5 per cent to 20 per cent.

The following table was prepared by Solomon Huebner and published in "The Quarterly Journal of Economics," Aug., 1904:

PROGRESSIVE INHERITANCE TAXES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	For collateral heirs		For direct heirs		Strangers in blood		Progressivity (on basis of property)	Other exemptions
	Rate per cent	Exemption	Rate per cent	Exemption	Rate per cent	Exemption	Rate per cent	
Australasia:								
New South Wales.....	2-10	£1,000	1-5 ¹	£1,000	2-10	£1,000	2-10	Legacies £20
New Zealand.....	2½-10	100	1½-5	100	5½-13	100	2½-10	
Queensland.....	2-10	200	1-5	200	4-20	200	2-10	
South Australia.....	1-10	200	1½-10	500	-10	none	1-10 ²	
Western Australia.....	1-10	1,500 ³	1½-5 ⁴	1,500 ³	1-10	1,500 ³	½-10	
Victoria.....	2-10	1,000	1-5 ⁵	1,000	2-10	1,000	2-10	
Canada:								
British Columbia.....	5-10	\$5,000	1½-5	\$25,000	10	\$5,000	½-5 ⁶	Share \$10,000 ⁷ Share \$200 Share \$500 Share \$200
Manitoba.....	1-10	4,000	2-10	25,000	1-10	4,000	1-10	
New Brunswick ⁸	5-10	5,000	1½-5	50,000	10	5,000	1½-5 ⁶	
Nova Scotia ⁹	5-10	5,000	2½-5	25,000	10	5,000	2½-5 ⁶	
Ontario ⁹	5-10	10,000	2½-5	100,000	5-10	10,000	2½-10 ⁶	
P. E. Island ⁹	2½-7½	3,000	1½-2½	10,000	7½	3,000	1½-2½ ⁶	
Quebec.....	3-8		1½-3	3,000	10		½-3 ⁶	
France.....	3½-18½	none	1-2½	none	15-18½	none	1-18½	
Great Britain: ¹⁰								
Estate duty ¹¹	1-8	£100	1-8	£100	1-8	£100	1-8	{ £300-30s. tax ¹² { £500-50s. tax
Legacy duty ¹³ , 16.....	3-10	.....	1½ ¹⁵	.....	10	.....	.....	
Succession duty ¹⁴ , 16.....	4½-11½	£20	1½ ¹⁶	£20	11½	£20	.....	
Switzerland:								
Lucerne.....	5-15	Legacy 50 fr.	1	5,000 fr.	20	Legacy 50 fr.	1-40 ¹⁷	Employees 1,000 fr. Servants 1,000 fr.
Schaffhausen.....	2-8	Share 200 fr.	.....	.....	10	Share 200 fr.	2-20 ¹⁸	
Zürich.....	2-10	Legacy 1,000 fr.	.....	.....	10	Legacy 1,000 fr.	2-15 ¹⁹	

¹ One half of collateral rates on amounts not exceeding £50,000. In certain cases the rate applies to distributive shares.

² Progression ceases with collateral heirs at £20,000, and with direct heirs with £200,000.

³ £1,500 exempted if estate does not exceed £2,500; if in excess no exemption.

⁴ Direct heirs pay one half of collateral rates.

⁵ One half of collateral rate on property passing to certain direct heirs when total net value does not exceed £50,000.

⁶ Progressive schedule applies only to direct heirs. Progressivity on basis of property.

⁷ Share passing to immediate relatives.

⁸ Schedule rates doubled on property passing by transfer out of the province.

⁹ Proceeds devoted to asylums, hospitals, and other charities.

¹⁰ Great Britain has also a "probate duty," "account duty," "temporary estate duty," and a "corporation duty."

¹¹ Paid upon the principal value of all property, real or personal, settled or unsettled. Settled property is subject to a further estate duty of 1 per cent, called "settlement estate duty."

¹² Small estates up to £300 gross pay a duty of 30s. Small estates up to £500 pay a duty of 50s. These duties are inclusive of all other "death duties."

¹³ Legacy of any value, and any share of residue of personal estate arising under will or intestacy.

¹⁴ Succession duty applies to a succession of the value of £20 or upward, where the whole succession derived from the same predecessor amounts to £100 or upward. One half per cent of the succession duty on lineals and 1½ per cent on other descendants constitutes what is called "additional succession duties." This additional duty is not payable when the property subject to the succession is chargeable with estate duty.

¹⁵ Rate applies to child, descendant of child, father, mother, or lineal ancestor, and is not payable where probate or letters of administration were obtained or where "account duty" or "estate duty" has been paid.

¹⁶ The "legacy duty" and the "succession duty" together practically constitute a collateral inheritance tax paid in addition to the "estate duty" with the exception, however, that estates valued at £1,000 or less are subject only to the "estate duty."

¹⁷ One per cent to 20 per cent on amounts up to 10,000 francs. Rate then increases by one tenth through a series of ten steps until it becomes ten tenths higher than the primary rate.

¹⁸ Two per cent to 10 per cent on amounts between 2,000 and 10,000 francs. Rate then increases one tenth for each additional 10,000 fr. until it becomes ten tenths higher than the primary rate.

¹⁹ Two per cent to 10 per cent on amounts up to 10,000 francs. Rate then increases by one tenth for each additional 10,000 fr. until it becomes five tenths higher than primary rate.

It is only within the last ten years that inheritance taxes with graduated rates have been imposed in the American states. At present in

United States about one third of the thirty-five states having an inheritance tax the rate is progressive, increasing with the size of the estate or the amount passing to a single individual. This is a notable feature of many of the more recent statutes. In recent laws enacted in California and Wisconsin the rates vary from 1 per cent to 15 per cent.^a Colorado, Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oregon, Porto Rico, South Dakota, Washington, Wisconsin, and California all have adopted a more or less progressive rate. Illinois was the first state to pass a law of this nature. The Illinois act passed in 1895 and upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court imposes taxes at the following rates on all property, real and personal:

1. One per cent on excess of \$20,000 passing to father, mother, brother, sister, husband, wife, child, or lineal descendant.

2. Two per cent on excess of \$2,000 passing to uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, or lineal descendant of same.

3. On all estates passing to other heirs: \$500 to \$10,000, 3 per cent; \$10,000 to \$20,000, 4 per cent; \$20,000 to \$50,000, 5 per cent; exceeding \$50,000, 6 per cent.

The Wisconsin act of 1903 was the most carefully drawn and elaborately graduated law that had been enacted up to that time. It embodies the following features: primary rates ranging from 1 to 5 per cent being fixed according to relationship for inheritances not exceeding \$25,000, these rates are multiplied by 1½, 2, 2½, and 3 for the excess above \$25,000, \$50,000, \$100,000, and \$500,000 respectively as shown in the table given on page 624, which brings out the most important facts.

RELATION	Exemption	Not exceeding \$5,000	\$5,000-\$50,000	\$50,000-\$100,000	\$100,000-\$500,000	In excess of \$500,000
Widow.....	\$10,000	1%	1½%	2%	2½%	3%
Husband, direct heirs	2,000					
Brothers and sisters						
and their descendants,						
sons-in-law,	500	1½%	2½%	3%	3½%	4½%
daughters-in-law,						
Uncles and aunts						
and their descendants,	250	3%	4½%	6%	7½%	9%
Great-uncles and						
great-aunts and	150	4%	6%	8%	10%	12%
their descendants.						
All others.....	100	5%	7½%	10%	12½%	15%

The California Act of 1905 is modeled very closely after the Wisconsin law.

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ROBERT H. WHITTEN.

INJUNCTIONS: In order to obtain a right understanding of this subject it is necessary to examine it historically. Our law is derived from that of England, which in the beginning knew only two remedies, a criminal proceeding instituted in the name of the king to punish the wrongdoer by imprisonment or fine, and a civil action by a private person to obtain money damages in contract or in tort. The remedy in damages was often found to be inadequate, there being various wrongs for which a money judgment would not afford the right kind of reparation. For example, a powerful noble might fence off a right of way belonging to the inhabitants of a village; and if he could only be sued for the pecuniary damage done to each, he might gladly pay and keep the way closed. The actual pecuniary loss to each villager would often be nominal. Thus he would virtually have the power to increase the value of his estate by getting rid of a right of way through his own wrong and at small cost. Various other acts by the influential and the powerful can be imagined which would be illy recompensed by a judgment in damages.

Development

In those days the king was looked upon as the fountain of power as well as justice. "The king could do no wrong," and might safely be invoked to command the right. Hence his subjects fell into the habit of coming to him with humble

petitions, saying, for example in the case of a right of way, that one of his subjects had wrongfully closed a way over which other subjects had a right to pass, and as their remedy to recover damages was clearly inadequate, would his Majesty, in the plenitude of his power and as the fountain of equity, graciously be pleased to order that the way be opened, so that they might enjoy it as aforetime. The king, not wishing to be taken from the pleasures of the chase or other matters of greater moment to him than the welfare of humble subjects, would refer the petition to the keeper of his conscience, an officer of his household, usually a priest, called a chancellor, who was empowered to examine into the facts, and advise the king what in justice ought to be done. The chancellor would issue a writ in the name of the king, commanding the offending party to appear and answer the prayer of the petitioners and show any reason he might have for closing the way. Testimony would then be taken on behalf of both sides, and the chancellor would report the facts to the king, who thereupon, if the right of way was proven and its wrongful closing made out, and if he felt in a gracious mood, would order the wrong-doer to refrain from obstructing the way. In other words, the king would enjoin the wrong-doer from continuing his wrongful act under penalty of imprisonment or contempt if he disobeyed the injunction. So with other wrongful acts of a continuing nature, the king upon advice of the keeper of his conscience would enjoin the doing of them whenever the remedy at law was inadequate. He would also give commands to do various things as to which the law gave no redress.

In time this became crystallized into a system of jurisprudence called equity, as distinguished from law. The chancellor became a judge, who decided causes on such petitions in the name of, but without troubling, the king. Equity thus came in as a supplement to law. The system was expanded so as to include injunctive commands—now called mandatory injunctions—to do things as well as to refrain from doing them.

Our forefathers brought to this country this dual method of administering justice, the common-law remedy by way of damages and the equitable by way of a decree to do that which is right.

As equity was supposed only to supply the deficiencies of the law, it became necessary that equity jurisprudence should be administered under a set of definite rules. They are known as "the rules in equity." Chief among them are the following: Equity follows the law. Where the equities are equal the legal title must prevail. He who asks equity must do equity. He who comes into a court of equity must come with clean hands. If the remedy at law is adequate a court of equity cannot act.

The illustration of the obstruction of a right of way is peculiarly apt for the purpose of an article on injunctions in such a work as this, because the now famous phrase "government by injunction" grew out of a case which involved an obstruction of the public highway. During many years courts of equity had been granting injunctions against unlawful obstruction of the highway. For example, some enterprising tradesman might put in his shop window a spectacle to attract crowds, who, gathering to look at it, would obstruct access to a neighbor's shop, and at the latter's instance a court of equity would enjoin

the former from doing the act, which by attracting a crowd resulted in obstructing the sidewalk.

The case above referred to is that of *ex parte Debs* in 1894 (158 U. S., 564). There has been much popular misunderstanding as to the extent and character of that decision. The day is coming when, instead of being denounced by labor-unions as a "blow at labor," it will be recognized as one of the most valuable decisions in defense of the rights of the laboring man, as well as the community at large.

It grew out of the Pullman car strike of the year before at Chicago, in the course of which the running of railroad trains and transmission of the mails was interrupted by the mob. It was based upon the theory which for long had been accepted law, that railroads are public highways.

Briefly stated, the Supreme Court held that the right of regulating interstate commerce and the right of transmission of the mails furnish adequate grounds on which to found the jurisdiction of a U. S. court of equity to prevent, by injunction, the forcible obstruction of a public highway in such manner as to impair those rights; that this jurisdiction to issue an injunction involves the right to punish, as a contempt, the violation of such injunction, tho the acts complained of might constitute a crime punishable at law; and that the facts that the act complained of were being done by a large number of men did not deprive the court of a jurisdiction, which had for many years been exercised where the obstructions of the highway were few in number.

The court, however, made certain limitations, which seem to have been overlooked or forgotten not only by the general public, but also by many of the lower courts, which have since used that decision as if it were a warrant for injunctions which can fitly be characterized in no other way than as gross usurpations of judicial power.

Speaking by Judge Brewer, the Supreme Court distinctly said:

"It must be borne in mind that this bill was not simply to enjoin a mob and mob violence. It was not a bill to command a keeping of the peace; much less was its purport to restrain the defendants from abandoning whatever employment they were engaged in. The right of any laborer or any number of laborers to quit work was not challenged. The scope and purpose of the bill was only to restrain forcible obstructions of the highways along which interstate commerce travels and the mails are carried. And the facts set forth at length are only those facts which tended to show that the defendants are engaged in such obstructions."

From this summary it will be seen that a number of points, popularly supposed to have been decided by the Debs case, were not passed on, viz.:

(1) That persons not made parties may be enjoined.

(2) That lawful gatherings on the highway may be enjoined.

(3) That the exercise of the right of free speech may be enjoined.

(4) That any lawful act may be enjoined.

It is not too much to infer from the quotation above given, that if any of those points were to be presented to that court, the outcome would be in favor of what has generally been taken by both public and legal profession to be the law. It is true that there were some parts of the injunction as granted by the lower court in the Debs case which violated one or other of those principles—which principles must be regarded as pertaining to fundamental rights. The parties actually punished in that case were, however, parties to the action, and it does not appear that any objections to the injunction, on which the Supreme Court did not pass, were specially urged upon its attention. Therefore it can not be held to have approved them. In the passage above quoted the force of the word "only" should ever be taken into account: "The scope and purpose of the bill was *only* to restrain forcible obstruc-

tions of the highways along which interstate commerce travels and the mails are carried." It is a matter of course that the injunction had no legality as to acts outside "the scope and purpose of the bill."

It should also be remembered that the Supreme Court was bound by the findings of fact of the lower court, and so stated in express terms: "Its (the lower court's) finding of the fact of disobedience is not open to review on habeas corpus in this or any other court."

The popular misapprehension, above mentioned, has been largely due to the fact that in subsequent decisions of the lower courts, particularly the federal, the points above emphasized as in no way decided by the Debs case have been improperly assumed to be logical deductions from that decision. A few examples will suffice:

In a suit brought by the American Steel and Wire Company, in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1898, the defendants were, among other things, enjoined "from in any manner interfering with" the company's business.

In the case of *The Sun Printing and Publishing Company vs. Delaney and others* (1899) the Supreme Court of New York, among other things, enjoined the defendants from the exercise of their right to give the public their side of their controversy with the *Sun* as an argument against advertising in a paper which they claimed had treated them unjustly; it also forbade them from attempting to persuade news dealers from selling the paper; and, finally, wound up with a sweeping restraint "from in any other manner or by any other means interfering with the property, property rights, or business of the plaintiff." It should be added that, on appeal, the Appellate Division struck out these commands; but they were so plainly subversive of fundamental rights that it is difficult to see how they could have been granted in the first instance.

In still another case last year (*The Wheeling Railway Company vs. John Smith and others*, so runs the title of the action without naming the others, in the U. S. Circuit Court, West Virginia) two men not parties to the action, nor found to be agents of "John Smith and others," whoever they may have been, were punished for contempt of court for, among other things, "reviling" and "cursing"—the court? not at all, but for "reviling" and "cursing" employees of the railroad company. If these men had not actually served out an imprisonment in jail for thirty days as a punishment for contempt of corporation, it might be thought that this example was taken from opera bouffe. The legality of this punishment was never passed on by the Supreme Court, for the reason, it is said, that the parties were unable to bear the expense of taking it there, and so served their term in jail.

In 1900 an injunction was granted in *Levy vs. The Cigar Makers' International Union and others*, by the Supreme Court in New York, of which it is difficult to speak in terms of moderation. Officers of the union and the other defendants were prohibited, not only from "picketing" (which when peaceable has not yet, in New York, been decided by its highest court to be unlawful; see Reynolds vs. Everett, 144 N. Y., 189, and 67 Hun., 294); not only from "accosting," the plaintiffs and their new hands or persons seeking their employment; not only from doing "any act or thing" which had the tendency of "molesting" the plaintiffs, whatever that may mean; not only "from any interference with" the plaintiffs and their employees and persons seeking work in their factory, in the adjacent streets, "or in any other place"; but also from paying or offering any money to former employees for the purpose of "continuing organized, concerted, and combined action" on the part of the strikers with the object of interfering with the plaintiff's business.

In other words, this injunction forbade the defendants even from approaching their former employers for the laudable purpose of reaching an amicable result; it forbade them from making their case known to the public if the tendency of that was to vex the plaintiffs or make them uneasy; it forbade them from trying in a perfectly peaceable way in any place in the city, even in the privacy of a man's own home, to persuade a new employee that justice was on their side, and that he ought to sympathize with them sufficiently not to work for unjust employers; and, finally, it forbade the union from paying money to the strikers to support their families during the strike.

These portions of the injunction were so plain a violation of the rights of the defendants at common law, under the Constitution, and especially under section 171, of the N. Y. Penal Code, that they were set aside as soon as brought to the deliberate attention of the court.

It cannot be necessary to multiply instances of injunctions which, whether valid or not in some respects, are in others plain usurpations of

power.' It is, however, worth while to call attention to a strange freak of a court in 1899, which as it did not happen in a labor dispute is all the more noteworthy.

The Texas Court of Appeals (ex parte Warfield, 50 S. W. Rep., 933) upheld the validity of an injunction which it is safe to say is without parallel in the history of jurisprudence. A husband claiming damages from Warfield for alienating the affections of his wife, obtained an injunction commanding him not to speak to, nor communicate with, the wife, nor to go near her at the house where he boarded, nor at "any other house or place in the City of Dallas, or State of Texas." Shortly afterward the defendant happened to meet the wife, and had some casual conversation with her, for doing which he was found guilty of contempt of court and fined \$100 and sent to jail for three days. He naturally tried to get out on habeas corpus, and, incredible to relate, failed to do so. It has therefore been solemnly adjudged to be the law of Texas, that a jealous husband, upon proof that he fears a breach by his wife of the seventh commandment, can have the aid of a court of equity to prevent correspondence between the parties by which it might be brought about. This may be styled marital fidelity by injunction. There was even a case in Ohio where a mother obtained an injunction against the marriage of a son upon the plea that he was not of sound mind! Unless checked we might come in time to have etiquette by injunction. If our judges ought to be regulators of conduct, and enforce the ten commandments or other rules of right behavior by mandatory injunctions, then it were better to confer the power upon them by due act of legislature, than to allow them to take it without right.

Where an injunction is disobeyed the court can inflict punishment by fine or imprisonment without the aid of a jury. Thus the judge, whose writ is alleged to have been defied, is the one who passes on the issue of fact created by a denial of the charge; and he is the person who imposes the sentence if he finds the charge is true.

This power cannot safely be done away with altogether, but the tendency of the courts to stretch their jurisdiction beyond the bounds set in the Debs case became so general a few years ago, and the consequent mischief of allowing a usurping court to act as a jury in its own cause so serious, that it was apparent that legal measures in restraint should be adopted if respect for law is to be preserved. He is the worst enemy of this republic who does anything to break down reverence for law or respect for the courts.

In consequence, various bills were prepared for passage by Congress and state legislatures. The agitation of the subject, while it has not produced as yet any fruitful legislation, has had one good effect. It has reminded judges that the power to command a future act is more dangerous than to punish a past one, dangerous to the wielder of the power as well as to others, and must be handled with circumspection. Of late years there have not been so many illegal injunctions. At the same time it would seem clear that it would be the part of wisdom to impose certain limitations on the power of the courts in issuing and enforcing injunctions of all sorts.

The following limitations are believed to be ample, conservative, and necessary: (1) That injunctions shall not be issued against any but parties to the action, their agents, servants, and

attorneys; (2) that when an injunction, however valid in part, prohibits the lawful use of the highway, or the right of free speech, or lawful combination to advance joint interests, it shall be void in toto;

Limitations

(3) that all persons who are charged with disobedience of an injunction in respect of a matter which might be the subject of indictment, shall have the right to demand a trial by jury upon issues of fact to be properly framed; (4) that whenever the question, whether an injunction, pending an action, should be granted depends upon the determination of questions of fact arising on conflicting affidavits, either side shall have the right to demand that a jury be forthwith impaneled to try the same upon issues properly settled.

It is instructive to note the development in a republic of a writ which had its origin in kingly prerogative. Also to observe that the power to command begets in the commander, whether he be king, president, general, priest, judge, or walking delegate, the disposition to stretch his jurisdiction and to sanction illegality by pleading the cause for which he stands, and which he comes to believe is symbolized in himself. It is the old delusive pretense, ever repeated, that the end justifies the means. The king says, I am the State; the president, I have a mission; the general, I uphold the government; the priest, I contend for the infallible Church; the judge, I stand for law and order; the walking delegate, I strike for the holy cause of labor. Poor weak, erring mortals ye be, ye kings, presidents, priests, generals, judges, and walking delegates. Exercise your lawful powers of command, for they are necessary for the general welfare, but learn to do so with fear and trembling, with care and moderation, lest ye work ill rather than good.

Injunctions in labor disputes need especial scrutiny, for that the real, tho unexpressed, reason for them usually is not so much that the remedy at law, criminal and civil, is inadequate, as that the enforcement of that remedy is unattainable through the cowardice or supineness of the officers of the law. Had the rioters in the "Pullman strike" at Chicago, who were burning property and murdering persons, been arrested at the point of the soldier's bayonet, if the policeman's billy was inadequate, had they been brought to the bar of justice by a fearless district attorney and honest grand jury, in short, had the criminal law been invoked, the Debs contempt case had never been. The subsequent illegal injunctions, based on erroneous conceptions of that decision, had never been. The phrase "government by injunction" had never been. But if the officers of the law will not do their duty, then the desire for law and order will nevertheless find vent; and the serious question thus arises, Which is preferable, a court of equity, or a vigilance committee? There is a district attorney elected in every county in every state in our union. How many of them have the moral courage to face a mob composed of voters to whom they owe their election? It may not be, it certainly is not, a justification for an illegal injunction in a labor dispute, that it was granted in the interests of law and order; but the plea that it was will always appeal to an unreflecting public. Therein lies the danger. Illegal injunctions in labor disputes, granted because the officers of the law will not do their duty, are for the public what morphine is

Danger

for the individual—an alleviation of present pain at the expense of future misery. Yet doctors prescribe morphine, and their patients take it. Judges grant questionable injunctions, and the public approves them. The real remedy against any unlawful stretch of power by courts of equity in such matters is to create a public opinion which shall demand that the criminal authorities use their lawful powers to the full extent.

The need is greater than ever that the memorable words, written in the cabin of the *Mayflower* three centuries ago, should be borne in mind by all citizens in the land, the highest official, as well as the lowliest individual: "To the end, that this shall be a government of laws and not of men."

JOHN BROOKS LEAVITT.

INNER MISSION, THE (*Der Central-Ausschuss für die Innere Mission der deutschen Evangelischen Kirche*): A German organization of evangelical, practical, and social effort for the spread of the kingdom of God within the German Empire and among Germans in foreign countries.

Its particular purposes are: (1) to rehabilitate the Christian religion among those classes of the people who have become alienated; (2) to suggest, support, and conduct Christian charities; (3) to unite isolated efforts along these lines under a central committee, or to assist them with word and deed. It is a private, voluntary organization, but stands in close touch with the benevolent work of the State.

The organization originated in a *Memorial to the German Nation* by Pastor J. H. Wichern, of Hamburg, in 1848, altho the people had been prepared for the movement to a certain extent by several benevolent activities, e.g., Zeller's reform school, 1820; Amalie Sieveking's care of the sick and wounded, 1831; the deaconess house of Fließner, near Düsseldorf, 1836; the prison society of the Rhine and Westphalia; the Gustavus Adolphus society, etc. To quote from the *Memorial*: "The Inner Mission does not mean this or that other particular work, but the sum of labor which arises from loving faith in Christ, which seeks to renew within and without the condition of those multitudes in Christendom upon whom has fallen the power of manifold external and internal evils which spring directly or indirectly from sin, so far as they are not reached by the usual Christian offices with the means necessary for their renewal." It was a passionate appeal to the Church to turn her energies toward every social need, since the causes of all suffering are ultimately reduced to immorality and unspirituality, arguing that the Gospel is the only cure, but that it must be applied to every aspect of life, and that the laity must cooperate with the clergy. The appeal, its reasoning and arguments, closely resembled that of the Christian Socialists in England, and largely contributed to the similar movement in Germany. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

The immediate result of this memorial was the formation of a committee at the "Kirchentag," in Wittenberg, Sept., 1848. The committee met in 1849 and organized the society, incorporated by a special *ordre* of the King of Prussia, Aug. 8, 1849. Wichern was the soul of the movement. He had established the *Raube Haus* at Horn, near Hamburg, in 1833, and cooperated with Pastor Theodor Fließner in the establishment of the first deaconess institution among the non-Roman churches, at Kaiserswörth-on-the-Rhine, in 1836. From these beginnings the movement has spread

rapidly. The president's report for 1904 gives a list of 183 societies and institutions more or less closely affiliated with the Central Committee. The larger cities have organized city missions for their particular needs. There are also provincial and State societies in different parts of the empire and elsewhere among Germans. But wherever organized, and whatever special tasks these various societies may pursue, they do not enter politics, or attempt to establish new economic systems, or enter the field of denominational differences, but serve rather as a medium of reconciliation and mutual appreciation. The membership is recruited from all classes of the population, from kings and princes to beggars, and from university professors to peasants.

The older and more important activities of the society are: Houses of Brothers (16), of Sisters (63), for the training of workers; with an income of 8,000,000 marks in 1890. There are in operation: 450 lodging-houses, *Herbergen*; 6,000 schools for men and women in special need of instruction in various lines—conducted on Sundays; 2,220 schools for the care of children; 25 asylums for fallen women (*Magdalenen-Häuser*); 50 day-nurseries; 590 houses for the sick; 430 homes for travelers. Labor bureaus and boys' clubs have been established in nearly every German city; 15,000 situations were provided in 1890. Children are sent to the seashore or to the country from about 130 places.

In a detailed list of various charities we find: *crèches*, *hospitals*, and *schools* for neglected, backward, and abnormal children; *institutions* for idiots, the blind, deaf and dumb, epileptics, etc.; *societies* for apprentices, journeymen, servants—male and female—young men and young women; industrial schools for boys and girls; *homes and institutions* for drunkards and immoral men; relief stations; labor colonies; temperance societies and coffee-houses; ethical societies, and children's services on Sundays; the temporal and spiritual care of emigrants, sailors (with a special seamen's mission), canal-boat men, and prisoners; probation societies; the endeavor to bring about a better observance of Sunday, and to procure voluntary nurses during war.

The deaconess institutes have multiplied rapidly. Lately the society has taken up the cause of child and woman labor, and established courses of instruction for police and prison matrons, and schools for housekeepers.

In order to promote Christian life among young men, so-called *halls* or *houses* have been established in connection with various colleges, in which the students receive special religious instruction. For the reclaiming of those who have fallen away from the "faith," instruction courses on "Christian evidences" have been inaugurated; in 1903 the attendance at Berlin was over 400 men and women. A "bureau for the writing, distribution, and procuring of Christian literature" is one of the latest activities of the society. Every attempt is made to bring church news before the public through special papers and the public press. The *Fliegenden Blätter aus dem Rauhen Hause* (since 1844) are the means of communication between the different departments.

The society makes every legitimate attempt to keep its objects before the people. "Extension courses" are given for this purpose in many cities, and teachers, preachers, and State officials are especially invited; lectures are given in smaller places.

The Roman Church in Germany was not slow in availing herself of this movement. She carries on a similar work on a smaller scale under various names, e. g., Society of St. Vincent, Society of St. Boniface, etc.

The President of the society is Dr. Gaebel. Address: *Central Ausschuss für Innere Mission*, Berlin, W., 35 *Genthinerstrasse* 38.

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REFERENCES: A series of articles in *American Journal of Sociology* for 1896; *Fünfzig Jahre Innerer Mission* (Bericht über die Thätigkeit des Central Ausschusses, Berlin, 1898); *Wurster*, Die Lehre von der Inneren Mission, Berlin, 1895; *Schäfer*, Kalender des Inneren Mission.

INSANITY: The statistics of insanity in most countries are not complete; in many there are no reliable recent statistics, and even in those countries where there are such statistics, the degree of completion of the recent statistics so varies from the degree of completion of former statistics as to make comparison almost useless, and often misleading. General statistics tend to be more and more complete, so that a higher number reported insane may not mean an actual increase, but only a more complete return. Again, in most countries the tendency is on the increase to place the insane in asylums and institutions, where they are much more easily registered than in private homes. Nevertheless, it seems to be the opinion of most statisticians that, allowing for all this, insanity is on the increase in most countries.

According to the census, the insane in the United States in 1890 numbered 106,485, of whom 74,028 were in hospitals. In the Census Special Report issued in 1903, only the insane in hospitals were considered. These had increased to 150,151 in 1906. The number of hospitals for the insane had increased from 162 in 1890 to 328 in 1903. The insane in hospitals had increased from 81.6 per 100,000 of population in 1880 to 118.2 per cent in 1890, to 186.2 per cent in 1900.

The number of insane males in hospitals was 78,523, and females 71,628. In proportion to population there were more white than negro insane. The maximum concentration of age was between twenty-five and thirty-five years. Female insane live longer than male insane, and white insane than negro insane.

Forty-one and six tenths per cent had been employed as laborers and servants before becoming inmates, 22.5 per cent had been occupied in agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor pursuits, and 16 per cent in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 50 per cent were single and 36 per cent married. Of the 328 hospitals for the insane, 226 were public and 102 private. The annual cost of the public hospitals approximated \$21,000,000.

In England and Wales in 1906 there were 121,979 lunatics, of whom 111,256 were paupers and 921 criminals. In 1900 the total number was 106,611 with 97,028 paupers. But while in 1903 there was an increase of 3,251 over 1902, in 1906 the increase was only 2,150 over the previous year. The men number 33.71 per 10,000, and the women 36.80 per 10,000.

The cost of maintaining these lunatics in England and Wales is 14s. 2d. each per week, in Scotland 15s. 10d. For the United Kingdom Parliament makes a provision of £980,570 in payment of the cost of maintenance; the rates provide £2,187,526, and patients pay £311,492.

The total bill therefore is about £3,500,000 yearly.

Of Australia and of the United Kingdom Cogan's "Statistical Account" (1903-4) says, pp. 848-849:

There seems to be little doubt that insanity is slowly but steadily increasing in the states, as it is in the United Kingdom and other countries. In England the rate has risen from 2.75 per 1,000 of population in 1879 to 3.41 in 1902, and in Scotland a similar rise has taken place from 2.75 per 1,000 in 1884 to 3.53 in 1902. In Ireland the rate has risen from 2.50 per 1,000 of the population in 1880 to 4.99 per 1,000 in 1902. The greater part of this increase is no doubt rightly attributed to an improvement in the administration of the Commissioners in Lunacy, by which a more accurate knowledge of the number of cases existent in the country has been gained; but the steady growth of the rate in recent years, when statistical information has been brought to a high pitch of perfection, plainly points to the fact that the advance of civilization, with the increasing strain to which the struggle for existence is subjecting body and mind, has one of its results in the growth of insanity. In all the states of Australasia, with the sole exception of Tasmania, there is seen the same state of affairs as the insanity returns of Great Britain disclose, altho the conditions of life press much more lightly on the individual here.

Victoria has the highest general rate with 3.77 per 1,000, New Zealand coming next with 3.53, closely followed by Queensland with 3.51. Next comes New South Wales with 3.32; South Australia with 2.71; Tasmania with 2.49; while Western Australia shows the lowest proportion with 1.79 per 1,000. New Zealand shows the highest rate for males with 4.03 per 1,000, followed by Queensland and Victoria with 3.91; and Victoria with 3.63 per 1,000 has the largest proportion of females.

Germany had (1897) 151,126 insane—mentally deranged, 98,357, or 65.1 per cent; paralytically deranged, 15,243, or 10; epileptically deranged, 14,135, or 9.4; imbecility and idiocy, 17,844, or 11.8; delirium tremens, 5,547, or 3.7. There are on the whole 2 insane persons in every 1,000 of the population who need treatment in asylums. There were (1900) 394 institutions for the insane, with 87,000 beds, against 199 and 28,300 in 1876. The mortality among the insane was 22.6 per cent. From 45 to 47 per cent are women.

International Statistics.—Professor Mayo-Smith ("Statistics and Sociology," p. 213) gives the following table, but reminds us that it is of doubtful comparative value, owing to the different degrees to which the deficient are registered in different countries:

INSANE FOR 1,000,000 OF POPULATION, 1890

COUNTRIES	Insane	Idiotic
Austria.....	¹ 1,513	² 656
England and Wales.....	³ 3,357	.....
Hungary.....	603	1,009
Ireland.....	3,176	1,327
Norway.....	³ 3,896	.....
Scotland.....	2,594	1,246
Sweden.....	1,818	1,592
United States.....	1,697	1,526
North Atlantic Division.....	2,385	1,472
South Atlantic Division.....	1,322	1,653
North Central Division.....	1,647	1,634
South Central Division.....	959	1,532
Western Division.....	1,878	648

¹ Under insane are included idiots.

² Under idiots are meant cretins.

³ Includes insane and idiots.

There has been great progress in modern times in the care of the insane. Pinel, in 1792, took a great step forward in liberating fifty-three patients at Bicêtre who had been in chains. Franklin, in 1750, succeeded in establishing a department for the insane in the Pennsylvania Hospital.

St. Luke's Hospital in London, established 1751, was the first asylum wholly for the insane; Waldheim, Saxony, was the second, 1787. The

insane are generally housed in large buildings or in cottages, under proper supervision of physicians and nurses. In Belgium and Scotland the custom prevails to put incurables and harmless patients into families, where they lead a natural life, and are encouraged to work. The little town of Gheel, in Belgium, has harbored about 1,300 of these patients annually, and no trouble has arisen.

INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES: The phrase "institutional church," first used, it is believed, by President Tucker of Dartmouth College, applied to Berkeley Temple, Boston, Mass., has come into use as describing a church that works on all lines of human improvement. Dr. A. Dickinson, pastor of Berkeley Temple, says:

If I were to define it, I should say that it is an organization which aims to reach all of the man, and all men, by all means. In other words, it aims to represent Christ on earth, in the sense of representing Him physically, morally, and spiritually to the senses of the men and women who live in the present age. The institutional church aims to provide a material environment wherein the spiritual Christ can express Himself, and be felt among men as when He was here in the flesh, and it begins by planting itself just where Christ stood and worked when He was on the earth—in the midst of publicans and sinners.

The institutional church does whatever is most needed in the locality where it is placed.

When in an organism, one member does not do its work, other members attempt to perform its functions. The institutional church may be said to be the church performing for portions of the community the functions not performed for them by the home and society at large. In communities of homes, the institutional church has little place. In tenement districts it provides clubs, social, educational, literary, and gymnastic. Among the very poor it provides charities; in communities engaged largely in manual labor, baths and recreation; in boarding-house districts, educational classes. In a thoroughly mixed population the institutional church works by every method. An illustration of the latter is St. Bartholomew's Church (Protestant Episcopal) in New York City. It spends on its Parish House activities some \$100,000 per year and provides services in a variety of languages, including Syriac and Armenian. It has clubs of every kind—glee clubs, literary, physical culture, social clubs, debating societies, penny provident and mutual benefit funds, classes in dressmaking, millinery, cooking, stenography, typewriting, French, book-keeping, etc. The Parish House has a roof garden on top of nine busy stories. It maintains a country holiday house, a fresh-air fund, a tailor shop, clinic, loan association. In one year it found work for 2,559 applicants. It has eighteen services on Sunday and most of the year 194 meetings of different kinds in the week. It has 2,146 communicants; 5,000 in a year have professed to live this new life.

Morgan Chapel, Boston, is an example of what can be done, not with \$100,000, but with \$3,500. This includes entire expense for fuel, lights, janitor, pastor's salary, assistants, etc. Yet it supplies reading-room, baths, a school of handicraft for printing, cobbling, tailoring, dressmaking, carpentry. It has a medical mission, day nursery, kindergarten, employment bureau, free concerts, instruction in music, etc.

The Judson Memorial Church (Baptist), and Trinity Church, St. George's, Grace Church, the Ascension, St. Christopher's, St. Michael's, the Pro-Cathedral (all Protestant Episcopal), are

well-known institutional churches in New York. The Jersey City Tabernacle (Congregational) makes a specialty of recreation, furnishing it in thirty different forms. The Baptist Temple, Philadelphia, has a hospital, the Samaritan, treating 6,000 cases in one year, and a unique Temple College, with thousands of students in thirty-two courses, from the kindergarten to a law school and theological seminary. Westminster Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, has a social settlement with eight resident and eighty non-resident workers. Pilgrim Church, Cleveland (Congregational), was perhaps the first to embody the institutional idea in a beautiful new building adapted to it. The Fourth Avenue Baptist Church, Pittsburg, Pa., has among other things a Toy Mission, where second-hand toys are distributed to poor children at Christmas. In successive years it has provided for 25, 200, 1,600 and 3,600 children. The Ninth Street Baptist Church, Cincinnati, has seven chapels, at each of which institutional work is carried on. The Union Church (Congregational), North Brookfield, Mass., has recently shown what can be done in a village. Its Enterprise Club discuss and has been influential on public questions. A Historical Society, the Union League for Boys, Guild of the Helping Hand for Girls, the Manse Literary Club for young women, met different needs. The pastor found it easier financially to meet all these expenses than to keep them going without these.

It is, however, to be remembered that good done is not always to be measured either by the number or extent of instrumentalities. These churches are not therefore selected because of necessity they are doing the most good, but because it is abundantly proven that instrumentalities, *with the right spirit*, and wisely suited to local needs, do abundantly help, even as Christ gave the bread of earth, together with and as symbol of the bread of heaven. Dr. Robbins, pastor of the Lincoln Park Institutional Baptist Church, Cincinnati, writes us: "You will be pleased to know that the spiritual results have been largely increased by our methods of work. Notwithstanding the innumerable difficulties in this down-town field, we have received, during my pastorate of this church (sixteen years), 1,422 new members, of which 1,021 were by baptism." The success of the Pilgrim Congregational Church, Cleveland; of the Baptist Temple, Philadelphia; of the great Protestant Episcopal institutional churches in New York City and elsewhere is well known. The year when the Methodist Church in the world lost 20,000 members, Morgan Chapel had more conversions than in any one of its previous fifty years. The average institutional Congregational Church gained in one year just six times as many additions on confession of faith as the average Congregational Church. In the Miami Association (Baptist churches of Cincinnati and vicinity) two institutional churches had 209 additions on confession of faith; twenty-one churches working on old lines had 116.

We give on page 630 detailed information as to thirty churches carrying on institutional activities. It is to be noted, however, that all these churches do not call themselves "institutional," and that many churches not here listed do carry on activities truly "institutional," in some instances quite as important and extensive as some here named. In fact, there are few churches to-day in the cities of the U. S. which do not in some way

INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES

The latest tabulation of the activities of typical churches

No.	Church	Denomi- nation	Year of start- ing in- stitutional work	City	Street	Pastor
1	Berkeley Temple	Cong.	1888	Boston	United with Union Church	
2	Morgan Memorial	(1)	1896	Boston	Shawmut Ave. & Coming St.	E. J. Helms.
3	Ruggles St. Baptist Church	Baptist	1880	Boston	159 Ruggles St.	C. C. Earle.
4	Bulfinch Place Church	Unit.	1895	Boston	Bulfinch Place	Christopher B. Eliot.
5	Christ Church	P. E.	1898	Cincinnati	318 E. 4th St.	F. H. Nelson.
6	Lincoln Park Baptist Church	Baptist	1897	Cincinnati	Freeman Ave.	G. R. Robbins.
7	Pilgrim Church Institute	Cong.	1891	Cleveland		Edgar S. Rothrock.
8	Fourth Reformed Church	Reform.	1904	Dayton, O.	Summit St. and Home Ave.	R. F. Wicks.
9	People's Tabernacle	Cong.	1884	Denver	Lawrence and 20th Sts.	Thos. Uzzell.
10	First Congregational Church	Cong.	1889	Jersey City	380 Bergen Ave.	John L. Scudder.
11	Amity Church	Baptist		N. Y. City	310-12 W. 54th St.	Leighton Williams.
12	Ascension	P. E.		N. Y. City	Fifth Ave. and 10th St.	Percy S. Grant.
13	St. Bartholomew's Parish House	P. E.	1895	N. Y. City	211 E. 42d St.	Leighton Parks.
14	Bethany Congregational Church	Cong.	1880	N. Y. City	Tenth Ave. and 35th and 36th.	W. F. Ottarson.
15	Broome St. Tabernacle	Undenom.	1885	N. Y. City	395 Broome St.	A. Arrighi.
16	Calvary	P. E.		N. Y. City	Fourth Ave. and 21st St.	J. Lewis Parks.
17	St. Chrysostom	P. E.	1868	N. Y. City	Seventh Ave. and 39th St.	Thos. H. Sill.
18	Temple Emanu-El	Hebrew	1888	N. Y. City	43d St. and Fifth Ave.	Joseph Silverman.
19	St. George's	P. E.	1883	N. Y. City	Stuyvesant Square	H. Birkhead.
20	Holy Communion	P. E.	1846	N. Y. City	20th St. and Sixth Ave.	Henry Mottett.
21	Metropolitan Temple	M. E.	1895	N. Y. City	14th St. and Seventh Ave.	J. W. Hill.
22	St. Michael's	P. E.	1807	N. Y. City	Amsterdam Ave. and 99th St.	John P. Peters.
23	Church of the Sea and Land	Presb.	1894	N. Y. City	61 Henry St.	O. G. Cocks.
24	Spring St. Presbyterian Church	Presb.	1900	N. Y. City	246 Spring St.	H. Roswell Bates.
25	City Park Branch	Presb.	1896	Brooklyn	209 Concord St.	H. K. England.
26	Baptist Temple	Baptist	1885	Philadelphia	Broad and Beek Sts.	Russell H. Conwell.
27	Fourth Avenue Baptist Church	Baptist		Pittsburg	Fourth Ave. and Ross St.	W. G. Partridge.
28	People's Church	Cong.	1889	St. Paul		Samuel G. Smith.
29	Seaman's Institute and Church	P. E.	1893	San Francisco	33 Stewart St.	F. Stone.
30	Good Samaritan Cathedral, Miss.	P. E.	1894	San Francisco	246 Second St.	J. P. Turner.

No.	Gymnasium	Billiards	Baths	Amusements	Dramatic club	Sewing school	Cooking school	Night school	Manual training	Reading room	Loan library	Medical aid	Sick and death benefits	Loan association	Penny provident	Coal club or fund	Loing house	Flowers or fruit	Settlement	Fresh air work	Other activities ²	Assistants, men	Women, ditto	Average attendance Sunday A.M.	P.M. or evening	Approximate per cent of men	Approximate No. Using Activities ^s	Approximate value of plant	Approximate annual cost of institutional work			
1																						1	2	400	500	33-50		100,000	5,000			
2																						3	3	200	400	50	2,000	75,000	3,500			
3																						7	6	500	600	50	2,000	50,000	4,500			
4																						1	2	250	45			50,000	6,000			
5																						1	2	387	321		1,900	30,000	4,500			
6																						1	1		33	400	80,000	2,000				
7																						3	4		33	2,000	150,000	2,000				
8																						4										
9																						1	1	500	1,500	50		60,000	600			
10																						4	1		33	1,500	265,000	8,000				
11																						12	1		50	500						
12																						(20)	45	60	250	200	33	32,000	1,500,000	100,000		
13																						(6)	1	6	75	175	25	1,600	100,000	8,800		
14																						(6)	3	3	600	300	33	800	80,000	10,000		
15																						2	4	85	65	33	1,200					
16																						(7)	1	1		40		1,600,000	30,000			
17																						5	6	200	300	40	5,180		44,000			
18																						(9)	4	6		40	1,200	1,750,000	20,000			
19																						(10)	4	1	500	800	50	175	200,000			
20																						(13)	3	1		33	9,000	350,000				
21																						(20)	3	6		40	23,000	300,000	7,000			
22																						(14)	2	3	141	137	40	800	100,000			
23																						(15)	3	88	168		1,100	40,000	3,000			
24																						(16)		2,000	3,125	50	10,000	725,000	155,000			
25																						(18)				50	200	400,000	1,000			
26																						(17)					600	140,000				
27																						(16)										
28																							3	1								
29																						2	4	125	125	25	1,000	25,000	5,000			
30																						2	4	125	125	25	1,000	25,000	5,000			

¹ Managed by joint committee of Unitarians and Methodists. ² Several have kindergartens and day nurseries. ³ Co-operative stores, People's Forum. ⁴ Including church, \$20,000. ⁵ Rifle range, roof-garden theater, dancing-school, wood-yards, bowling-alley. ⁶ Home nursing. ⁷ Millinery, dressmaking. ⁸ Some report different individuals; some do not. ⁹ Orphanage, home for aged women, summer home. ¹⁰ Church, \$7,000. ¹¹ Free school and later other activities. ¹² 1896 parish house. ¹³ Clinic. ¹⁴ Clothing bureau, sewing rooms, cemetery. ¹⁵ Kindergarten classes. ¹⁶ Bowling-alley, club, etc. ¹⁷ Commons. ¹⁸ Coffee-room. ¹⁹ Hospital, 100 beds, college, 4,000 regular students and 3,000 more at lectures. ²⁰ Employment bureau.

carry on at least one or more activities which might be called "institutional." In New York City alone, in 1900, out of 488 Protestant churches, 112 were carrying on direct institutional activities and almost all doing something in this line. Of the 112, forty-two were Protestant Episcopal. It is said to-day in the diocese of New York that there is not one Protestant Episcopal church which does not carry on at least some such activities.

In Great Britain churches have been taking on similar activities yet usually under other names in different ways. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION; CHURCH ARMY; FREE CHURCHES; PLEASANT SUNDAY AFTERNOON. For the Continent, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; INNER MISSION; ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.

JOSIAH STRONG.

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INSURANCE (see also INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE): Insurance may be defined as a contract of a company or person to pay a sum or sums of money to indemnify the insured, or a designated beneficiary, in case of loss through the happening of certain events which constitute the risk insured against.

Insurance is mainly a modern development, tho it originated in the remote past. It was known to the ancients, but was chiefly developed by more recent mercantile adventures, men agreeing to divide among themselves the burden of the loss of ships or cargoes in the days when commerce was the fitting out of ships for single, long expeditions. This custom arose in England in the Elizabethan era, but had appeared in southern Europe earlier than that.

Insurance depends on the law of probabilities, it is said, developed about the year 1650, when the Chevalier de Mere, a Flemish nobleman, who was both a respectable mathematician and a gamster, attempted to solve the problem of dividing equitably the stakes when a game of chance was interrupted. He sought the aid of the famous Abbé Blaise Pascal, one of the most accomplished mathematicians of any age. Pascal solved the problem, and in doing so enunciated the "doctrine of probabilities," or laws governing so-called chances.

This doctrine or theory Pascal illustrated by the throwing of dice. When a single die is thrown, the chance of turning up an ace is precisely one out of six, or one out of the total number of sides or faces. But if a large number of throws are made, it will be found that each face will be turned up an equal number of times. From this Pascal laid down the proposition that results which have happened in any given number of observed cases will again happen under similar circumstances, provided the numbers be sufficient for the proper working of the law of average. Thus the duration of the life of a single individual is one of the greatest uncertainties; but the duration, or rate of mortality, of a large number of individuals may be predicted with great accuracy by comparison with the observed results among a sufficiently large number of persons of similar ages, occupations, and climatic influences.

Law of Probabilities From this principle insurance has developed on a scientific basis. It is of many kinds. Fire-,

marine-, and life-insurance are the best known; but accident, liability, plate-glass, steam-boiler, elevator, burglary, sickness, guaranty, mortgage and title, hail, and live-stock insurance have each reached large proportions. Many other branches of insurance have been suggested, and in some cases attempted, among which are: Insurance against loss of occupation; insurance of premiums paid for stocks or bonds, which are subject to redemption; insurance against issue and survivorship; insurance of marriage portions for daughters; insurance against divorces; insurance against celibacy.

The earliest form of insurance was by means of individual underwriters, each one assuming a fixt proportion of the aggregate amount fixt. In London the venturesome who took part in this underwriting used to meet at Lloyd's Coffee-house, from which fact the name of Lloyd's was given to this form of insurance. But, as a general thing, insurance is carried on by corporate companies which are either mutual or stock, and which are subject more or less to government supervision.

Fire-insurance seems to have been the first to develop its modern form. A regular office for insuring against fire was opened in London in 1681, the great fire of 1666 being the exciting cause. The first office in the U. S. was established at Philadelphia in 1752, one of its early directors having been Benjamin Franklin.

Fire-Insurance

The extinguishment of fire is commonly undertaken by municipalities, tho fire-insurance companies often sustain patrols to care for property. (See FIRE DEPARTMENTS.) In the U. S. fire-insurance has been greatly developed.

The fire-insurance companies underwent a very severe test successfully in the San Francisco disaster of 1906. They paid claims exceeding \$150,000,000, with only two important failures of American companies and two or three of German companies. Tho their policies did not cover against earthquake and were void by their terms when the building fell, most of them did not defend on this ground, but paid in full, while the rest compromised. They did not behave so liberally toward property-owners who suffered at Valparaiso, Santiago, Kingston, and other points. The lessons of these disasters indicate the desirability of the following reforms, which have already been mooted:

1. Policies should definitely cover against sudden destruction of property by fire, lightning, explosion, collapse, earthquake, wind-storm, or flood.

2. Reserve laws should be amended so that all above what is barely necessary for solvency will be available to pay conflagration losses.

Life-insurance, tho starting later, has reached a higher state of development than fire-insurance. It began at near the first of the eighteenth century.

The Grand Pensioner DeWitt, of Holland, was the first to reduce these theories to practise, which he did in 1693, by calculating the true values of annuities, based upon observed rates of mortality. Dr. Halley, Astronomer Royal of Great Britain, was the first to discover and arrange what are called life-tables from which all monetary values depending upon the chances of living and dying, combined with the improvement of money by interest, may be computed. He has been called the father of the mod-

ern system of life-insurance. These tables have now only an historical interest.

About the close of the seventeenth century there were also several annuity schemes launched, but the first life-insurance company was the Amicable Society, chartered in 1706. In 1762 the Equitable was chartered, and began issuing policies payable at death, upon the lives of persons of any age, charging premiums according to age; but solely a business for short terms, and a whole life business. In the U. S. the Presbyterian Ministers' Fund of Philadelphia was chartered in 1759 by Thomas Penn, for the insurance of Presbyterian clergymen.

Life-Insurance

In 1812 a company called the Pennsylvania was chartered; in 1830 the New York Life-Insurance and Trust Company, which is still in existence, but does no life-insurance business. The Mutual of New York, the first of the mutual companies, was organized in 1842, and from 1845 to 1860 many new companies were organized. In 1856 the State of Massachusetts originated a system of state supervision, and it was immediately followed by the State of New York. The Massachusetts department adopted the Seventeen Offices, commonly known as the Actuaries' Table, as its standard; and the New York department, the American Experience Table, which was a modification of the Seventeen Offices Table, in the light of experience of the Mutual Life-Insurance Company.

Life-insurance companies nowadays issue a variety of immediate and deferred annuities, temporary and whole life-insurance, the latter often paid for by a limited number of payments; and a large variety of endowment, tontine, and other investment policies. The companies are mutual, proprietary, or mixed, according as all the savings and profits belong to the insured or all belong to the stockholders, or stockholders receive a part and the policy-holders the remainder. Mutual companies alone have no capital stock. While nominally the members control mutual companies, their practical operation makes the managers all-powerful. The new laws of New York hereinafter referred to, and which have been followed by the legislatures of some other states, now provide for a system of direct voting by mail under which nominations are made by the administration and also independent nominations, and the ballots are cast directly by the members.

Originally the companies did not give cash or other surrender values for their policies. It was made compulsory for Massachusetts companies to do so by a state law early in the sixties, and not long after it was also made compulsory for New York companies to give paid-up insurance upon surrender; notwithstanding which, by waiving the law, several companies set out on a career of tontine policies, which were originally wholly forfeitable, but which held out to a persistent policy-holder hopes of very large profits if he survived and sustained his policy. These hopes, however, were not realized and gradually the tontine principle has been abandoned until now the State of New York has wholly prohibited the issue of deferred dividend policies, and several other states have done the same. It seems likely that it will be wholly abandoned in the U. S.

One result of the reaction from cash-surrender legislation which took the form of tontine insurance was the organization of a large number

of mutual-assessment life-insurance associations. More than one half of all the life-insurance now in force in the U. S. is in these organizations, and many more than one half the number of persons carrying insurance. They have furnished insurance on three different plans—viz., first, by assessing the same amount on members without regard to age, whenever there were losses; second, by assessing according to certain ratios fixed at age of entry; third, by assessing according to certain ratios according to the actual age attained at time of assessment. Associations using the first of these systems have nearly all gone out of existence. Associations using the second, which came later into use, are now having an unpleasant experience, and are likely to be driven out of existence unless they reform their plan.

Theoretically the third method is feasible, but in practise it has proved that the companies using it are sure to have very serious adverse selection, as the members grow older, and consequently, that it is not feasible beyond perhaps about age sixty.

Most of them, however, seek to create a level price in spite of the increasing cost by charging more than the insurance costs during the earlier years, with a view to offsetting the increased cost during the latter years. The success of such associations will depend upon the adequacy of this provision. The management of the associations is commonly much more democratic and truly mutual than that of the regular companies, altho some of them are managed in quite as autocratic a manner. Those which operate on the lodge system are, however, all managed on the representative plan, the members electing delegates to state and national conventions which legislate for the association and elect its managers. (See FRATERNAL SOCIETIES.)

Several of the older and stronger of these societies have readjusted their rates in recent years, adopting straight level-rate plans, and in some cases preparing to hold ample and sufficient reserves to maintain the same. In other societies this has not been the case, but a makeshift measure has been employed, the rates, tho increased, being still inadequate.

During 1905 and 1906 a famous investigation of life-insurance companies by a committee of the New York State Legislature, known as the "Armstrong Committee," with Charles E. Hughes as chief counsel, was made. The investigation disclosed the fact that a large number of evils had grown into the management of these companies, and the character of the evils and the remedies therefor are sufficiently indicated by the following synopsis:

The investigators found conspiracies to use the funds of these great companies in controlling other corporations; they prohibited investments in stocks or in "collateral trust" bonds, under which such control could be exercised.

They found "joint accounts," "underwritings and syndicates"; all are prohibited now.

They found directors causing companies to invest where they were themselves interested; every such abuse of trust was interdicted.

They found secret political contributions with the implied consideration "we look after our friends"; now no corporation may make such contributions.

Abuses of Trust Funds They found "yellow-dog" funds, evidences of corruption of legislators and waste unexampled, without accounting or responsibility; they left a law regulating such services and expenditures and calling for complete publicity.

They found extravagant salaries and emoluments, nepotism, sinecures, often without a knowledge of the directors;

they prescribed that the compensation of any man, firm, or corporation, totaling more than \$5,000 in any one year, must be voted by the directors.

They found false entries and false reports to departments; they penalized not merely the making of such but the omission of anything which is required by law.

They found perjury so common and so difficult to prove that men dared swear to contrary statements concerning the same thing, secure unless one could prove which was false; they made this conflict of statement "presumptive proof" of the crime.

They found an actuary of the department on the pay-roll of a company supervised by it. This is now a misdemeanor.

They found life companies of the state which were nearly, almost never, examined by the department. Now each must be examined every three years.

They found that assessment concerns could become legal reserve companies without readjusting the old business on a sound basis. This can be done no longer.

They found false statements of results, lying estimates, and misleading forms of policies that were the chief reproach of the business. Now each and all are proscribed.

They found no enabling statute for the incorporation of mutual life-insurance companies, but, instead, a wide-open provision for incorporating them on an unsound basis; this is now reversed, the assessment act has disappeared, and regular mutual companies may be organized.

They found "deferred-dividend" policies, despite the bitter disappointment of virtually all who had taken them, being thrust upon nearly every applicant by means of seductive "illustrations" and discriminating commissions; they left the field to honest "annual dividends" exclusively.

They found a false standard of solvency which had ruined scores of really solvent companies, and a very necessary evasion of it which alone had enabled many really solvent companies to live; they destroyed the false standard and the evasion and they set up a true "minimum standard" which secures solvency, discourages extravagance, and conserves the sources of dividends.

They found the companies unlimited as to what they could withhold from distribution to the policy-holders; they introduced salutary limitations to the "contingency reserves."

They found "apportionment" of surplus by policy years ending at all sorts of days in the calendar year, a very hodge-podge with "guessing" all but inevitable; they substituted true "distribution" of the ascertained earnings of the calendar year, an open, intelligible process.

They found surrender value laws which were inoperative unless the policy-holder applies within six months after lapse; now, under like conditions, the policy is automatically continued as extended insurance and the family is protected.

They found elections in mutual companies a mere farce, invariably controlled by proxies held by the officers; they introduced an election law, under which, recently, more than 800,000 policy-holders cast their ballots in the two great mutual companies, and so freely express their choice that each side had literally hundreds of thousands of votes.

They found administrations callous and indifferent to policy-holders' just protests; they created conditions which render administrations promptly responsive to the policy-holders' desires.

They found an insatiable and irrational thirst for "volume" of new business; they imposed wholesome restraints to temper it until under control.

They found the mad chase for new business carried on without regard to expense; waste and extravagance abounding here as in no other part of the business; they restrained this within the bounds of a small allowance over the cost of new business in the most economical companies.

They found a bewildering confusion and variety of policies offered by the companies, all drawn by their attorneys with a view to gain some advantage in competition; these they replaced with "standard forms," simple, fair, easy to comprehend, drawn for the policy-holders by Charles E. Hughes.

They found companies doing a non-participating business at a loss, which fell upon participating policy-holders; hereafter New York companies must do one or the other, and cannot do both.

They found annual reports defective, in that full publicity was not secured as to:

1. The facts regarding real-estate holdings and their yield. Much deception had been practised here.

2. The movement of securities during the year. Scandalous substitutions had been hidden for want of this.

3. The items as to commissions on the purchase or sale of property or on loans and as to legal expenses. Here "graft" was concealed.

4. The items of legislative expenses, with dates and notes and "for what?" Here the "yellow dog" had gorged himself.

5. Information as to the last election of directors. This had been carefully withheld.

6. Salaries of officers and directors and all compensations in excess of \$5,000 during the year. Here "nepotism" and "graft" had been rampant.

7. The largest balances in any bank or trust company. Here the control over funds had served individual ends.

8. The facts about resisted and comprised death-claims. Carefully suppress heretofore.

9. Profits and losses for the year, with the profit and loss on new business set forth separately. The New York department, obedient to the companies, had always opposed anything of this sort.

10. Rates of annual dividends for the year for all plans and durations and for four representative ages. Common honesty calls for it. Great Britain had required it for thirty years, but we were derelict.

11. Rates of deferred dividends actually paid during the year. "Illustrations" were in use showing larger figures than actual results in the same company.

12. Rates of accumulations of deferred dividend surplus, for all plans and durations and for four representative ages. No sort of accounting had hitherto been required.

All these and more were incorporated in the requirements of the annual report.

The investigation, in addition to bringing about these reforms in the laws and in the practices of companies, also caused the resignations of the presidents of all three of the largest New York companies and of several other officers who were involved in the irregularities complained of. (See CORRUPTION.)

Similar investigations were carried on during 1906 as follows: New Jersey, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and the Dominion of Canada, and in each case legislation was recommended resembling more or less remotely the new laws of New York. In addition, a committee composed of insurance commissioners held repeated sessions during the year and recommended a series of bills, known as the Committee of Fifteen bills, covering many of the same subjects. Several states have enacted these bills into law, either without modification or with slight modification.

The various investigations did not deal with industrial insurance as a system; but in Massachusetts during the years 1906 and

The Present

1907 various efforts were put forward to introduce a system of industrial insurance in connection with savings-banks, to be carried on without the heavy expenses which attach to the weekly collection business. It met with a great deal of opposition, both on the part of the savings-banks and of the industrial companies, but a law was passed providing for it. It is also very doubtful whether any very large proportion of the industrial business could be held, were there no weekly collection system.

Unquestionably, the insurance problem of this day is to secure good, reliable insurance for the poor at a moderate cost. No one needs insurance as do the poor. They seldom save and often cannot save. When sickness or death enters the family it causes financial anxiety and suffering from which insurance should protect them. Possibly the industrial companies are doing as well as could be expected under the circumstances. It cannot be said that their collectors, as a rule, are making more than living wages. The companies also have voluntarily admitted the policy-holders to the benefits of paid-up insurance values on surrender to which they were not entitled by their contracts, and have disbursed very large sums of money in dividends to policy-holders, also not called for by the contract.

Marine-insurance began in England very early. In the U. S. the first record of it is in 1757 in New York City. In 1794 the Insurance Company of North America was organized to do a marine and fire business. Sickness insurance

Evasions of Law

Elections a Farce

Publicity Provisions Needed

was attempted from 1845 until 1850, but failed of success, there not being sufficient data to work upon. It is now again being undertaken with better prospects. The first accident-insurance company was the Travelers, of Hartford, organized in 1863, which has been successful from the start. Live-stock insurance began in Connecticut in 1866. In the same year the Hartford Steam-Boiler Insurance Company was organized. In 1872 the Guarantee Company of North America began the business of surety insurance, with headquarters at Montreal. In 1876 the Real Estate Title Insurance and Trust Company, of Philadelphia, was organized. Liability insurance did not become popular until about 1890, and burglary insurance only within the last two or three years. Credit insurance has been widely patronized during the last ten years. (See also INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE.)

The recent history of insurance in Europe lies in the development of State and of compulsory insurance. Insurance some consider the most socialistic form of modern business, since its essence is security for the individual by dividing losses over the community. Undoubtedly the future of insurance is involved with that of socialism. The agitation for old-age pensions (*q. v.*) clearly indicates this.

In several countries, notably Switzerland and Norway, there are State fire-insurance companies competing with the stock companies for business. In England there is a system of government annuities. In New Zealand there is an exceedingly successful governmental life-insurance department which does about half the business of that colony, and which now has aggregate assets of more than \$10,000,000. This company also has operated in competition with proprietary and mutual corporations. (See NEW ZEALAND.) The State insurance companies, with the exception of the English annuities, have been almost uniformly successful; but it cannot be said that in the majority of cases they have furnished materially cheaper or more reliable insurance than have private corporations.

It is believed that this phenomenon is explained by the fact that they are competitive and not monopolistic institutions. As a result of their competitive nature, they are compelled to incur practically all the expenses that are incurred by stock corporations.

Wherever insurance has been made a State monopoly, as is the case in the compulsory insurance of Germany, it has been found that it can be conducted with great economy. Even in Germany working men are permitted to exercise the option of insuring in private companies, but the fact of compulsion operates there to make the State insurance practically monopolistic. (See INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE; also INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE, STATE, OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.)

What might be accomplished in the way of furnishing cheap insurance through the means of compulsion in a democratic State might be imagined by the following statement from the *Insurance World*:

Mr. Leslie (Assistant Actuary Government Insurance Department of New Zealand) recently published a study of "The Rates of Mortality in New Zealand," covering the mortality according to the census, which compilation is the best and most practical thing of the sort that has come to our

attention. It also shows that a mortality table constructed with great care from the data which the census-takers collected is not merely more favorable than the tables constructed from the census of any other country, but also more favorable than the experience on insured lives in any compilation, except in that of the Australian Mutual Provident Society. Indeed, so low is this experience that it shows that all the male citizens of New Zealand could be insured from age twenty at a net rate of but \$10.96 per \$1,000 if compulsory insurance existed, *all being taken without regard to state of health*. Such a favorable opportunity to test the virtues of compulsory insurance by the State will probably not be long neglected, especially as the machinery of State insurance is ready for it. The rate for women would be slightly lower than even these figures.

The cost of administration could not be great, and it is probable that this insurance could be furnished at a total cost of not exceeding \$12 per \$1,000 without taking into account the fact that higher rates of interest than 4 per cent, upon which the rate is based, would be for a long time obtained. It must be taken into account also that this compulsory system would furnish to a very large part of the population whose health condition now prevent their obtaining insurance, a protection of which their families stand in need. This beneficent thing would be accomplished not at an increased cost to the healthy and robust, but instead at a diminished cost.

But this is not all. With the introduction of compulsion all necessity for a reserve disappears. The reserve in life-insurance is for the purpose of supplementary future premiums when the same become less than the cost of insurance. If a compulsory system were adopted, this equalization would be brought about by collecting from each productive member of the community, without regard to age or health conditions, his quota of the aggregate losses. Actuaries agree that this would be entirely practicable on the basis of compulsory insurance, altho entirely impracticable when the young and healthy are free to enter or not, as they choose. The effect of this would be that probably all persons in New Zealand, for instance, could be permanently supplied insurance at a cost not much, if any, exceeding \$12 or \$13 per \$1,000. As the New Zealand insurance department already supplies conveniences for monthly and for four-weekly payments without adding any considerable sum for the additional expense, there seems to be no reason why this experiment should not be tried by this colony, which is already so far ahead of the rest of the world in socialistic enterprise.

MILES M. DAWSON.

Statistics

LIFE-INSURANCE IN THE U. S.

[Prepared by Frederick L. Hoffman, Insurance Statistician, Newark, N. J.]

CALENDAR YEAR	ORDINARY		INDUSTRIAL	
	Number of policies	Amount in thousands	Number of policies	Amount in thousands
		<i>Dollars</i>		<i>Dollars</i>
1850.....	29,407	68,614	.....	.....
1860.....	60,000	180,000	.....	.....
1870.....	839,226	2,262,847	.....	.....
1880.....	679,690	1,564,183	.....	.....
1890.....	1,319,561	3,620,057	.....	20,533
1900.....	3,176,051	7,093,152	.....	3,883,529
1901.....	3,693,702	7,953,989	.....	429,521
1902.....	4,160,088	8,701,587	.....	1,468,986
1903.....	4,694,021	9,593,008	.....	12,337,022
1904.....	5,507,759	10,412,078	.....	13,448,124
1905.....	5,621,417	11,054,255	.....	1,640,857
			.....	1,806,890
			.....	1,977,599
			.....	15,674,384
			.....	2,135,859
			.....	2,309,754

INCOME, PAYMENTS, ASSETS, ETC., IN 1880 AND FROM 1885 TO 1905

CALENDAR YEAR	Total income in thousands	Total payments to policy-holders in thousands	Assets in thousands	Liabilities in thousands
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
1880.....	80,537	55,881	452,680	
1885.....	111,122	64,306	551,828	
1886.....	123,614	64,029	585,201	
1887.....	137,913	71,231	619,137	
1888.....	155,477	77,542	668,196	
1889.....	177,607	83,031	720,237	
1890.....	196,938	90,007	770,973	678,681
1891.....	213,444	97,026	840,579	740,226
1892.....	227,622	104,506	919,342	802,677
1893.....	241,727	112,648	987,946	868,600
1894.....	261,959	118,423	1,073,156	930,937
1895.....	271,928	125,136	1,159,873	997,668
1896.....	283,726	136,179	1,243,561	1,066,541
1897.....	304,945	139,405	1,344,903	1,157,010
1898.....	325,452	146,804	1,462,651	1,245,788
1899.....	365,368	159,987	1,595,208	1,365,873
1900.....	400,603	168,687	1,742,414	1,493,378
1901.....	457,905	192,388	1,910,784	1,640,289
1902.....	504,527	199,883	2,091,822	1,798,136
1903.....	553,639	225,842	2,205,221	1,978,823
1904.....	599,081	247,052	2,498,960	2,168,468
1905.....	642,058	264,968	2,766,186	2,372,573

Fire- and Marine-Insurance

[Data of the Spectator Company, New York, N. Y.]

CALENDAR YEAR	STOCK AND MUTUAL COMPANIES			
	Number of companies	Total income, thousands	Payments to policy-holders	
			Losses, thousands	Dividends, thousands
		Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
1890.....	580	157,857	75,334	5,433
1900.....	493	198,312	108,307	8,446
1901.....	482	216,452	112,008	9,011
1902.....	489	239,468	113,147	10,184
1903.....	526	258,340	112,817	11,559
1904.....	515	278,340	151,264	12,835
1905.....	575	1,264	125,074	14,379

Fraternal Societies

In 1905 there were in the U. S. 87,758 lodges with 5,111,480 members (4,879,412 being full members).

Jan. 1, 1905, they had \$6,665,141.251 of insurance in force; assets of \$51,465,430, and liabilities of \$9,619,089. The oldest dated from 1868.

GREAT BRITAIN

Industrial and Provident Societies (United Kingdom).

	1890	1900	1904
Number of societies making returns.....	1,417	1,817	2,185
Number of members.....	1,054,229	1,778,401	2,195,400
Share capital.....	£ 12,055,987	£ 23,255,837	£ 28,254,716
Loan capital.....	2,733,539		
Due to depositors and other creditors.....		10,962,283	13,031,261
Sales of goods.....	41,497,029	77,529,915	92,789,884

Life-Assurance and Annuities

I. Ordinary Life-insurance Companies

	1890	1900	1904
	£	£	£
Premiums.....	14,833,359	21,795,619	24,547,873
Consideration for annuities.....	1,184,705	1,716,027	1,793,736
Interest (less tax).....	6,744,870	8,910,353	10,450,303
Net increase in value of investments.....	30,864	13,319	
Miscellaneous.....	80,861	56,941	56,366
Total income.....	22,874,665	32,492,259	36,854,278
Claims.....	11,783,890	16,937,676	17,866,469
Cash bonuses and reduction of premiums.....	1,057,400	1,068,021	879,546
Annuities.....	871,070	1,775,793	2,082,473
Surrender.....	792,073	1,125,455	1,636,373
Management (including commission).....	2,122,209	2,992,081	3,313,305
Dividends, bonuses, etc., to shareholders.....	498,344	434,018	467,445
Net decrease in value of investments.....			88,748
Miscellaneous.....	13,600	76,698	100,759
Total outgo.....	17,138,586	24,409,742	26,435,118
Paid-up capital.....	11,352,139	11,729,334	11,751,517
Life and annuity funds.....	165,920,161	246,129,803	284,533,609
Fire and marine funds of companies transacting life business.....	10,365,382	11,518,902	15,486,559
Reserve funds.....	4,520,904	4,431,505	4,636,578
Profit and loss balance.....	2,908,720	4,533,249	4,808,119

II. Industrial Companies

	1890	1900	1904
	£	£	£
Premiums.....	5,031,826	9,296,047	11,093,268
Consideration for annuities.....	75	6,886	3,846
Interest (less tax).....	274,562	676,180	934,706
Net increase in value of investments.....			
Miscellaneous.....	2,127	63,965	84,737
Total.....	5,308,590	10,043,178	12,116,557
Claims.....	2,184,851	3,866,537	4,255,966
Cash bonuses and reduction of premiums.....		960	342
Annuities.....	1,134	7,858	12,690
Surrenders.....	12,534	38,059	79,775
Management (including commission).....	2,221,889	3,946,893	4,827,650
Dividends, bonuses, etc., to shareholders.....	53,901	1,267,203	557,282
Net decrease in value of investments.....	463	8,865	3,490
Miscellaneous.....	141	845	8,445
Total.....	4,474,913	8,347,280	9,745,640
Paid-up capital.....	519,744	1,670,290	1,951,014
Life and annuity funds.....	8,873,082	20,478,503	28,544,624
Reserve funds.....		850,000	1,540,793

Both these tables show a remarkable increase of receipts, that is, of about 90 per cent; the outgo was slightly more. The industrial companies had even better success, since the receipts increased over 110 per cent, and the outgo in the same ratio. The paid-up capital of the latter more than trebled in nearly twenty-five years; life and annuity funds increased nearly 350 per cent; while the reserve funds increased over 90 per cent within four years.

Life-Assurance and Annuities entered into by the National Debt Office (including contracts entered into through the medium of Trustee Savings-Banks)

	1890-1	1900-1	1905-6
<i>Annuities Immediate</i>			
Contracts for annuities entered into:			
Number.....	666	540	685
Amount of annuities.....	£42,351	£31,381	£57,130
Receipts by the banks and National Debt Office in respect of contracts.....	£501,208	£410,983	£674,680
<i>Annuities Deferred</i>			
Contracts for annuities entered into:			
Number.....	17	16	10
Amount of annuities.....	£486	£279	£210
Receipts by the banks and National Debt Office in respect of contracts.....	£3,707	£2,456	£2,296

¹ Including the money value of stock transferred for the purchase of annuities.

Life Annuities and Assurances entered into through the Post-office

	1890	1901	1905
<i>Annuities Immediate</i>			
Contracts for annuities entered into:			
Number.....	948	1,764	1,840
Amount of annuities.....	£21,950	£42,268	£45,488
Receipts by post-office in respect of contracts.....	£273,578	£562,159	£573,205
Payments by post-office in respect of contracts:			
Number (payable half-yearly).....	17,976	33,269	37,686
Amount.....	£206,422	£527,371	£614,406
<i>Annuities Deferred</i>			
Contracts for annuities entered into:			
Number.....	116	142	158
Amount of annuities.....	£2,527	£3,066	£3,204
Receipts by post-office in respect of contracts.....	£14,283	£23,630	£24,287
Payments by post-office in respect of contracts:			
Number (payable half-yearly).....	412	1,075	1,347
Amount.....	£4,644	£14,175	£16,965
<i>Life Assurances</i>			
Contracts for life assurances entered into:			
Number.....	468	920	741
Amount of assurances.....	£25,466	£44,296	£37,011
Receipts by post-office in respect of contracts.....	£14,422	£22,647	£23,376
Payments by post-office in respect of contracts.....			
Number.....	196	380	449
Amount of claims on death and surrender.....	£6,841	£12,992	£15,593

GERMANY

There are a number of insurance companies in Germany doing business apart from the compulsory insurance of the State (see INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE); these companies are, however, supervised by the State.

Life-insurance companies number 39—28 stock companies and 11 "mutual" companies, aside from a number of small concerns of a purely local character; 23 stock companies had in Dec., 1903,

about 28,000 policies in force; 12 mutual societies had 22,548 policies. The income in 1903 of 26 stock companies was 254,212,000 marks, expenses 221,517,000; that of 21 "mutual" societies 219,460,000 and 179,207,000. The income of 9 "people's" companies was 62,507,000; expenses, 52,040,000.

Fire-insurance is engaged in by 33 large stock companies and 16 mutual companies. The former had an income in 1903 of 126,133,000; expenses, 106,584,000; the latter, 30,821,000 and 13,304,000. All of these companies usually engage also in hail, flood, and burglary insurance.

INTEMPERANCE: For a discussion of the various ways of dealing with the social problem of intemperance, see CENTRAL PUBLIC-HOUSE TRUST ASSOCIATION; COFFEE-HOUSES; HIGH LICENSE; LOCAL OPTION; LOCAL PROHIBITION; NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC; NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM; PROHIBITION; DISPENSARY SYSTEM. For the history of the temperance movement, see TEMPERANCE. For the extent of the traffic, see LIQUOR TRAFFIC. For a discussion of how far intemperance is the cause of poverty and crime, see POVERTY.

We present here various statements as to the evils of intemperance from well-known students of the question:

Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand as apparent chief cause in as many cases (of pauperism) as sickness or old age, but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met. Drink must therefore be accounted the most prolific of all the causes, and it is the least necessary.—*Charles Booth, in his book on Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age* (pp. 140, 141).

"The destruction of the poor is their poverty," and the present licensing system is a chief cause of the present-time poverty, debasement, and weakness of the poor.—*John Burns, M.P., and 139 other British labor leaders, in an address supporting the Veto bill in 1893.*

For myself, twenty-one years of study and observation have convinced me that poverty is a prime cause of intemperance, and that misery is the mother and hereditary appetite the father of the drink hallucination.

To the labor reformers I have to say, you have united for home protection; so have we. You will bring it about by standing together at the ballot-box; so shall we. In the slums they drink to forget; we would make life something they would gladly remember. We once said intemperance was the cause of poverty; now we have completed the circle of truth by saying poverty causes intemperance, and that the underpaid, underfed, undersheltered wage-earning teetotaler deserves a thousand times more credit than the teetotaler who is well paid, well fed, and well cared for. Our objects are the same. Let us clasp hands in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace.

Ten years ago I could not have said it honestly, five years ago I could not have said it helpfully, but now I fearlessly declare that I believe it to be the right and duty of white ribbon women to help abolish poverty in the largest sense of that great phrase; but I must in the same breath ask our friends of the labor movement to recognize that our special work for the abolition of poverty consists in the abolition of the public house and the saloon.—*Frances E. Willard, in her presidential address before the World's W. C. T. U., in London, June, 1895.*

If I could I would inaugurate a strike that would drive the liquor traffic from the face of the earth.—*P. M. Arthur, Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in a speech at Cleveland, Ohio, March 28, 1886.*

The liquor traffic is responsible for nine tenths of the misery among the working classes, and the abolition of that traffic would be the greatest blessing which could come to them.—*T. V. Powderly, ex-General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor.*

I have looked into a thousand homes of the working people of Europe; I do not know how many in this country. I have tried to find the best and the worst; and while, as I say, I am aware that the worst exists, and as bad as under any system or as bad as in any age, I have never had to look beyond the inmates to find the cause; and in every case, so far as my own observation goes, drunkenness was at the bottom of the misery, and not the industrial system or the industrial conditions surrounding the men and their families.—*Unied*

States Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, in an address on the Relation of the Modern System of Industry to Intellectual Development (1895).

If I could have my way I would wipe out every saloon. The saloon is the prolific source of nine tenths of the misery, wretchedness, and crime, and is, more than we know, responsible for the social evil.—*Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., in an interview in The Voice of Jan. 16, 1896.*

After all, if we hunt vice and crime back to their lairs we will be pretty sure to find them in the gin-mill. Drunkenness is the prolific mother of most of the evil-doing. Drunkenness is the prime cause of all the trouble.—*Thomas Byrnes, while Superintendent of the New York Police Department.*

The relation of the liquor traffic to economics, says James C. Fernald in his "Economics of Prohibition," is one which the masters of the science have scarcely begun to touch. He says:

Liquor selling does not pay. . . . Tell the lumberman of Michigan how many thousands of drinking farmers will shingle their homes and barns, or build new ones, as soon as they "quit their meanness," and how many thousands of houses will be built in all our suburbs for the working men when none of them drink away the money that might pay the rent, or buy the cottage. Show the shoe manufacturers of Massachusetts what it means to take all the bare feet of drunkards' children off the ground. Let the iron men of Pennsylvania know that new stoves will be at once needed in a hundred thousand homes, when the saloon-keeper ceases to get the money. Tell the miners they will have work all winter through, getting coal enough to put into those stoves. Tell the cotton-planters of the South that there will be about 10,000,000 new calico dresses and aprons wanted as soon as the 2,000,000 tipplers cease to tipple, and go home with some spare change. Let the ranchmen of Dakota and New Mexico, and Armour's men in Chicago, know that there's going to be beef on thousands of tables, where now are a few cold potatoes, as soon as we can carry Prohibition. Tell the wool-grower of Ohio that everybody in this country is going to be wrapped in woolen and sleep under blankets when the blizzards blow and the thermometer ranges about zero, and men no longer heat up with liquid fire in order to exterminate their families with atmospheric cold. Tell the grocer he can sell for cash, and say good-by to bad debts, when the dimes no longer go into the saloon till. Tell the farmer there is going to be an unheard-of demand for flour, and meal, and butter, and cheese, and eggs as soon as the bloated beer-holders cease fostering that industry, and begin filling out the hollow cheeks of wives and children.

As to the relation of drink to crime, a careful investigation was made by Carroll D. Wright when he was in charge of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor.

He analyzed the crimes committed in Suffolk County, which contains the city of Boston, for the year ending Sept. 1, 1880. The total number of sentences passed during the year was 16,897, of which 12,289, or 72 per cent, were for offenses clearly due to drink, 12,221 being for drunkenness and 68 for illegal sales of liquor. Of the remaining 4,668 persons convicted of various crimes, Mr. Wright found that 2,097 had committed them while under the influence of liquor, and that the intent to commit the crime was formed by 1,918 while under the influence of liquor. It was found in 1,804 cases that the crime was committed under conditions induced by the drinking habits of criminals, while in 821 cases the drinking habits of others induced the crime condition.

If the 2,097, who were shown to have committed their offenses while under the influence of drink, be added to the 12,289 convicted of "distinctively rum offenses," this makes 14,386 out of the total 16,897 commitments, or 84 per cent, due to drink particularly.

Prof. J. J. McCook, of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., in a paper read before the Twentieth Century Club, of that city, in 1895, speaks of the relation of drink to crime in these words:

For twelve years the police arrests for drunkenness alone averaged in Hartford 62.8 per cent of the whole number, while the drunkenness and its allied offenses numbered 80.67 per cent. This proportion is perhaps somewhat larger than in most places, but it may generally be expected to be at least as high as three fifths.

Ninety-five to ninety-seven out of every hundred incarcerated in our jail are self-confessed drinkers, altho they pleasantly add "moderate" to the title; and from 43.6 to 56.1 per cent of them are there specifically for drunkenness, and fully 66 per cent, or two thirds of them, are there for that and its resulting crimes. There were 1,393 of them there last year out of a total of 2,111.

Of the 381 captives in our state prison last year, 46.8, or almost half, thought drink had done it.

Take special phases of crime, for example:

Abuse, neglect, or abandonment of children. Those most familiar with the subject in this neighborhood have put the proportion of cases attributable to drink at or beyond two thirds. From the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, with headquarters in Philadelphia, a former vice-president, in talking with me, fixt the proportion roughly at four fifths to nine tenths. But the secretary gives me definite statistics for 1891-'92, showing 309 cases of drink out of a total of 864 in 1891, and 359 out of 987 in 1892, i. e., from 35.8 per cent to 36.4 per cent. In some previous years the percentage had been as high as 50.

Take murder and homicide. During the months of January, February, and March of last year I clipt from three daily papers here every case of murder and homicide and classified them according to assigned causes. In a very large proportion no cause was given. All such were reckoned as not due to drink—which is, of course, conceding far too much—and drink was charged only when definitely assigned. In January there were 31 cases, of which 9 were due to drink; in February there were 67, of which 10 to drink; in March, 41, of which 10 to drink. The total was 110, with 29 cases, or 26.9 per cent, specifically attributed to drink.

The business men of the country recognize the importance of having sober men. *The Voice* has collected information from leading officials of forty-five railroads, having some 200,000 employees. Without exception, all agreed that, from their business experience, "habitual drinking makes employees less efficient in their work." In reply to the question, "Does your company forbid the use of intoxicants to employees while on duty?" all, without a single exception, replied that they did. (See also LIQUOR TRAFFIC.)

INTEREST, as the word is popularly used, may be defined as the price paid for the use of money. In exacter thought it is the price paid for the use of *capital* (money or any other form of capital). It is identical with the original meaning of the word *usury*, which, according to all lexicographers, originally meant not, as now, exorbitant interest, but any interest at all, usury being what was paid for *using* money. When the Old Testament forbids *usury*, it is *interest* that is forbidden—taking any pay for the use of money. But this raises a question we shall not here discuss. (For a discussion of the rightfulness or wrongfulness of taking interest and for a history of that question in ethics, see *USURY*.) We here ask simply what part does interest play in modern economic relations; what are the laws which govern it, and how may they be used for the social good?

Here we must, however, sharply notice several important distinctions. The capitalist who invests money to-day usually gets more than mere payment for the use of his money. Why this is so it is easy to see by considering the case first not of a lender of money, but of a corporation or company in business to made money. To do this at the start, it often, perhaps usually, has to borrow money. It does this, hoping out of its business to pay not only for the use of the money borrowed, but also to clear some profits for itself. If it were not for this hope it would not borrow the money or go into business. It can thus be seen that interest or what it pays for the use of borrowed money and profits for itself are two distinct things. Interest may be and often is at 6 per cent when profits are at 12 or more. It is, of course, often true that in a business there may not be for a long time, and possibly may never be, any profits. The business may be run simply paying rent, wages, and interest; but this is only done for a while, because it is hoped that eventually profits will accrue. Thus having

seen the distinction between profits and interest in the case of a business corporation, we can now see that they are still distinct even when paid to the same person. A corporation or individual may have money enough to furnish their own capital without borrowing. They, in this case, may be said to borrow of themselves. They expect, therefore, not only profits, but interest on the money they put in. They expect this because capital, under competition, can always command some interest (whatever the market rate is), and they go into business only because they expect to get something more than the mere rate paid for the use of money; they expect to get some profit out of their especial venture or undertaking. Interest and profits (*q. v.*) are thus distinct.

We must now see another distinction. Some trades are more risky and uncertain and perhaps more dangerous than others. Those who invest money in such pursuits, therefore, demand and can get extra pay for running an unusual risk. They can get this, for otherwise they would prefer to put their money in safer ventures. Hence besides ordinary interest or payment for the use of money, they get extraordinary interest or payment for their risk. Hence such interest is really made up of two elements: (1) payment for the use of money—interest proper; and (2) indemnity for risk. Thus, a corporation or individual has to pay, besides wages, and rent, and interest proper on its capital, an indemnity for its risks and profits or dividends (if it has stockholders) on its business. In economic thought the general word *interest* is generally used to cover the indemnity for extra risks, and the expression *interest proper* is used for interest in its narrower sense of the ordinary payment for the use of money. We shall so use the terms in this article.

We come now to ask what are the laws which govern interest? Interest, under competition, is governed, in the first place, by the law of supply and demand. When there is much loanable capital, interest falls; where there is much demand for capital, interest rises.

Says Professor Marshall ("Economics of Industry"):

Combining the laws of supply and demand we get the law of the normal rate of interest, which is: When the economic conditions of a country have been nearly uniform for a long period of time, the supply of capital is such that the rate of interest which can be obtained for it is that which has been required to cause this supply to be forthcoming; and the rate thus determined is the normal rate. The rate is in equilibrium when it is just that at which the whole supply of capital can find employment.

Laws of Interest

From this general statement many minor truths follow. First, interest (including in it payment for risk) varies with the risk of losing the capital invested. Where this risk is at all serious, interest grows very high. Unstable governments like Turkey or Egypt, or "shaky concerns" or doubtful parties pay sometimes enormous rates of interest. The poor always have to pay higher risks than the rich. Four or 5 per cent a month (48 and 60 per cent a year) are not uncommon rates in pawnbrokers' shops. Forty dollars are not infrequently paid by the poor in a few months for a first loan of \$20 or less. Second, interest varies with the length of time for which the capital is borrowed. People want proportionate compensation for the trouble of frequent transference of capital and their risk of being unable to replace at once. Money on short-

time loans will be often three times long-time rates. Here again the poor, who borrow to meet immediate necessities, are often at great disadvantage. Third, interest tends to an equality in different trades.

Says Professor Jevons, in his "Primer of Political Economy":

The most important fact about interest is that it is the same in one business as in another. The rates of profit differ very much, it is true, but this is because the labor of superintendence is different, or because there is greater risk in one trade than in another. But the true interest is the same, because capital, being lent in the form of money, can be lent to one trade just as easily as to another. There is nothing in circulating capital which fits it for one trade more than another; accordingly it will be lent to that trade which offers ever so little more interest than other trades. Thus there is a constant tendency to the equality of interest in all branches of industry.

Fourth, interest tends to obey the so-called law of diminishing returns (*q. v.*). As civilization advances, the price for the use of money falls, for various reasons: (a) Because stability and confidence, as a rule, increase, and less and less of the element of payment for risk enters into the payment for money; (b) because as society grows wealthy the supply of capital increases in proportion to the demand—how this is modified we shall see later; (c) because capital applied to land already well cultivated causes in general a less than proportionate increase in the return, or, as we may say, it will obtain a diminishing return. This last element is called by some economists exclusively the law of diminishing return (*q. v.*). How all these laws are modified by the advance of civilization in opening up new channels for the employment of capital we shall in a moment see. But it is necessary to note this law, for it is made much of by writers like Edward Atkinson, who assert that capital is always getting a less and less portion in distribution, and labor always more and more.

It is true of interest as the price paid for the use of capital; it is only partially true of the whole share of capital. The latter, as we have seen, includes interest proper and profit or dividends. Now, interest proper may decrease and yet dividends increase. A fall in the current rate of interest, says G. Bernard Shaw, indicates rather "a tendency of the real interest or share of capital to increase. Current rates of interest we all know tend to fall with increase of population; yet at the same time the market value of established stock rises with increasing population, rises, therefore, as the current rates fall. The current rate," he says, "must, under present conditions, eventually fall to zero, and even become 'negative.' By that time shares which now bring in a dividend of 100 per cent may very possibly bring in 200 or more."

Capital, by being invested in established stocks, may thus be getting larger dividends, altho the popular rate of interest be falling. Again, tho the rate of both dividends and popular interest be falling, the return to the wealth of a few individuals may be steadily gaining, because the amount of the principal on which they draw grows rapidly. Two per cent on \$1,000,000 is better than 10 per cent on \$1,000. While millionaires are, as at present, yearly adding millions to their principal, it is small comfort to the poor to be shown by Mr. Atkinson that the rate of interest or even of dividends may be slightly falling.

Coming now to ask what are the present rates of interest, Professor Jevons, writing in 1878, says ("Primer of Political Economy"):

The rates of interest actually paid in business vary very much, from 1 or 2 per cent, up to 50 per cent or more. When the rate is above 5 or 6 per cent, it will be to some extent not true interest, but compensation for the risk of losing the capital altogether. To learn the true average rate of interest, we must inquire what is paid for money lent to those who are sure to pay it back, and who give property in pledge, so that there may be no doubt about the matter. It seems probable that the true average rate of interest in England is at present about 4 per cent, but it varies in different countries, being lower in England and Holland than anywhere else.

Says Professor Marshall more recently ("Economics of Industry"):

The normal rate of interest in England does not seem likely to deviate much from 4 per cent for some time to come; but it may be slowly altered by changes in the field of employment, while the market rate of interest is oscillating rapidly up and down on either side of the normal rate as a center. . . . A rate of 8 per cent on sound investments has spread like a wave steadily over the greater part of the North American continent; and this is being followed by waves of 7 and of 6 and even 5 per cent interest that have already started on their way westward and southward from the Northern Atlantic States."

Concerning the future, he says:

It is difficult to forecast the distant future of the rate of interest. Hitherto the progress of civilization has increased the willingness to save at a low rate. In old countries, in which men are accustomed to work patiently for small gains and to value highly the possession of a secure income, a low rate of interest seems to have little effect in checking the accumulation of capital. In England, for instance, in spite of the low rate of interest, the capital of the country is increasing at the average rate of about £200,000,000 annually; that is, by a little more than a thirtieth of its total amount. If this rate of increase were sustained for 400 years, the capital owned by Englishmen would be multiplied a millionfold, and in 800 years a billionfold. But however high the hopes we may have of the future progress of the arts of production, we cannot suppose that there will ever be a field for the profitable employment of as much capital as this. Sooner or later the rapid growth of capital must increase the competition of labor for the aid of labor, and diminish the competition of labor for the aid of capital.

Professor Marshall therefore concludes that the share that capital may draw from production will probably tend to be less, and so interest falls. He thinks, however, that it will not fall rapidly to a minimum, but fall slowly, and the rate of fall become slower and slower as it approaches the minimum. A recent illustration in the United States of the lowering of interest is the refunding in Feb., 1897, of some forty odd millions of maturing 7 per cent bonds of the Lake Shore Railway in a 3½ per cent 100-year gold issue limited to \$50,000,000.

But it must not be thought that the problem of interest will be removed from the world while wealth goes on amassing, as it has in England and New York City, for example, with the consequent increasing returns to the fortunate few in spite of falling interest.

Indeed, the fall of interest accompanied by the amassing of wealth rather intensifies many of the problems involved in interest, because when the rate of interest is low, it takes a very large capital to produce the income demanded by many modern families. Hence there results an increasing dissatisfaction with small capital and a more feverish and intenser struggle to earn, and perhaps quite as likely to inherit or by fortunate speculation to acquire large fortunes. This very dissatisfaction tends to induce a willingness on the one hand to run large risks and deal in speculative interests, which makes interest a little higher, and also tends to create a demand for socialistic and other reforms, which again tends to raise interest by making investments insecure and profits uncertain. Only very large capitals and strong houses and corporations can stand hard times and low rates of interest. Thus in the

question of the future of interest is involved the whole social movement.

All we can do is to note the laws which at present govern the rate of interest. Besides those above noted, or, rather, as special applications of those laws, we may see that every invention or discovery tends, for a while at least, to raise interest, because it creates a new demand for capital to put the inven-

Other Factors

tion in operation. It may, however, eventually lower interest because it may enable men to produce with much less expensive plant. The general tendency of invention, however, has been to cheapen production by increasing the cost and extent of plant to enable the producer to very much increase the volume of his product, and so make greater profits by selling at lower rates. The invention of steam transportation has cheapened products, but has enormously increased the demand for capital. Density of population, too, tends to increase the opportunity to use capital. So, too, does the raising of the standard of living. Marshall points out that when a community begins to outgrow its primitive cheap buildings and demands expensive buildings, the demand for capital rises, and with it the rate of interest. One other factor and a general conclusion Marshall states in these words:

There is also the demand for the loan of wealth by persons or states who do not intend to use it productively, but who mortgage their future incomes to enable them to increase their expenditure in the present. This part also of the demand for capital will be the greater the lower the rate of interest at which loans can be obtained.

We see then that the demand for capital depends on the numbers of the population, the natural resources of the country, the scope that the arts of production afford for the employment of auxiliary capital, and the needs of unproductive consumers.

PROPOSED REFORMS

Such being the main laws which govern interest, we come now to ask how they may be used for the social good. The advantage of low interest to a community is apparent. It may indeed be abused by persons borrowing when they would do better not to borrow; but this is a matter of education, and is overbalanced by the stimulus which low interest gives to production, the employment of labor, and the development of natural resources, with all the accompanying advantages. Therefore many schemes have been proposed looking to the lowering of interest. The oldest and seemingly the simplest of these is for government to enact laws forbidding interest above a fixed rate. This was in the Middle Ages, and until recent times the universal custom, due in part to the medieval belief that interest was wrong (see USURY); and in part to a paternal theory of government, according to which the state should aid the poor. To-day few believe in this method. It is seen that practically its only effect is to raise and not lower the price. We quote on this point a classical passage from J. S. Mill ("Political Economy," Book V., chap. x., § 2):

It is, however, a misapprehension of the causes which influence commercial transactions to suppose that the rate of interest is really made lower by law than it would be made by the spontaneous play of supply and demand. If the competition of borrowers left unrestrained would raise the rate of interest to 6 per cent, this proves that at 5 there would be a greater demand for loans than there is capital in the market to supply. If the law in these circumstances permits no interest beyond 5 per cent, there will be some lenders who, not choosing to disobey the law, and not being in a condition to employ their capital otherwise, will content themselves with the legal rate; but others, finding that in a season of

pressing demand more may be made of their capital by other means than they are permitted to make by lending it, will not lend it at all; and the loanable capital, already too small for the demand, will be still further diminished. Of the disappointed candidates there will be many at such periods who must have their necessities supplied at any price, and these will readily find a third section of lenders who will not be averse to join in a violation of the law, either by circuitous transactions partaking of the nature of fraud, or by relying on the honor of the borrower. The extra expense of the roundabout mode of proceeding, and an equivalent for the risk of non-payment and of legal penalties, must be paid by the borrower, over and above the extra interest which would have been required of him by the general state of the market. The laws which were intended to lower the price paid by him for pecuniary accommodation end thus in greatly increasing it. These laws have also a directly demoralizing tendency.

Such restriction, altho approved by Adam Smith, has been condemned by all enlightened persons since the triumphant onslaught made upon it by Bentham in his "Letters on Usury," which may still be referred to as the best extant writing on the subject.

Another popular method for lowering the rate of interest, agitated in the United States since the war, has been the issue of paper currency by the government or by some means the increasing of the currency of the country, thus aiming to increase the amount of capital to be loaned, and thus to lower interest. But the wisdom or unwisdom of this depends wholly on how it is done, and so we consider it under EXPANSION AND CONTRACTION OF CURRENCY. It should be noted here simply that if the rate of interest depend on confidence, as we have stated above, no amount of increase of currency will lower interest, if the currency be depreciated or break public confidence. This is the danger of that plan. If this could be avoided, and it seemed advisable for other reasons, it would doubtless lower interest.

A third popular method for lowering interest, and one recently much agitated, is for the government to make loans to people directly on security of any form of property. It is said that if the government makes loans to the bankers to furnish the banking system of this country, and out of this the bankers make large profit by reloaning the money sometimes at high interest, there is no reason why the government should not do the same by all classes, instead of compelling all others to go to this one favored class of money brokers whenever they need to borrow. There have been various plans proposed for governmental loans, usually at 2 per cent. The agricultural class has been especially active in urging such plans, and especially the so-called sub-treasury plan (*q. v.*), by which government should lend at 2 per cent on agricultural produce brought to appointed government elevators or storehouses. This is by no means a merely popular and unscientific scheme. At the meeting of the American Economic Association, Aug. 23-26, 1892, Professor Commons said ("Report of Proceedings," p. 70):

That seems to me the most scientific plan put forward by any writer or thinker. . . . The sub-treasury will give an elastic currency. I do not want to favor a scheme like this on my own responsibility; but the fact is that this very scheme is in operation, and has been for about six years in Russia. It is not a new thing even in this country. In colonial times Maryland and Virginia had a sub-treasury plan. They had warehouses, where tobacco could be stored, and the farmer was given a certificate, which was legal tender throughout the colonies. It circulated as money, but it did not represent the faith of the government; it represented goods which were stored—just what the farmer wants to-day.

Perhaps the only obstacle to the plan is one of administration, and the question why the same plan should not be applied to all commodities as well as agricultural, and therefore, when it comes

to that, if there cannot be a different scheme of governmental socialism, whereby interest shall not be reduced, but practically abolished.

Fearing that this scheme thus directly leads to socialism, most individualists and all conservatives oppose it, and would trust simply to the competition of capitalists to lower interest, a competition which they say has already lowered interest, so that stable governments can now loan money at 3 per cent, and which they say will gradually still lower all interest, if confidence is not upset by sub-treasury paper money and socialistic schemes.

To this it is answered that competition of capital cannot be trusted, because we are having to-day the *combination* of capital. Wherefore some Socialists would practically abolish interest by having all capital owned by the nation or community and individual wealth be obtained only by a system of labor checks. (See SOCIALISM.) A large number of Socialists, however, with other social reformers would not favor direct attempts to either reduce or abolish interest, but simply by steadily expanding the sphere of the democratic State in and over industry gradually reduce the sphere of and demand for private capital, and hence steadily reduce interest till it finally fell to nil. The mere nationalization of railroads, it is claimed, would cut off such a large opportunity for the investment of money as to leave no adequate field for the enormous fortunes of to-day, and so compel the rapid decline of interest. Still another class of thinkers (see SINGLE TAXERS) believe that interest may be lowered by freeing land values, and so making the producer less dependent upon the capitalist. (See CAPITAL; USURY, etc.)

INTERNATIONAL, THE: The International was a society attempting to unite the working classes of all nations in one socialistic organization. As early as 1840 endeavors were made in this direction, when some German refugees in London formed a *Deutscher Arbeiter-Bildungsverein*, later called the Society of the Fraternal Democrats, and aiming to unite all nationalities. The manifesto published by Marx and Engels, 1847-48, aided the movement. The coming of some French workmen to the London Exhibition of 1862 led to further exchange of ideas, and on Sept. 28, 1863, in St. Martin's Hall, London, a meeting was held under the presidency of Professor Beesly (*q. v.*) and the International organized.

Englishmen were chosen as president, secretary, and treasurer of the general council; corresponding secretaries were appointed for the affiliated countries, and Marx naturally received the office for Germany.

Beginnings At first the policy of the International was little defined, and thus, in endeavoring to unite the workers of all countries, it came to stand for various things in the various countries. Even Mazzini for a while joined it, but drew out when it developed the materialistic socialism he opposed. (See MAZZINI.) In England it meant little more than international trade-unionism, and when English workmen found that on the Continent it meant more they virtually left it. In Germany it became socialistic. (See GERMANY.) In France and most Latin countries it developed anarchist-communism. In the United States it had little more than a nominal existence. These divergences naturally proved its

weakness, but for a while it alarmed all European governments. Marx became its real leader. He wrote an address in which he dwelt upon

the want prevailing among the working classes, want which had continued undiminished since 1848, tho the propertied classes had become more prosperous. He held it to be incontrovertibly proved that the perfection of machinery, the utilization of science in industry and agriculture, the extension of markets, artificial measures like colonization and emigration, as well as free trade, were all unable to relieve the condition of the laboring population. Asking for a remedy, he found it in cooperative labor developed to national dimensions and promoted by State resources. But as the landowning and capitalist classes would be sure to use their political privileges for the defense of their economic monopolies, the working classes must first acquire political power. They possess one element of strength, that of numbers, but numbers without union were of no avail, and thus it was a paramount duty to combine for mutual defense and offense. "Proletariat of all countries, unite!" ended the address.

The European governments began to take alarm. The first congress was to have been held in Brussels, but was not allowed, and another conference was held instead in London. The first real congress was held at Geneva in 1866, sixty delegates being present, and the second at Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1867. The spirit at this congress was more radical, as in the words with which the president closed the congress: "We want no more governments, for governments oppress us by taxes; we want no armies, for armies massacre and murder us; we want no religion, for religion chokes the understanding."

Bakounin, the Russian apostle of nihilism, joined the International and fought with Marx for the leadership. Marx and his friends desired a revolution to be conducted by the orderly political capture of the state and the use of the state to develop communism. Bakounin desired to plant communism on the ruins of the state. For a while his fiery leadership carried the mass of the members with him, particularly in Italy, France, French Switzerland, and Belgium. Germany favored the Marxist policy, and in 1869 the Social Democratic Party was formed on its lines. In 1870 the congress was to have been held in Paris, but this was prevented by the Franco-German War, a war which the International strenuously denounced. The revolutionary spirit gave birth to the uprising of the Paris Commune (*q. v.*), tho the International was not directly connected with it. Marx found that this anarchist element must be suppressed, and the General Council arranged to have the congress of 1872 held at The Hague, where Bakounin could not easily

The End

come, as he was in Switzerland and would have been arrested in passing through either Germany or France. As a result, the Marxist party triumphed at The Hague, and removed the seat of the General Council to New York City to avoid the machinations of Bakounin. The Bakouninists, however, repudiated The Hague congress and held another at Geneva, claiming to represent the true International. The movement thus divided soon came to an end both in Europe and America. For a while the "autonomists," as the Bakounin faction styled themselves, kept up a fiery agitation, created several uprisings in Southern Europe, and in the Latin countries had the majority of the organization with them. But suppressed by the police, and unable to effect solid organization, especially after the death of Bakounin in 1876, the party died as an organization, its members, however, becoming the modern anarchist-communists of Europe. (See ANARCHISM.)

The Marxist movement has passed into the

Social Democratic parties, formed first in Germany and later in even the Latin countries on Marxist lines, the Socialist congresses being the real representatives of the International to-day. (See SOCIALISM.)

In the United States, the International was at first, as in England, considered a mere union of organized labor in all countries, and many American trade-unionists joined it,

United States and delegates were sent to some of its European congresses as in 1867 at Basle. Numerous branches were formed in America, but never took root. After the removal of the General Council to New York in 1872, the struggle between the anarchists and the Socialists reappeared on the new shores. In 1877 the Socialists took the name of the Socialist Labor Party, and left the International practically to the anarchist-communists, the trade-union element having abandoned it long before. The Socialists, however, did not wholly leave it till after the arrival in this country of John Most in 1882 and the final separation in 1885. Among the anarchist-communists two separate societies developed, the I. W. P. A. (International Working People's Association) and the I. W. A. (International Workman's Association), the latter being less violent and emphasizing education. (See ANARCHISM.) Both organizations have disappeared (see ANARCHISM), but their spirit has produced monuments in this country like the so-called anarchist movement in Chicago and the various gatherings and deeds of anarchists.

REFERENCES: Villetard's *Histoire de l'Internationale* (1871); Rae's *History of Socialism*. See also SOCIALISM; ANARCHISM.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION: No great movement has more to show in the way of accomplished facts than that for the substitution of arbitration for war in the settlement of international controversies. A hundred years ago almost nothing had been done in the way of the practical application of the principle of arbitration. Theoretically, the subject had been ably treated by the great publicists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Hugo Grotius, William Penn, the Abbé de St. Pierre, Immanuel Kant, and others—but as between sovereign, independent nations the practise of arbitration was almost unknown.

At the opening of the nineteenth century, however, a new era of arbitration began. The Jay Treaty, negotiated in 1794, provided for the settlement, by mixed commissions, of three disputed questions between the United States and Great Britain. These settlements were the beginning of an interesting series of arbitrations, which have within the last generation increased in number almost in a geometric ratio. Up to 1850 only about thirty international controversies had been adjusted in this way, the U. S. and Great Britain leading in the matter. By the end of the century the number of arbitrations had increased to more than two hundred. Over sixty of these settlements occurred in the decade from 1890 to 1900, an average of more than six a year for the whole ten years. These arbitrations covered disputes of nearly every conceivable kind, from great boundary questions down to mere claims for pecuniary damage. In not one of these cases was the award made by the arbitrators ever rejected. The public faith and honor of the nations was found sufficient always to secure obedi-

ence to the decree of the arbitrator or the temporary tribunal.

During the second half of the century nearly all of the civilized governments went on record, through their parliaments, as favoring the general application of the principle of arbitration to the settlement of international controversies. In a number of cases this approval was by practically unanimous vote.

The setting up of the Permanent International Court of Arbitration by the Hague Conference was not an accident. All of the great peacemakers of the century—Dr. Worcester, Dr. Channing, Charles Sumner, Elihu Burritt, Richard Cobden, John Bright, Henry Richard, Victor Hugo, and others—had pleaded for a court of this character. When the Hague Conference met, in 1899, this plea of the peacemakers, reiterated by the International Peace Congress, the Interparliamentary Union, the Mohonk Conference, and other similar organizations, had become so powerful and the undisputed success of arbitration in practise had become so great that the conference saw that the logical thing to do was to incorporate arbitration into a general system to take the place of the temporary tribunals, which had previously been created for disputes as they arose. The result was the setting up of the Hague Court, to which twenty-six powers are parties. The court is composed of seventy-six judges, each nation being entitled to not more than four representatives in the tribunal.

This international tribunal was successfully inaugurated in 1902 by a reference to it by the governments of the U. S. and of Mexico of

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the long-standing Pious-Fund controversy. Three other controversies—the Japanese House Tax case, the Venezuela Preferential Payment case, and the difference between Great Britain and France as to the treaty rights in Muscat—have been successfully adjudicated by the court, which is now thoroughly established in the confidence of the nations as the proper medium for the adjustment of any controversy which may hereafter arise among the signatory powers. The court has been further strengthened and its permanency assured by the conclusion of special treaties of obligatory arbitration stipulating reference of disputes to its jurisdiction. The first of these treaties was that concluded between Great Britain and France on Oct. 14, 1903. Since that time thirty-eight similar treaties have been signed between the European nations, two and two, and six between South American countries or South American and European nations. Two of these treaties, those between Denmark and the Netherlands and Denmark and Italy, are without limitations of any kind. One of them, the Danish-Portuguese, is drawn for ten years, but is otherwise unlimited. The Norwegian-Swedish treaty is concluded for a period of ten years, and provides that questions of honor or vital interest, should they arise, shall be submitted to a preliminary investigation by the Hague Court. The rest of them run for five years and stipulate reference to the Hague Court only of questions of a judicial order and disputes arising about the application or interpretation of treaties.

The international arbitration movement has made steady and substantial progress the past year. The various organizations working for the pacific settlement of international disputes and

the ultimate extinction of war—the peace societies, the peace congresses, national and international, the Interparliamentary Union, the International Law Association, the Mohonk Conference, and other kindred bodies—have all enlarged and strengthened their forces.

The National Peace Congress, held in New York in April last and attended by more than a thousand representatives from no less than thirty-eight states, among whom were some of the most eminent men of the nation, was the greatest arbitration and peace demonstration ever held, and revealed in an unexpected measure the extraordinary hold which the ideals of arbitration and peace have taken upon the masses of the people and even upon the national authorities.

The number of treaties of obligatory arbitration concluded by the nations, two and two, has increased to forty-five, the last of these being the Danish-Portuguese Treaty, signed in March, 1907.

Present Status

This treaty, as stated above, is to run for ten years and stipulates the reference to the Hague Court of all disputes between the two governments, whatever may be their nature. But this is the only treaty of its kind negotiated during the past year. The movement which has led to the signing of these forty-five treaties has practically spent itself, most of the important powers having concluded with other countries from ten to twelve conventions of this character. It is not likely that many more if any such treaties will be made, the demand of the civilized peoples now being for something much more general than these limited conventions.

No new cases of controversy have been referred to the Hague Court during 1907. The reason for this has not been, as has been suggested, distrust of the court or decline of interest in the principle of arbitration. The contrary is true; the spirit which has created the practise of arbitration between nations, and given it such remarkable development in the last generation, has grown so strong that the nations are living in a new attitude toward one another, and the result is that either there are no serious controversies, or such as arise are speedily and amicably settled through the ordinary channels of diplomacy. The reaction of the arbitration movement upon diplomacy has, indeed, been very remarkable, and what was once not unjustly considered to be an agency for the fomenting of strife and war has become now one of the most trustworthy and settled agencies for the preservation and promotion of peace. Modern diplomacy has nearly done with war.

International visits, like that of Secretary Root to South America, or of the European heads of government to one another, have now become a part of the fixt international order of the day. Exchange of visits between French and English statesmen and men of affairs, between British and German editors, and between business organizations of different countries, cannot do otherwise than remove prejudices, eradicate causes of misunderstanding, and thus diminish conflicts of a kind which require the services of arbitration courts. Out of this exchange of visits, and to promote further intercourse of the same kind, an Association for International Conciliation has been formed by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant of the French Senate. A branch of this association has been recently created in the U. S., and it is proposed that sim-

ilar branches shall be established as rapidly as possible in all the countries of the world. This conciliation movement goes even deeper than the arbitration movement, and just in proportion as it expands and grows will the arbitration of disputes become less and less frequent, because the growing spirit of conciliation will greatly diminish international controversies.

Outside of the Hague Court there has been little during 1907 in the way of arbitration. A few cases of boundary delimitation and of the adjustment of pecuniary claims, mostly of some years' standing, have been concluded during the year, and a few are still pending. But of serious cases of arbitration there have been none. And it need not surprise us if the Hague Court finds little to do in the near future.

Nothing recently has advanced the cause of international friendship and peace more, probably, than the third International American Conference, which met at Rio Janeiro in July, 1906. The result of this conference has been not simply to reassert and emphasize the conclusions of the second Pan-American Congress in regard to arbitration, but also to create what gives every evidence of being a permanent international union of the American republics. The reorganization of the Bureau of the American Republics and the provision for it of a permanent and worthy home in our national capital has given the twenty-one states of the Western world an organ through which all their common interests and their differences may hereafter be successfully treated and adjusted in the spirit of justice and friendly concert. The result is sure to be a lessening of the causes of contention among these states, and the establishment of peace among them on a much more permanent and immovable foundation. The influence of this Pan-American union in hastening the creation of a similar larger union of the nations of the world is sure to be very powerful. The world can no longer move in halves; and what the Western hemisphere has already done for itself is sure to be realized at no distant date between the two hemispheres.

The great international event of 1907, however, is, of course, the meeting of the second Intergovernmental Conference at The Hague. We have in this, for the first time in human history, an assembly of representatives of all the organized governments of the globe, with the purpose of promoting a larger spirit of friendly cooperation among them all, with a view to their individual and common welfare and the maintenance of general peace among them hereafter. One of the important subjects on the program of the conference which is receiving large and careful attention, is that of the improvement of

the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, drawn by the first Hague Conference in 1899, and the enlargement of the scope and powers of the permanent International Tribunal of Arbitration. It will be many months, and possibly some years, before the full effects of this second Hague Conference will appear. Whatever may or may not result in regard to the urgent question of limitation of armaments, it is already a foregone conclusion that the system of the pacific settlement of controversies among the nations, and of the avoidance of occasions of controversy, will be enlarged and improved. This will, without

doubt, advance the general cause of the world's peace very greatly, and will entitle the year 1907 to be ranked as one of the great years in the social and political progress of the world.

BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION LEAGUE:

Secretary, W. R. Cremer, M. P., 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W. C., England. (See INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.)

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION AND PEACE ASSOCIATION:

Secretary, J. F. Green, 41 Outer Temple, London, W. C., England. (See INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.)

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION:

An international association founded at Paris, 1900, to promote progressive industrial legislation in all nations and international knowledge as to labor laws, with a permanent secretaryship and bureau at Basel, Switzerland.

In 1876 Colonel Emil Frey, a president of the Swiss republic, and known in America as a volunteer in the Civil War, and a Swiss minister to the United States, suggested that international conventions establish uniform conditions of labor in all industrial countries; but when, in 1881, the National Council of Switzerland voted to begin negotiations with other countries, the responses were all unfavorable. Of subsequent attempts to secure an international agreement the most memorable is that of the German emperor in 1890. Propositions regarding the regulation of the hours of labor, the work of women and children, etc., were discussed by the delegates without leading to an agreement.

In 1897 the Swiss council again opened negotiations with other governments, but without notable success, and in September of that year the Swiss Workmen's Association took the initiative in calling a conference in Zurich to which it invited economists, government officials, and others. At this conference was developed the project of an international labor bureau of a semiprivate character. At the Paris Exposition of 1900, among the remarkable congresses on social economy was one for the legal protection of working men. At this congress was founded the International Association for Labor Legislation, with a permanent secretaryship and bureau in Switzerland.

While the International Labor Bureau opened in Basel May 1, 1901, is not a full-fledged government bureau like that of the International Postal Union and other international offices in Switzerland, it is already supported in large part by government appropriations, including \$200 yearly from the U. S. Congress, and governmental participation is of increasing importance in its work. The staff of the bureau consists of the director, Prof. Stephen Bauer, a secretary, an assistant, a translator, a librarian, and a clerk. The office aims to be an international bureau of information in respect of labor legislation, and its activity lies chiefly in the collection and publication of such information. Beginning in 1902, it has issued a monthly bulletin averaging fifty pages each and containing four departments: I. Laws, ordinances, and regulations of all countries affecting labor (text in full, abridged or digested according to relative importance). II. Parliamentary proceedings, including bills. III. Resolutions of national and international congresses. IV. Bibliography on labor. Preceding these departments in each issue is an introductory summary and analysis of the contents by Secretary Bauer.

Besides the bulletin on current legislation, the bureau has published the proceedings of the International Association and also several special reports. Meetings are also held of the general committee of the association composed of delegates from each of the national sections and governments. The Swiss Government has also called in-

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Conference

ternational conferences on industrial subjects at the instigation of the association. Members of the association also were instrumental in procuring a treaty in 1904 between France and Italy, whereby Italy agreed to reduce the hours in manufacturing and to adequately inspect them; while France agreed to treat Italian workmen equally with French in accident insurance, and better to protect Italian children in France. The association hopes for other such treaties. The questions thus far chiefly agitated have been: child labor, the prevention of night-work for women and of the use of yellow phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. Action has been conservative, so that even countries the least industrially progressive can adopt the legislation and thus by raising their standard remove the competition of their low conditions, and therefore free more progressive countries to enact more advanced laws. National sections have been formed in Switzerland, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Hungary, Great Britain (1906), and the U. S. (1907). The Bulletin of the association now appears in French and German and English. See AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION. *Address*: International Labor Bureau, Stephen Bauer, secretary, Basel, Switzerland.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS: Established in 1890 by the First International Conference of American Republics, which assembled in Washington, and was presided over by James G. Blaine. It was described as a "Bureau of Information," to bring about a new era in the material relations of the American republics. But when Elihu Root became Secretary of State, he recognized that something should be done on new and broader lines to bring about closer diplomatic, commercial, and social relations between the United States and her sister American republics. It was, therefore, decided by the administration that Mr. Root should make a tour of South America and that at the Third Pan-American Conference, held in Rio de Janeiro in the summer of 1906, steps should be taken to reorganize the International Bureau and enlarge its scope and usefulness. This was done and the main purposes of the bureau are now as follows:

1. To compile and distribute commercial information and prepare commercial reports.
2. To compile and classify information respecting the treaties and conventions between the American republics and between the latter and non-American states.
3. To supply information on educational matters.
4. To prepare reports on questions assigned to it by resolutions of the International American Conferences.
5. To assist in obtaining the ratification of the resolutions and conventions adopted by the conferences.

The following shows something of the work done:

1. During the first five months of 1907 the bureau received nearly 6,000 letters from all parts of the world, asking for specific and important information, and there were sent out nearly 6,000 letters giving careful answers.
2. Aside from these, there were received over 2,000 letters requesting printed matter, and there were distributed over 60,000 bulletins, handbooks, pamphlets, and circulars.
3. Each month the bureau sends out 10,000 bulletins, of not less than 300 pages each, which contain all the latest descriptive and statistical information concerning the commerce and trade and the industrial development of the twenty-one American republics.
4. Handbooks, averaging 200 to 400 pages each, on the principal American countries have already been published or are in process of preparation, which are distributed free or at a charge covering simply the cost of printing and paper.

5. Pamphlets and circulars containing accurate information in relation to mining, immigration, tariff, and land laws, reports of consular officers, articles and addresses by diplomats or specialists about the various countries and their characteristics are published and distributed where they will do the most good.

Address: The Director, Pan-American Bureau, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE ALLIANCE: Organized in 1894, to further the growth and knowledge of cooperation in all countries. It has held international congresses in London (1895), Paris (1896), Delft (1897), Paris (1900), Manchester (1902), Budapest (1904). It has now 559 affiliated societies in all the main European countries, the English colonies, and the United States. *Secretary's address*: 6 Bloomsbury Square, London, W. C.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN, THE: A federation of national councils of women, organized in Washington, D. C., 1888. It meets every five years and has held meetings at Chicago 1893, London 1899, Berlin 1904 (this meeting being followed by an International Congress of Women). Its main objects are: (1) to promote unity, mutual understanding, and trust between the women workers of all nations; (2) to provide a medium of communication; (3) to give opportunity for the women workers of all nations to unite on certain general lines of work such as they may decide on from time to time and which they believe will further the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law all the world over. *President*, the Countess of Aberdeen; *secretary*, Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon; 1 Rubislaw Terrace, Aberdeen, N. S.

INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTE: Established in London, 1885. Object: to compare the work and method of statistical inquiry in different States, and to deal with such objects as emigration and immigration, foreign trade, vital statistics, etc. Meetings have been held at Rome, Paris, Vienna, Chicago, Berne, St. Petersburg, Christiania, Budapest, Berlin, and London. It publishes a *Bulletin*, Rome, Italy. The membership is limited to 210. *President*, Dr. Karl Theodor von Moma-Sternegg; *General secretary*, Senator Luigi Bodio, Italian Commissioner-General of Emigration at Rome.

INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION AND PARLIAMENT, THE: An international organization composed of the members of any national legislature. It holds annual conferences to consider questions of world-wide or international importance.

Mr. Cremer, an English trade-union leader, elected to Parliament in 1885, drafted in 1887 a petition addressed to the president and Congress of the United States, and signed by 234 members of Parliament, urging the U. S. to take steps toward an arbitration treaty with Great Britain. With this he came to the U. S. and received a favorable hearing, the immediate action was impossible, and then went to France to urge a similar treaty between France, Great Britain, and the U. S. At a meeting held to consider this, of twenty-five members of the French National Legislature and nine members of Parliament, it was voted to hold a conference during the World's Fair in Paris in 1889, to which the members of

other parliaments should be invited. On June 29, 1889, that conference was held, and 100 members were present, members of the national legislatures of France, England, Belgium, Hungary, Italy, Norway, and the U. S. On the next day, Mr. Justin R. Whiting, of St. Clair, Mich., the sole representative from the U. S. Congress, presiding, the following resolution was unanimously adopted, on motion of Marquis Pandolfi, of Italy:

"Further interparliamentary reunions shall take place each year in one of the cities of the various countries represented at the conference. The next meeting shall be at London."

Among the members were: Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Burt, in Parliament; Jules Simon, who concluded peace between France and Germany; M. Frederic Passy and M. Bourgeois, minister for foreign affairs at Paris.

The resolution to hold periodical conferences was the vital act of that assembly. It gave birth to the Interparliamentary Union; that union has begotten the Hague Court as its first-born, and an international congress as its second child.

The union has held fourteen sessions at the principal capitals of Europe: Paris, London, Berlin, Rome, Budapest, Vienna, Brussels, The Hague, Christiania, Berne, and in 1904 at St. Louis, Mo. It has now over 2,000 members from twenty-three countries, and is becoming a world power.

It was the St. Louis conference of this union which led to the Second Hague Conference (see INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION), and at the Brussels conference of 1905, Mr. Richard Bartholdt, of St. Louis, as president of the American delegation, on Aug. 29, 1905, proposed the formation of a permanent international parliament. This was favorably received. Count Apponyi and Marquis Pandolfi advanced the idea of transforming the Interparliamentary Union into an official instead of an unofficial international house of representatives.

In Europe parliaments have had little power over international relations, and this step will give them more power. That such an international parliament will be formed is considered certain, the only question being as to its form and powers.

At a special session of the union held in London in 1906, a commission reported in favor of converting the Second Hague Conference into a permanent body to convene periodically and upon its own motion; second, in favor of the codification of the law of nations; and third, for the granting of jurisdiction to international courts of arbitration, for such classes of controversies as are included in treaties of arbitration. Mr. Bartholdt made a motion in favor of national appropriations in aid of international arbitration which met with some opposition in the executive council, but was passed enthusiastically by the conference. A motion, by Congressman John S. Williams in favor of the payment of fixed salaries to the members of the Hague Court could not be acted upon, but was well received. Mr. William J. Bryan crystallized the thought of the conference in favor of a treaty of arbitration including in its field pecuniary claims. The commission had thought best to leave this out. But when Mr. Bryan had finished the conference was a unit on this point, on the question of converting the Second Hague Conference into a permanent body, and in favor of a treaty of arbitration granting the Hague

Court the right to try and finally to determine all such questions as are specified in the treaty of arbitration, and the right to try in the first instance all questions of fact, the parties being at liberty to appeal from the decision of the court in the questions not specified as arbitrable.

Baron d'Estournelles introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

The Interparliamentary Conference believes that the increase of naval and military expenses which already weighs heavily upon the world is universally recognized as intolerable, and therefore expresses the wish that the question of limitation of armaments be placed on the program of the forthcoming conference at The Hague.

IRELAND: Claimed as a portion of the United Kingdom since its conquest by the English in the twelfth century, but with its own Parliament until 1801.

I. Statistics

The area of Ireland is 32,360 sq. m., with a population (1905) of 4,391,543, a decrease since 1901 of 67,232. The number of emigrants from Ireland in 1903 was 40,659. From 1851 to 1903 the emigrants were 2,058,907 males and 1,902,104 females.

The number of inhabited houses was 858,158 in 1901, a decrease of 12,420, or 1.4 per cent. The country is divided into four provinces. The chief cities are: Dublin, pop. 290,638; Belfast, 349,180; Cork, 76,122; Limerick, 38,151; Londonderry, 39,892.

Of the population 3,308,661, or 74.2 per cent, are Roman Catholics (a decrease of 6.7 per cent since 1891); 13.03 per cent are Episcopalians, and 10 per cent are Presbyterians and Methodists.

According to "The Banking and Railway Statistics, Ireland, for 1905," deposits and cash balances in joint stock banks steadily increased from £29,370,000 on Dec. 31, 1885, to £45,432,000, 1905, tho £683,000 less than that for Dec. 31, 1904. Estimated balances in post-office savings-banks increased from £2,438,000 on Dec. 31, 1885, to £10,230,000 on Dec. 31, 1905. Deposits in trustee savings-banks increased from £1,081,000 in 1885 to £2,462,000 in 1905. There are 2,734 miles of railway.

According to the report of the Irish Land Commissioners (1906), from Aug. 1, 1881, to March 31, 1906, there had been 360,135 judicial rents fixt for a first statutory term, with an average reduction of 20.7 per cent.; 70,803 cases had been dismissed; 120,215 cases had been fixt for a second statutory term, with an average reduction of 19.9 per cent on first-term rents, and 17,737 cases had been dismissed.

Under the Land Purchase Act of 1881 there had been 731 advances to tenants amounting to £240,801; under the acts of 1885-88, 25,367 advances amounting to £9,992,536; under the acts 1891-96, 46,398 advances amounting to £13,096,386. Under the 1903 Land Act there had been 5,300 applications, representing £991,553, of which 4,468 were provisionally sanctioned to the amount of £826,220, and 45 applications had been dismissed. The Estates Commissioners reported that from Nov. 1, 1903, to March 31, 1905, the applications for advances had been received from 3,596 estates.

II. Government

The chief executive in Ireland is the Viceroy or Lord Lieutenant (the Earl of Aberdeen), assisted by a Chief Secretary, the Lord Chancellor of

Ireland, the Attorney-General, and a Privy Council. The Lord Lieutenant has charge of the Irish Constabulary and is responsible for the peace. The Chief Secretary is Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, but also as Chief Secretary for Ireland is directly responsible to the House of Commons for the acts of the Irish Administration. There is also a separate Local Government Board, a Board of Public Works (the main financial agent of the government), a Board of Trade, a Board of National Education, and a Department of Agriculture and other industries and technical instruction, created in 1899. (Vice-President of this board, the Rt. Hon. Horace Plunkett.)

For the policy of the Department of Agriculture, see special article, **IRISH AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT**.

Ireland is represented in the Parliament of the United Kingdom by 28 representative peers and 103 members elected by 691,423 electors. The present Irish members of Parliament (1907) are, 82 Nationalists, 15 Conservatives, 3 Liberals, and 3 Liberal Unionists.

County Councils are established for every administrative district, the members being elected by popular suffrage. Municipal Corporations and Rural District Councils complete the local administrative powers.

III. Social Reform

Social reform in Ireland is inextricably bound up with the past. Divided from early times between warring kings and numerous clans, Ireland was easily conquered by the English under Henry II. in the twelfth century, altho the subjection was long only nominal. When Henry VIII. attempted to introduce Protestantism into the island there were repeated revolts, ending in suppression and the bestowal of the lands of the rebellious chiefs among Scotch and English Protestants.

History

In 1641 the Irish rose in revolt and massacred the Protestants, but were severely punished by Cromwell in 1649, and Protestants were established in the confiscated lands of Ulster. At the Revolution, the Irish Catholics siding with James II., and the Protestants with William and Mary, the struggle ended in 1692, when the triumph of the Orange Party again was accompanied by excessive punishment. Secret revolutionary societies existed still, and a serious revolt occurred in 1798. In 1801, however, the Irish Parliament voted the final union with Great Britain, and Ireland's Parliament ceased to sit. Emmet's insurrection was easily suppressed in 1803, but the emancipation of the Roman Catholic Church had to be granted in 1829, and the "tithe war" compromised in 1838. O'Connell's agitation for repeal collapsed in 1843, and the revolution of 1848 was put down. But the Fenian Brotherhood arose in 1858, with, it was claimed, 80,000 adherents in the United States. Riots could be suppressed, but agitation went on. In 1869 the Irish (Anglican) Church was disestablished. In 1870 the land question developed. In 1873 the Home Rule Party was developed. For this, see special article, **IRISH HOME RULE**.

Until recently this movement has left little opportunity for the development of social reform on other lines. Michael Davitt (*q. v.*) alone of the prominent Irish leaders was an out-and-

out land nationalizer. Trade-unionism began early in Ireland, but died out in the famine years. In 1894 an Irish Trade-Union Congress was held and twelve congresses have followed, attended (1906) by some 100 delegates, representing 80,000.

The creation of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Department has secured the appointment of women factory inspectors, and induced every important public body in Ireland to adopt the Fair Wages Clause. Now it is agitating works committees in place of contractors.

There are Labor groups on the Dublin Corporation and in most other towns. At the first council elections, in 1899, Cork returned no fewer than twelve Labor men, several of them defeating official Nationalist League candidates.

Cooperation has had some little development. (See **COOPERATION**; on other points, see **TEMPERANCE**; **MODEL VILLAGES**, etc.)

A new Nationalist movement has now arisen in connection with the revival of the Gaelic language and literature. A Gaelic Union was formed in the eighties and in 1893 the Gaelic League. To-day it has 300 branches in Ireland and several in England, including one with 3,000 members in London. Its *Simple Lessons* are subscribed for by 150,000 people.

The Irish Industries movement is practically a branch of the League work. It aims at both securing preference for the use of "home-made" manufactures and the improvement of their quality. Its annual exhibition of Irish-made goods in London, starting a few years ago in a very small way, has grown to the great "Aonac," or fair, held Nov. 1st to 3d at the Westminster Horticultural Hall. A permanent London center for the sale of Irish goods and literature had just previously been opened at 26 Ludgate Hill. The League has several organs, notably *Sinn Féin* (We Ourselves); *The Leader* (Dublin), a weekly review of literature, art, and industries, which has ably engineered the industrial revival; and the *Irish Peasant*.

The most significant features of the movement are that it tends to unite north and south, and that it bases its nationalism on an enthusiasm for self-development, rather than mere political antagonisms, altho it is not less, but indeed more nationalist than the Parliamentary Party.

IRISH AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT:

When a new government, with new ideas upon the Irish problem, is on the eve of what is apparently destined to be a long spell of power, the time is apt for a sort of national stock-taking, so that we can fix a point from which to measure the ground gained or lost during the next few years. Such a stock-taking cannot, of course, be attempted here, but a few of the salient facts—facts of the kind that count in summing up a nation's progress or decline—may be mentioned; and those who keep their eye on the aspect of Ireland represented by these facts will, in my judgment, get an adequate notion of the real position of the country.

Regarding, as I do, the willingness of Irishmen to take their own tasks upon their own shoulders as the only true criterion of their true progress, I turn first to the cooperative movement, inaugurated fourteen years ago. By this movement Irish farmers were awakened to the fact that the

agricultural wealth of the country was being exploited by outsiders, and that the Irish producer was being reduced to the position of the man who did the hardest work and who got the smallest reward. They were bidden to organize themselves for distributive as well as for productive purposes, and, as time went on, for some purposes not directly agricultural at all but auxiliary to a well-balanced rural economy. The task of getting a hearing for these doctrines—a task of which I have given some account in my "Ireland in the New Century," was no easy one; but the fact that we are able, after fourteen years of work, to point to a body of 862 cooperative societies, scattered thickly over the whole map of Ireland, and comprising a membership of over 90,000, is sufficient evidence that the seeds of cooperative enterprise fell on good soil.

Most of the societies are for dairy work, others are agricultural; rural banks of the Raiffeisen system have had a most gratifying and valuable

Agriculture

success, and now number 236; and societies for dealing in poultry and eggs, in honey, and, more lately, in products of cottage industry, such as the artistic handicrafts, are showing themselves vigorous branches from the main stem. The influence of all these societies in the training of mind and character is probably their most important function, from the point of view of the founders of industrial cooperation. New interests, new ambitions, are necessarily awakened by the sight of the new horizons which are at once opened out when the man who often was practically a mere field laborer (whether he owned his fields or not) became a member of a business organization, dealing both in the fruits of his labor and in the materials for their production, and helping him to dispose of the first and to acquire the second on terms he had never dreamt of before.

In this way it is clear that the work done in extending the cooperative movement over rural Ireland formed an admirable preparation for the introduction of the technical instruction in agriculture and the allied industries, facilities for which were almost wholly lacking in Ireland until the foundation, in 1899, of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. This department, it may be observed, is not a bureaucratic institution, working independently of the cooperation of the people for whose sake it exists. It has to submit its plans to councils so constituted that members elected by the local government bodies are in a considerable majority; and the cooperation of the local government bodies themselves (county and urban councils) is essential to the working of the various schemes. The results of about six years of work in the direction of establishing schemes of technical instruction (agricultural and industrial) may be judged from the following details:

In 1900-1, out of 33 counties in Ireland, there were 3 employing trained instructors in agriculture; now (1905-6) there are 22. There were 3 employing instructors in poultry-keeping; there are now 30, and we have 506 stations for distributing settings of eggs of pure breeds. One county employed itinerant instructors in butter-making; 24 do so at present. In horticulture, none were taking part, and now we have 21. Experimental and demonstration plots for showing the results of various methods of manuring, tillage, etc., have risen from nil to 2,475.

In fifty-three of the urban centers in Ireland,

technical schools have been established by the department where none existed before, and over 8,000 pupils are receiving instruction in them. In addition, a large number of day secondary schools have added technical instruction to their curriculum and have been aided to equip laboratories for this purpose. The total number of pupils attending technical schools and classes of all kinds in urban centers in 1905-6 was over 20,000. In 1901-2 there were about 1,300.

These results are satisfactory. They testify amply to the willingness of the Irish people to adapt themselves and their industries to modern conditions. They would be much more striking were it not for two deficiencies, both of which I hope we are to see gradually remedied—lack of trained teachers and lack of funds.

I have elsewhere defined it as the purpose of the department "to assist in developing our agricultural and industrial life by providing practical education for the rising generation, and by assisting our workers by means of useful information and technical advice, illustrated and enforced, wherever necessary, by practical demonstration."

It is not a showy program, but it is, I believe, sound foundation work for the future. It does not aim at doing things for Ireland so much as at putting Ireland in the way of doing them for herself. The key-stone of our system is the preservation of self-respect and the sense of personal responsibility among the people. If we can win on these lines it will be a victory indeed. If not, I fear that no other program of work could afford anything better than some temporary disguise of Ireland's failure to hold her own under the conditions of modern life and work.

HORACE PLUNKETT,

Vice-President of Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, Dublin.

IRISH HOME RULE: An effort begun in 1870 to secure for Ireland the right of legislation for herself in a parliament of her own. It is averred that in 1155 Pope Hadrian handed Ireland over to Henry II. as an English dependency, in consideration that some of the revenue should go to the Holy See. From that time to the Act of Union (1800) England asserted through Irish wars and in continual claims, a right to govern Ireland. For many years, however, Ireland had her own parliament, till in 1800 it was cajoled or bribed into its own destruction, and the Act of Union made no recognition of the Irish nationality. In 1834 O'Connell (*q. v.*) commenced his agitation to have the Act of Union repealed, but this movement failed in 1848.

After years of desultory agitation and Fenian conspiracies, Gladstone in 1869 carried through Parliament a bill for Church disestablishment in Ireland and gave hope of land reforms.

In 1870 a "Home Government Association of Ireland" was formed in Dublin by Irishmen of various religious and political beliefs. Its object was declared to be "the obtaining of a distinct parliament for Ireland to regulate her internal affairs, while leaving to the Imperial Parliament all questions affecting the colonies, foreign relations, and the stability of the empire.

Constitutional agitation began, and in the bye elections several Home Rulers were elected to Parliament, including the main leader of the

movement, Isaac Butt. In 1873 the organization became the Irish Home Rule League, and in 1874 sixty Home Rulers were elected to Parliament, who on Irish questions acted as an independent party. In 1875 Parnell was elected to the House of Commons, and by his policy of obstruction occasioned widespread discussion of Irish questions. In 1879 Butt died, and Parnell became president of the Irish Land League, and the land question was made the main issue. In 1880 there were 68 Home Rulers elected, but in 1881 Parnell's radicalism caused William Shaw, who had succeeded Butt, to withdraw from the Home Rule Party. The Irish National League was formed in 1881, under Parnell's lead, combining the aims of the Home Rulers and of the Land League. In 1885 the "Nationalists" returned 85 out of 103 Irish representatives to Parliament, and held the balance of power.

Government without the Nationalists seemed impossible. In 1886 Gladstone brought in his famous Home Rule Bill. Parnell accepted the bill, but many Liberals refused to follow. They took the name of Liberal Unionists and, allied with the Conservatives, defeated the bill, 343 to 313 (93 Liberals voting against it). In this election the Conservatives and Unionists gained a majority of 113, tho the Home Rulers elected 84 members out of 103. Home rule became a burning question. In 1890-91 Parnell was named as correspondent in a divorce case. Gladstone requested Parnell to withdraw from the leadership of his party, and on his declining, a large number of his followers were alienated. Parnell died in 1891, and Justin McCarthy was chosen leader, but dissension was continued. In 1892 the Liberals gained a majority of 40, and in 1893 Gladstone introduced another home rule bill. It was carried, 301 to 267, but was thrown out by the House of Lords. Gladstone resigned and Lord Rosebery formed a ministry, nominally but not actively in favor of home rule. It lasted till 1895 when the Conservatives came into power.

The Home Rulers being divided and the Liberals doubtful, the government tried to meet the question by a land purchase act, and, in 1894, by a local government bill. (See IRELAND.)

The Boer War seemed to revive the Irish National cause, and in 1900 the warring factions united, elected John E. Redmond as their leader and elected 81 Nationalists to Parliament, with a program of blocking legislation till their claims were heard.

In 1905 the Nationalist Congress at Dublin was attended by 2,500 delegates.

The proceedings at the Nationalist Convention held in Dublin, Dec. 6, 1905, were attended by about 2,500 delegates from branches of the United Irish League, and were made specially interesting by the political situation in England. The following resolution was carried unanimously: "That this convention adopts and reaffirms the motion moved by Mr. J. Redmond in the House of Commons on Feb. 20, 1905, namely, 'That the present system of government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people and gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs; that the system is consequently ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people'; that the whole Liberal Party, by voting for that resolution, pledged themselves as a party in the most solemn way to undertake at the earliest practicable moment the removal of the monstrous system so condemned, and the substitution in its place of a system of government giving to the Irish people power to manage the affairs of Ireland; and we hereby solemnly assert that no new system of government for Ireland will be accepted as satisfactory or will prove effective except a legislative assembly, freely elected and representative of the people,

with power to make laws for Ireland, and an executive government responsible to that assembly; and this convention declares that the Irish National Party cannot enter into alliance with or give permanent support to any English party or government which does not make the question of granting such an assembly and executive to Ireland a cardinal point in its program.

In the general election in Dec., 1906, there were elected 83 Nationalists. An overwhelming majority of the House of Commons is pledged to some form of home rule. A small but influential section of the Unionist Party seems inclined to accept the situation frankly. Even Ulster sends a minority of Unionists to Parliament.

Many believe that the day of Irish home rule is at hand.

REFERENCES: McCarthy, *The Case for Home Rule* (1887); Dicey, *England's Case against Home Rule* (1887); Gladstone, *Special Aspects of the Irish Question* (1890); Pollok, *Home Rule and Imperial Sovereignty* (1890); *Reformers' Year Book Annual*.

IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY: This industry, owing to its importance in itself, in the number of men employed, capital invested, and value of product, and also owing to the relation of its product to very many other industries, occupies a foremost place in economic importance. We have been said to be living in an age of steel. In its large relations it is, however, a modern industry, tho iron was known and manufactured in rude ways in ancient times. But the process of puddling and rolling, invented by Henry Colt in 1784, the employment of the hot blast by Neilson, of Glasgow, in 1830, and, above all, the introduction of the Bessemer process of making steel (patented in 1856) have revolutionized the iron industry.

In the United States a foundry blast-furnace was established at Lynn, Mass., in 1643. Iron had been manufactured in Virginia before this. Connecticut made steel in 1656. By 1750, however, Pennsylvania led, exporting 2,358 tons of iron in 1772. The first iron foundry at Pittsburgh was established in 1803. In 1840 the introduction of bituminous and anthracite coal in the blast-furnace wholly changed the industry. The manufacture of charcoal iron has since declined in Pennsylvania. In 1860 there were 652 establishments engaged in this industry. Bessemer steel was first manufactured in any quantity in the U. S. in 1867. The Siemens-Martin or open-hearth process appeared in 1869.

GROWTH OF IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY IN THE U. S.

	No. of establishments	Value of product	Exports	Imports
1850.....	.....	.....	\$1,953,702	\$20,145,067
1860.....	.....	.....	5,870,114	26,158,235
1870.....	808	\$207,208,696	13,483,163	40,273,682
1880.....	1,005	296,567,685	14,716,524	71,266,699
1890.....	719	478,687,519	25,542,208	41,679,591
1900.....	669	804,034,918	121,913,548	20,478,728
1905.....	641	941,071,093	134,728,303	23,510,164
1906.....	.....	.....	160,984,985	29,053,987

The growth of the industry in the U. S. seems almost without limit.

The U. S. has for some years produced more pig iron than any other country in the world. In 1870 its production was only 1,833,000 tons, but by 1890 it had an annual output of 8,845,000 tons and had wrested first place from Great Brit-

TONNAGE PRODUCTION IN THE U. S.

[From the annual reports of the American Iron and Steel Association]

ARTICLES	1902	1903	1904	1905
	<i>Tons¹</i>	<i>Tons¹</i>	<i>Tons¹</i>	<i>Tons¹</i>
Pig iron.....	17,821,307	18,009,252	16,497,033	22,992,380
Finished iron and steel:				
Total rolled, including both nail plate and rails.....	13,944,116	13,207,697	12,013,381	16,840,015
Nails ²	12,616,008	11,067,554	17,210,023	12,212,441
Rails:				
Bessemer steel	2,935,392	2,946,756	2,137,957	3,192,347
Open-hearth steel.....	6,029	45,054	145,883	183,264
Iron.....	6,512	667	871	318
Total....	2,947,933	2,992,477	2,284,711	3,375,929
Steel ingots and castings:				
Bessemer....	9,138,363	8,592,829	7,859,140	10,941,375
Open-hearth....	5,687,729	5,829,911	5,908,166	8,971,376
Crucible.....	112,772	102,434	83,391	102,233
All other.....	8,386	9,804	9,190	8,963
Total crude steel....	14,947,250	14,534,978	13,859,887	20,023,947
Ore, pig, and scrap blooms for sale....	12,002	9,940	5,743	12,750
Tin plates and teneplates.	360,000	480,000	458,208	493,500

¹ Of 2,240 pounds.

² Kegs of 100 pounds.

ain, and in 1905 it produced 22,992,380 tons, against Great Britain's 9,593,000 tons and Germany's 10,700,000. But in the production of steel there has been still greater growth relative to other countries. The U. S. produced in 1870 only 68,750 tons of crude steel; in 1880, 1,247,335; in 1900, 10,188,329; and in 1905, 20,023,947, surpassing the combined product of Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium. The U. S. Steel Corporation, organized with a capitalization of \$1,000,000,000, shows the importance of this industry. It had (1904) 149 steel works, with an annual capacity of 9,000,000 tons of finished work; 78 blast-furnaces, with a capacity of 6,500,000 tons of pig iron; 18,000 coke-furnaces, 71,000 acres of coal lands, 30,000 acres in the coke region, 70 per cent of the ore-mines of Lake Superior, 125 large vessels on the lakes; its employees number over 100,000.

One of its most recent extensions is Gary, the "model town" of the Indiana Steel Company, an auxiliary of the U. S. Steel Trust. Of 6,000 acres on the southern shores of Lake Michigan, 1,300 acres will be occupied by the works, the remainder by the work-people; 15,000 men and boys will be ultimately employed. The plant will be capable of handling 5,000,000 tons of ore per annum, with its equivalent of 2,500,000 tons of steel, an amount approximately equal to the entire output of France or Russia. It will include everything required for dealing with ore to finished products, including 16 blast-furnaces, 84 open-hearth steel-furnaces of 60 tons capacity, and the usual mills for slabbing and blooming; billet, rail, and plate mills, rolled sections, and merchant mills. In 1905 the trust produced 44.2 per cent of the U. S. product of pig iron and 60.2 of steel ingots.

WORLD PRODUCT
In thousands of metric tons

	PIG IRON			STEEL		
	1890	1905	Per head, 1905	1890	1905	Per head, 1905
United States.....	9,203	23,340	0.28	4,270	20,354	0.24
Germany ¹	4,576	10,987	0.18	2,196	10,066	0.17
United Kingdom.....	7,904	9,746	0.22	3,579	5,983	0.14
France.....	1,930	3,077	0.08	672	2,110	0.05
Russia ²	888	2,125	0.02	369	1,650	0.11
Austria-Hungary.....	950	1,372	0.03	492	1,180	0.02
Belgium.....	775	1,310	0.18	242	1,023	0.16
Sweden.....	490	536	0.10	105	358	0.07
Spain.....	261	383	0.02	74	237	0.01
Canada.....	20	475	0.08	.....	403	0.06
Italy.....	23	31	0.00	115	117	0.00
Other countries.....	625	655	.....	.....	23	.....
Total.....	.....	39,590	.....	.....	43,900	.....

¹ Including Luxemburg.

² Excluding Finland.

One of the characteristics of the iron and steel industry is the economy of large production, and therefore its consolidation in large plants. The foregoing table shows a lessening number of establishments in the U. S. In 1900, of the 10,685,000 tons of steel manufactured in the U. S., 6,431,000 came from Pennsylvania, 1,813,000 from Ohio, and 1,961,000 from Illinois. In the U. S. in 1905 10,941,375 tons of steel were manufactured by the Bessemer process and 8,971,376 by the open-hearth. In Germany about two thirds of the product is Bessemer; in Great Britain two thirds of the product was by the open-hearth.

The iron industry has seen many contests between employers and employees. (See STRIKES; HOMESTEAD STRIKE.) Labor organization in this industry in the U. S. commenced with the Sons of Vulcan, organized in 1858; but the great organization has been the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (*q. v.*), dating from 1874.

In England the Friendly Society of Iron Founders (Molders) is the oldest large trade-union in England still existent, having been organized in 1809. It had, in 1904, 18,248

members, and is a leading union of the older friendly society type. The Associated Society of Iron and Steel Workers, established in 1862, had, in 1904, 11,031 members, and is best known for its steady advocacy of the sliding scale (*q. v.*). The more progressive British Steel Smelters' Association, established in 1886, originally a Scotch union, is extending all over the kingdom. The Associated Iron Molders of Scotland, established in 1831, had, in 1904, 7,536 members. The United Society of Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders, established the next year, had, in 1890, 32,926 members.

In Germany in 1904 the unions in the metal and engineering trades had 47,307 members—more than those in any other branch of industry.

REFERENCES: *The United States in the Twentieth Century*, by Leroy Beaulieu (1906); *The Romance of Steel*, by H. N. Casson (a series of articles in *Munsey's Magazine*), 1907.

IRONS, MARTIN: Knight of Labor; born Dundee, Scotland, 1832. Came to the United States in 1846 friendless and penniless, and be-

came apprentice in a machine-shop. Gradually accumulating his earnings he opened a grocery store in New Orleans, but failing, returned to his trade in Lexington, Ky. In 1885 he joined the Knights of Labor. As chairman of the Executive Board of D. A. No. 101, K. of L., he ordered and led the great railroad strike of 1886 on the Gould system (see STRIKES). The strike failed, and after various struggles Irons died in want and suffering near Waco, Texas, 1901.

IRRIGATION: American irrigation is so old that its history fades away in dim tradition. Centuries before the Norsemen landed upon the shores of New England a dense population dwelt in the hot valleys of the far Southwest. From the solid rock, with primitive tools, they cut canals along the mountain sides, and hewed blocks for many-chambered palaces which they erected in the desert or on the ledges of deep river cañons. In the voiceless ruins of these buildings and in their many miles of canals and ditches may almost be read the story of another Egypt—a people toiling in the burning sun of the semitropical desert, laboriously executing the commands of an American Pharaoh.

Even in less remote periods, when the Spanish explorer Coronado swept up the Colorado River, venturing as far as Kansas, he found in New Mexico a gentle race of Indians, dwelling in pueblos and irrigating their little fields and orchards as their forefathers had done, perhaps, since the days of Abraham. In the early settlement of California by the Spaniards, the good padres introduced irrigation, utilizing the mountain streams to make fertile the desert patches. Pushing on rapidly we find twenty-five or thirty years ago a network of irrigation canals and ditches with thriving communities of Anglo-Saxons producing abundant crops from the parched soil. This development was almost coincident with the invasion of Utah by the Mormons, who practised irrigation with great success.

But the question of water-rights soon became a vexed one. Men who had, for years, utilized the waters of a stream suddenly found its flow diminishing owing to the settlement of other irrigators at its head waters.

History Thus began an agitation for national irrigation and the building of great canals and storage dams which would supply water enough for all.

The eastern part of the United States knew but little of the subject. That the general government should enter into irrigation construction for the benefit of private parties, even new settlers, was looked upon by many as an entirely too paternalistic scheme. All attempts to secure government appropriations for irrigation met with stubborn opposition and defeat. In 1898 the National Irrigation Association was formed. An aggressive campaign was begun at once to educate the people of the country to the great national benefits which the country as a whole would derive from government assistance to irrigation. Irrigation conventions were held, an extensive newspaper campaign of education was carried on, business men were organized—they were quick to see the trade advantages of creating a multitude of new homes on the land—and finally such a favorable sentiment was created that a few congressmen undertook to secure the passage of an irrigation law. Senator Newlands of Nevada (then a representative) worked out a plan which from

a constitutional standpoint met the opposition of the strict constructionists, President Roosevelt contributed his hearty support and powerful influence, and after a hard fight a law was passed June 17, 1902.

The principal features of this law are briefly:

First. A reclamation fund in the treasury, consisting of the proceeds from the sales of public lands in the sixteen arid and semiarid states and territories.

Second. A reclamation service to investigate and report on the irrigation projects for the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, who may authorize construction and let contracts, providing the money is available in the fund.

Third. The return to the fund of the actual cost of each project by the sale of water-rights, payments to be made in a series of instalments running over a period of ten years.

Fourth. The holding of public lands for actual settlers under the Homestead Act, in small farm units sufficient to support a family; no commutation to be permitted.

Fifth. The sale of water-rights to private landowners, but not for more than 160 acres, making land monopoly impossible and forcing the division of large estates.

Sixth. The ultimate turning over to the people of the irrigation works except the reservoirs, to be operated and managed by them under a system of home rule. The actual users of the water in ten years after the completion of the works will have repaid to the government the amount of its loan without interest. The money so returned may again and again be expended on other works.

The reclamation fund has at its disposal now about \$40,000,000. It has made exhaustive surveys of about forty great irrigation projects, distributed throughout the arid region, which comprises over one third of the area of the U. S. and it has made preliminary surveys and reconnoissances of many more. Several projects have been already in part completed, and the rush of settlers to acquire the land for homes has indicated the remarkable success of this government venture. Cautious statesmen feared that when the government works were completed there would be difficulty in getting settlers to take the land and pay back the cost of the construction to the government. Enough work has already been done to amply disprove this theory. It is the opinion of experts that with \$400,000,000 instead of \$40,000,000 in the reclamation fund, there would be a steady and overwhelming demand for government irrigated lands, as fast as it could be made available.

Briefly the work of the reclamation service to 1907 may be summarized as follows:

The government has dug 1,267 miles of canals, or nearly the distance from Washington to Omaha. Some of these canals carry whole rivers, like the Truckee River in Nevada and the North Platte in Wyoming. The tunnels excavated are 47 in number, and have an aggregate length of 9½ miles. The service has erected 94 large structures, including the great dams in Nevada and the Minidoka dam in Idaho, 80 feet high and 650 feet long. It has completed 670 head works, flumes, etc. It has built 376 miles of wagon road in mountainous country and into heretofore inaccessible regions. It has erected and in operation 727 miles of telephones. Its own cement mill has manufactured 70,000 barrels of cement, and the purchased amount is 312,000 barrels. Its own saw-mills have cut 3,036,000 feet board-measure of lumber, and 6,540,000 feet have been purchased. The surveying parties of the service have completed topographic surveys covering 10,970 sq. m., an area greater than the combined areas of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The transit lines had a length of 18,900 linear miles, while the level lines run amount to 24,218 miles, or nearly sufficient to go around the earth.

The diamond drillings for dam sites and canals amount to 47,515 feet, or more than 9 miles. To-day the service owns and has at work 1,154 horses and mules. It operates 9 locomotives, 223 cars and 23 miles of railroad, 39 stationary engines and 27 steam-engines. It has constructed and is operating 5 electric-light plants. This work has been carried on with the following force: Classified service, 380, including Washington office; laborers employed directly by the government, 3,500; laborers employed by contractors, 6,100, or a total of all forces of 10,000. The expenditures now total nearly \$1,000,000 per month. As a result of the operations of the reclamation service eight new towns have been es-

established, 100 miles of branch railroads have been constructed, and 10,000 people have taken up their residence in the desert.

And all this is but a very moderate start. The waters of Western rivers which now run to waste would reclaim, if stored and utilized, in the neighborhood of 75,000,000 acres, according to government engineering estimates. To eventually reclaim such a vast empire will cost probably, on an average, from \$30 to \$50 per acre. The greatness of this entire undertaking, therefore, is far beyond anything which has ever been accomplished or even projected by any government.

Results

The unique feature of such a development is that the actual cost to the government is really nothing, as the money expended all comes back into the reclamation fund, and when the last acre is reclaimed will be covered back into the federal treasury. The reclamation fund amounts to a loan by the government without interest.

The rapidity with which the government has carried on its irrigation work is regarded as phenomenal. British engineers from India, where England has spent some \$200,000,000 in building irrigation works, have expressed the utmost astonishment and surprise at the rapid progress which our engineers have made.

The future possibilities of American irrigation are almost beyond intelligent comprehension and they bid fair to constitute an important factor in maintaining our agricultural equilibrium. While the Eastern farm unit is comparatively large, under irrigation and intensive cultivation, a very small tract of land will support a family in comfort. Many of the irrigated farms of the West are twenty, ten, five acres, and even less, and those best calculated to judge accurately, state that the western half of the U. S., which now has a population of less than 10,000,000, is capable of supporting, in comfort, an additional population of at least 50,000,000 people. All in all, American irrigation looms up as one of the very greatest influences for civilization and internal development of the present century.

For more complete history of irrigation in the U. S., see "Irrigation," by F. H. Newell, and "The Conquest of Arid America," by Wm. E. Smythe.

GUY ELLIOTT MITCHELL.

ITALY: A kingdom since 1861, when the first Italian Parliament elected Victor Emanuel II., of Sardinia, King of Italy, tho the province of Rome was not annexed till 1870.

I. Statistics

Area 110,550 sq. m.; population (1904) 33,346,514. The population of Italy is very homogeneous. Exceptions are 80,200 of French origin; 11,400 Teutonic; 90,000 Albanian; 3,200 Greek; 9,800 Spanish; and 30,000 Slav.

In 1901 the population over fifteen years was 21,318,495—7,534,346 single; 11,686,715 married; 2,097,434 widowed. Of the whole population 57.6 per cent were single; 36 per cent married; 6.5 per cent widowed.

It is difficult to make a clear distinction between rural and urban population, because in northern Italy the peasants live scattered, while in the southern part they live in villages. In 1901 11 communes with over 100,000 had a population of 3,208,095; 23 between 50,000 and 100,000 had 1,514,579; 52 between 30,000 and 50,000 had 1,988,764; 76 between 20,000 and 30,000 had 1,790,747; 88 between 15,000 and 20,000 had 1,521,340.

Principal cities: Rome (1904), 489,965 population; Naples, 550,369; Milan, 520,600; Turin, 335,656; Palermo, 309,604; Genoa, 234,710; Florence, 205,589; Bologna, 152,009; Venice, 151,840.

Marriages, 1905, 255,873; births, 1,084,518—legitimate, 1,025,663; illegitimate and exposed, 58,855; deaths (exclusive of still-born), 730,340; surplus of births, 354,178. (See MARRIAGE; BIRTH- AND DEATH-RATES.) Italy has lost

largely by emigration: 533,245 in 1901, 726,331 in 1905, and 787,977 in 1906. The relative majority of the emigrants in 1901 went to European countries, in 1905 to the United States—the figures being: 244,298 and 121,139; 266,982 and 316,797 respectively. Paraguay and Brazil had the next largest percentage, the former 88,840 and the latter 30,070 in 1905. The department of Venice lost (1905) 3.25 per cent of its total population; that of the Abruzzi and Molise, 4.07; and that of Calabria, 4.43. The whole kingdom lost in 1906—2.36 per cent of its population.

RELIGION.—Roman Catholicism is the religion of more than 97 per cent of the population. The hierarchy numbers—aside from the pontiff and the cardinals—50 archbishops, 216 bishops. In 1901 the number of parishes was 20,707; of secular clergy, 68,844; of regulars (monks, nuns, and lay brothers), 48,043; sacristans, etc., 12,129. All religious houses were suppressed in 1866, tho a small pension was given to all who had taken regular religious vows before Jan. 18, 1864, and a few monasteries were temporarily set aside for such as wished to continue conventual life. All other property was appropriated by the State. The constitution enacts that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is the sole religion of the State. By a royal decree of 1870, Rome and the Roman provinces were declared an integral part of the kingdom of Italy; the Pope was acknowledged supreme head of the Church, ranking as a sovereign prince. There was guaranteed to him and his successors forever the Vatican and Lateran palaces and the Castle Gandolfo, with 3,225,000 lire annually, which allowance still remains unclaimed and unpaid.

The Church of Rome

The State grants freedom of service and conscience to other religions; the small body of 22,500 Waldensians are more active than ever, and several Protestant denominations are doing mission work. About 30,000 Protestants belong to foreign bodies. There are, moreover, 35,617 Jews; 36,092 agnostics and atheists; and 795,276, or 2.45 per cent, unknown.

EDUCATION.—The State regulates public instruction, and no person can keep a school without State authorization. Compulsory, universal education is of recent date in Italy. Before unification education was mainly left to the Church, which did but little. In 1862 the percentage of illiterates over twenty years of age was, for men, 65.5; women, 81.5; in 1901, 43.8 and 60.4 respectively. The percentage of illiterate conscripts decreased from 47.7 in 1881 to 31.3 in 1904. In 1901 the largest percentage of illiterates over six years was, in Calabria, 78.7; the Islands, 70.4; South Italy, 69.7; Middle Italy, 51.5; Upper Italy, 28.3; the smallest in Piedmont, 17.7. The attendance at elementary schools from 1865 to 1905 increased from 1,000,000 to 2,733,000, or 121 per cent. Illiterates born after 1885 are unable to enlist in the army and to vote for deputies; or—if born after 1890—to carry on any business under police supervision. Evening- and Sunday-schools for illiterate adults are established. The school age limit—from six to nine—has been increased to six to twelve in the majority of communes since 1904.

The present system of education provides for: (1) elementary instruction; (2) secondary instruction—classical; (3) secondary instruction—technical; (4) higher education. The system is based largely on that of Germany with elementary schools, gymnasia, the so-called technical schools and institutes partly analogous to real-schulen, and universities. In 1899 the total expenditure for education was 68,440,830 lire for elementary instruction alone. Technical education has developed rapidly. (See EDUCATION, TECHNICAL EDUCATION, and UMANITARIA.) In 1907 the State budget assigned 66,189,273 lire for education.

OCCUPATION.—The majority of Italians live in the country or small villages. Excluding children under nine years, the principal occupations in 1901 were: Agriculture, forestry, and cattle-raising, 9,611,003 people; clothing and adornment, 1,113,843; textile industries, 783,253; rentiers (i. e., people living on incomes), 600,752; building, 564,798; domestic service, 482,080; dependents, 8,355,773. Total (including scattered), 25,386,507.

The number of proprietors in 1901 was: total, 4,110,133; of lands, 1,045,113; of buildings, 823,442; of both, 2,241,578.

Land is largely divided, tho large estates exist in many sections. Peasant proprietorship prevails in Piedmont and Liguria; partnership between the proprietor and cultivator, especially on the form of the *mezzadria*, where profits and losses are equally divided between the two, prevails in Tuscany, Umbria, and the Marches; rented farms prevail in Lombardy and Venetia.

INDUSTRIES AND MANUFACTURES.—Of the total 28,668,221 hectares (hectar = 2.47 acres) 20,248,000, or 70.6 per cent, are productive, 16.2 per cent unproductive, and 13.2 produces little or nothing. Agriculture

cultural methods were antiquated until comparatively recently. Progressive methods, however, have now been introduced in many provinces under the guidance of experimental stations and agricultural schools. The chief products in 1905 were in *hectolitres* (each = 2.75 bushels; liquids, 22 gallons): wheat, 56,200,000; maize (corn), 35,010,000; rice, 8,584,000; wine, 27,878,886; olive oil, 3,412,000. The tobacco crop in 1904

was 6,107,280 kilograms; acid fruits (1903), 5,250,000,000 kilograms. From 1900-4 the annual production of silk cocoons averaged 53,500,000 kilograms; that of raw silk, 5,200,000. Silk culture is flourishing particularly in Piedmont and Lombardy, and to a less extent in other provinces. The sugar-beet industry is growing. In 1898-99 the output of 4 factories was 7,960 metric tons; in 1905-6 that of 33 = 93,916 (1 metric ton = 2,204 pounds).

Forestry is managed under the Ministry of Agriculture. The forest area—exclusive of chestnut plantations—is about 4,093,000 hectares. The annual yield in lumber, firewood, charcoal, etc., excluding chestnuts, is about 88,000,000 lire.

Mining is not important. Sixty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety-six workers produced sulphur ore, zinc, lead, iron, mercury, etc., of 88,942,669 lire value in 1905. Mining is becoming more important. The quarries employed 59,342 men.

Fisheries gave employment (1904) to 94,684 men; vessels, 24,264.

The commerce of Italy consisted in 1905: imports, 2,078,380,000 lire; exports, 1,707,368,000. The exports consisted chiefly of raw silk, 476,947,000 lire; cotton tissues, 79,900,570; silk tissues, 78,976,784; hemp and flax, 45,099,934; silk waste, 45,140,500. Imports: raw cotton, 247,003,690 lire; cereals, 183,980,740; coal and coke, 164,157,245; machinery, 99,554,442; lumber, 73,161,960.

The mercantile marine consisted (1905) of 5,596 vessels of 1,032,614 tons—steam vessels, 513; sailing vessels, 5,083. Genoa is the principal harbor, Naples second, Leghorn third, and Palermo fourth.

II. Constitution and Government

The present king is Vittorio Emanuele III., who succeeded to the throne July 29, 1900. The present constitution dates back to March 4, 1848, to a statute given by King Carlo Alberto to the kingdom of Sardinia. This has been gradually expanded to meet the demands of United Italy. It gives the executive power to the king, with his ministers. The legislative power belongs to Parliament, consisting of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, which the king must convoke yearly, but which he may dissolve. Both houses have the initiative; in money matters, the Chamber alone. The Senate is not fixed in numbers; it consists (1906) of 358 members; and five princes are appointed senators by the king for life.

The deputies—508 members, or 1 to 64,893 of the population—are elected by conditional universal suffrage for five years; they must receive at least one sixth of the voters inscribed in their electoral districts, and half the votes given; they cannot be salaried officials of the State. Officers in the army and navy, secretaries and under-secretaries of state may be elected, but their total number must not exceed forty. The only compensation which senators and deputies receive is free transportation on railroads. There is a movement on foot now for granting compensation to deputies.

Electors must be citizens; twenty-one years old; able to read and write; or, if illiterate, pay not less than 19.80 lire in direct taxes, or an equivalent amount of rent on the farms. The proportion of electors to male inhabitants over twenty-one years of age (8,711,542 in 1901) is about 29 per cent. The number of persons who had the right to vote was (1904) 2,541,327—exclusive of 260,566 soldiers—or 7.6 per cent of the total population; the number of actual voters was 1,593,886, or 62.7 per cent of the inscribed voters.

Political parties are usually divided into *Right* and *Left*, Radicals and Socialists. The composition of the Chamber is (1907): Ministerialists (Center), 300; Prime Minister Giolitti. Opposition, 100; Leader, Sonnino. Radicals, 40; Leader, Sacchi. Republicans, 22; Leader, Colajanni. Socialists, 20; Leaders, Ferri and Turati. The extreme Right is in opposition and frequently votes

with the extreme Left (Radicals, Republicans, and Socialists).

Italy is divided into sixty-two provinces, and these into territories or districts, and these into communes (8,290 in 1906). The head of the commune, a government officer, is assisted by an elected municipal council, who in turn elect the head (syndic). There are also provincial councils. Direct taxes are on lands, houses, incomes; indirect taxes, e. g., customs, octroi, on manufactures, monopolies on salt, tobacco, and the lotto. The principal expenditures are: payment of various debts for army, navy, and administration. Total revenue 1905-6, 2,464,781,059 lire. Expenditures, 2,399,497,487. Surplus, 65,283,572.

The total length of Italian railways is 10,070 miles; 8,100 of these were (June 1, 1906) owned and operated by the State. Total receipts in 1905-6—406,943,335 lire; 1903: receipts, 360,225,110 lire; expenses, 260,583,111; surplus, 99,641,999. Of the receipts in 1903 the amount of 134,463,959 lire was from 68,031,332 passengers. (See RAILWAYS.)

There were 8,817 post-offices and collecting boxes on June 30, 1904. Receipts 1905-6 were: 82,032,760 lire. A recent reform in the postal service has produced good results, both in increasing the receipts and traffic.

The total length of telegraph lines on June 30, 1904, was 29,640 miles with 116,710 miles of wire. Receipts in 1905-6 were 18,484,088. A law of June, 1907, has nationalized the telephone service, both urban and interurban.

The army of Italy is modeled after that of Germany. The period of service is 19 years—2 or 3 years in the ranks, 5 to 7 in the reserve, 3 or 4 in the "mobile militia," 7 in the territorial militia.

The peace strength is 264,516; that of the reserve, 492,255; mobile militia, 307,696; territorial militia, 2,222,637.

The navy has a personnel of 1,799 officers and 25,000 men. The budget of 1906-7 allowed for the army 277,108,173 lire; the navy, 123,383,973. (See article MILITARISM.)

III. Social Reform

Social reform in Italy, more than in most countries, is made up of distinct movements which tho of necessity touching at many points and occasionally cooperating, are totally distinct in origin, character, method, and in personnel. These different movements may be divided into those connected with cooperation, with socialism, trades-unionism, and with the government.

Of these the first, tho quite modern in recent developments, is in reality the oldest, and largely began in the thoughts and ideals which clustered around the great name of Mazzini.

Social reform in Italy through all the first part of the nineteenth century was almost confined indeed to the efforts made in various ways by patriots like Mazzini and Garibaldi, by societies like the Carbonari, mainly working to secure liberty and Italian unity. (See MAZZINI; CARBONARI.) Mazzini opposed socialism as presented in his day as being materialistic, anti-nationalistic, and standing for personal rights rather than for cooperation and duty; but his position on almost all subjects was that of modern

ethical socialism, and his followers in Italy have done much to develop reform of this kind. In 1861 a Fratellanza Artigiana (Artizan Brotherhood) was started in Florence connected with Mazzini's name to develop cooperation through Italy.

Cooperation

This hope was not realized, owing to political jealousies; but its influence still survives. In 1871 a pact of working men's societies, Patto di Fratellanza, was formed at Rome, also drawn up under the auspices of Mazzini. It held its eighteenth general congress at Palermo in 1892.

Cooperation in Italy, however, soon turned into more practical channels, English and German, altho with characters of its own. In 1886 and 1887 congresses of Italian cooperators met in Milan and formed an Italian Federation, and a journal was started, *La Cooperazione Italiana*. One of the most characteristic successes of cooperation in Italy has been among the day-laborers, owing largely to the campaign for this purpose inaugurated in 1888 by Signor Marin. (See COOPERATION.) Cooperation has also spread somewhat among the peasants of the villages in some districts. Distributive cooperation seems to have begun in Turin as early as 1853, and to have had no little success, especially in the cities of northern Italy, notably Milan.

At the close of 1904 there were in Italy some 4,600 cooperative societies, of which 1,080 belonged to the cooperative alliance of Milan. (For other statistics, see COOPERATION.)

The cooperative movement, however, recently has taken on a very wide range, connecting itself with movements for housing reform, rural reforms, public employment agencies, the question of unemployment, the aiding of unemployed workmen in the towns to migrate to the country districts where emigration, etc., have caused a lack of laborers. This broader range of the movement has been much aided by the Società Umanitaria of Milan, the unique and powerful creation of Mr. Moise Loria, who gave ten million lire, increased by interest to about thirteen million lire (\$2,600,000). The society was incorporated in 1893, but only began effective work in 1901. Its aim is the relief of the laboring classes, by furnishing aid, employment, and education. The society has already established or extended a series of schools for the artistic trades, electro-technics, printing, and allied trades. It has promoted circulating libraries, established a loan bank for cooperative societies, created employment bureaus for rural laborers. It invests its funds in model dwellings for the working classes, has a fund for insurance against unemployment, and has published important reports of investigations as to unemployment and other vital questions. (See UMANITARIA.)

The second movement in Italy is the Labor movement, partly political and partly on trade lines. It began in Italy on political and afterward anarchistic lines, in connection with the old International (*q. v.*).

Bakunin (*q. v.*) founded a section of the International at Naples in 1867, and established a paper, *Equity*. Other sections were formed in Genoa, Milan, and Italy. This movement opposed the Mazzini societies and developed strength enough to frighten the government into suppressing the sections in 1871. It sprang up again, however, till finally again suppressed in 1875. It represented anarchist communism rather than socialism. In 1882, however, the

Italian franchise was widened, and in 1885 an Italian Labor Party was formed at Milan, partly socialistic, partly anarchistic, and won strength enough to cause it to be dissolved by the government in 1886. A new Labor Party (Partito dei Lavoratori), however, was formed at congresses in Milan and Genoa in 1891 and 1892. In 1893 the party held a second congress at Reggio (Emilia), when it assumed a distinctly Socialist attitude, and adopted the name of Italian Laborers' Socialist Party (Partito Socialista dei Lavoratori Italiani). It stands for Marxist socialism, but in Italy as elsewhere the movement has developed two wings, the "*trancigant*" and "*in-trancigant*," or as they are now usually called in Italy "Reformisti" and "Rivoluzionari," the present main leader of the former being Turati, and of the latter, Enrico Ferri. Italian Socialists, however, have been more turbulent and anarchistic in method than most modern Socialists. Strikes and even rioting have played a large part.

Socialism

Not to speak of the semirevolution of the "Fasci" (Land League) in Sicily (1893-94) and among the Carrara marble workers (1894), there were bloody riots in Milan and elsewhere (1898), with the great Genoa strikes of 1900, besides 382 other strikes in that year and numerous desultory agricultural strikes in 1901-2. In 1904 a strike in Sardinia led to a collision with the troops and some strikers were killed. A mass-meeting organized by the Chamber of Labor of Milan, in which city the revolutionary party was dominant among the Socialists, summoned the working classes of all Italy to a universal strike. This broke out in almost all the large cities and many smaller ones, sometimes not extending to the public services, but sometimes affecting every class of the population. There were collisions of troops with the strikers or more commonly the lawless element who took advantage of the strike. The extent of the strike has never been equaled in Italy. It did not, however, endure, lasting in Milan only five days. It created a reaction against the progressive parties, and the government chose the opportunity to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies. In the ensuing elections, the popular parties were not united; in places there were even two Socialist candidates. The platform was the strike, and the government took for its watchword "neither reaction nor revolution," and won. Since then Italian socialism has been less turbulent, and the extremes of the party have been modified and more united. (See SOCIALISM.)

Allied to this Socialist movement, tho in some ways distinct from it, are the Italian labor organizations or unions. These are of two kinds, the Federazioni or Leghe di Resistenza, unions of the working men in a trade, and the Camere del Lavoro, analogous to the trades councils of England and the Gewerkschaftskartelle of Germany, unions of workmen in a town. The Federazioni are more concerned with trade disputes and measures, the Camere with the more general and local questions affecting the laboring classes—cooperation, factory laws, popular education, mutual insurance, municipal action. The Camere often establish labor bureaus and cooperative institutions. These organizations are guided by a Segretariato centrale della Resistenza, with officers in Milan composed of three representatives of the Camere, three of the Federazioni, and ten secretaries. In Dec., 1904, there were 77 Camere,

some 33 of them, however, with only a nominal life. The Federazioni belonging to the Segretariato are 29 with a membership of 205,362. The clubs of the civil service of the cities are organized in 14 Federazioni with 110,000 members, and about 100 Camere. These unions support about 50 weekly, fortnightly, or monthly papers.

Organizations of agricultural laborers have attained in Italy a greater importance than in any other country. They have played a large part in

Trade- Unions

the rural strikes, and are at once the source and the result of a very important revival of rural life chiefly in Mantova, the Emilia and Romagna. They, too, are formed into a Segretariato. Their total membership was 221,913 in 1906, and has increased to 273,698 in 1907. Among the Federazioni the more important are those of the railway men (56,000 members), building trades (24,000), metal trades (30,000), printers (9,000). Italian unions have not developed the benefit system except for strike benefits, while the hatters and printers give out-of-work benefits. Collective bargaining is increasing in Italy, even in agriculture, employers entrusting their fields to be cultivated by the unions. (See TRADE-UNIONS.)

The third class of reform movements in Italy are connected with the government.

Italian political parties formerly consisted in the main of a Right, long led by Crispi, the monarchical and conservative party of Cavour, and a Left, the liberal and democratic (or Republican) party gathered around the name and traditions of Mazzini. Except for three years (1891-94) Crispi remained in power till 1896, when the defeat of the Italian forces in Erythria and growing discontent defeated him, and Rudini, to some extent supported by the Radicals, formed a ministry. General Pelloux, however, in 1898, succeeded him with a Liberal cabinet, supported by many Conservatives. Demand for reforms, however, went on; socialism developed; and in the election of 1900, after the riots of 1898 and the parliamentary struggle of 1899, the popular parties (Radicals, Republicans, and Socialists) won 100 seats and overthrew the cabinet. A transitional cabinet was defeated before the end of the year, and the semi-democratic Zanardelli-Giolitti cabinet was formed. Labor was free to organize—a new thing for Italy. The cabinet was not, however, always supported by the democratic parties. The Socialist Rivoluzionari openly attacked the government. However, the government carried bills regulating the labor of women and children, creating a Labor Bureau, municipalizing public services, on accidents in industry, old-age pensions, salaries of elementary teachers, of clerks in various branches of the civil service, pensions for workmen in the government tobacco manufactory. It enacted laws on public health, housing, convict labor, cooperative societies, public works, a new penal law, a law reorganizing the municipal finances of Rome (with a rate on vacant land), progressive laws for various particular sections and trades, besides a remarkable law on charities. The main labor problems, however, the reduction of taxation for the laboring classes, divorce, the lowering of duties on corn, it feared to attempt. Nevertheless it was a great advance.

In 1903 Zanardelli, however, had to resign for reasons of ill health, and Giolitti formed a minis-

try with the cooperation of Luzzatti as minister of finance. The Radicals and Socialists, however, increasingly opposed the government; Socialist riots broke out; the Premier seized the opportunity to dissolve the Chamber; the pope for the first time advised Catholics to enter politics; the result was that the reaction won. In 1905 Giolitti resigned and Fortis became minister.

The main act of his ministry was the passage of the government bill to nationalize the railways July 1, 1905. All the Italian railroads were passed over to the State, except some 2,000 kilometers of the southern railways of the Adriatic Company and some 2,000 kilometers of secondary lines. The price was somewhat over 500,000,000 lire, by assuming the railway debts of some 76,000,000 lire, loans from banks of 215,000,000 and forty years coupons for 200,000,000 lire at 3.65 per cent interest. The measure was criticized by the Socialists and trade-unionists, who created against it a general but ineffective railway strike, demanding the substitution of important different details. The strike failed and the bill passed, the government promising an inquiry.

The Fortis ministry, however, was defeated in Feb., 1906, and Sonnino became Premier, promising especially to raise the economic condition of the southern peasants and to reduce the land tax in the south, including Sicily and Sardinia, 30 per cent. In May, however, he was defeated on a detail and Giolitti returned to power.

Through all these changes, however, the government has continued more or less steadily its reforms. The Labor Department under Prof. Montemartini has done able research and statistical work and has advanced many measures. A government board of emigration has done much to guide and protect Italian emigration and in part to direct it into migrations to Italian rural provinces in need of labor. The government has at least wrestled with the problem of the economically depressed and oppressed south; a bill has been passed to aid the development of working men's dwellings, and agricultural centers have been formed. Thus a new progressive Italy is emerging. It has been said that in no country does socialism so affect the national life as in Italy.

Besides these main channels of reform, a few other movements may be noted. The Church of Rome in Italy (for political reasons refusing to recognize the government) has not developed an avowed Christian socialism, as she has in many countries, and in 1905 (see above) a papal encyclical exhorted Catholics to enter politics, to defeat socialism, and work for the interests of the Church. In some ways, however, the Church has been compelled in self-defense to favor education and be more active in relief and charity (which in Italy has always largely been in ecclesiastical hands). Some bishops have made progressive utterances.

Industrial betterment has little hold in Italy, tho much attention is now being given to working men's dwellings. (See UMANITARIA.)

Italy has two industrial villages. Crespi, near Capriate, Lombardy, has both block dwellings and single or double cottages, but all with small gardens and open spaces, and both classes of dwellings rented for four lire a week. In the center are church, orphanage, public laundry, and schools. The other village is Calabria, built by Achille Fazzari. Both are for cotton-mill workers.

For Italian poor relief and charity, see article PAUPERISM AND POOR RELIEF.

Nevertheless, in spite of these reforms, poverty in Italy is great. The annual income in Italy per head is less than \$40 to \$155 in Great Britain, \$130 in France, \$102 in Saxony, \$85 in Prussia, \$40 in Austria. The usual wage for unskilled labor is from 16 to 29 cents per day. Taxes are heavy, and fall heavily on the poor. Since 1860 wealth is said to have increased 17 per cent, but taxes 30 per cent. Until very recently, Radicals in Italy could compare an annual 800,000 lire voted by the government to assist agriculture and 71,000,000 expended on army and navy. To-day it is little better. Taxation in Italy is said to be higher than in most other countries, and to absorb almost one fourth of the incomes of the country. In Venetia women work in the poorest regions in the fields for 12 cents per day. In the south, however, is the more poverty. In Sicily peasants get 17 cents per day, with about 4 cents' worth of beans and macaroni. But worst of all, in the sulphur mines of Sicily conditions are lower still. Even in the mines in Sardinia miners get scarcely 40 cents a day, and women and children 12 cents. In the south of Italy, however, conditions are very much better and great progress is being made.

Some of the leading Italian social reform societies are:

Associazione degli Industriali d' Italia per prevenire gli infortuni del lavoro. Milano, Italy.
Congregazione di Carità. Ufficio Centrale 14 via di S. Chiara, Rome.
La Camera del Lavoro, Milano.
L'Ufficio d' Indicazione e d' assistenza del l' Unione Femminile. Milano.
Segretariato Centrale delle Camere del Lavoro. Via Crociffa, Milano.
Segretariato Nazionale della Resistenza. Milano, Italy.
Società Cattolica Italiana per gli Studi Scientifici. 76 Via Torre, Argentina, Roma.
Società Umanitaria. 9 Via Alessandro Manzoni, Milan.
Ufficio del Lavoro (Labor Bureau). Ministero de Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, Roma, Italy.
Unione Cooperativa. Via Carlo Alberto, Milan.
Unione Operaia, delle Associazioni Indipendente—Società Centrale Operaia Napoletana, Comeradi Lavoro di Napoli e Provincie. Borsa del Lavoro. Naples.
Consiglio superiore della beneficenza, Ministero dell' Interno, Roma.
Società anonima cooperativa "de industrie femminili," Rome.
Lega industriale, Turin.
Confederazione nazionale del lavoro, Turin.
Lega nazionale delle società cooperative, Milano.
Commissariato dell' emigrazione, Rome.
Consortio per la tutela dell' emigrazione temporanea in Europa, Turin.
Unione popolare (Roman Catholic), Bergamo.

REFERENCES: *Annuario statistico italiano*, Rome; *Bollettino del Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio* (from 1902); *Di alcuni indici misuratori del movimento economico in Italia*, L. Bodio, 3d ed., revised and enlarged, 1905, Rome; *Italy*, W. Deecke (Eng. trans.), London, 1904; *Italy and the Italians*, E. Hutton, London, 1902; *Italy Today*, King, Bolton, and Okey T., London, 1901; *Bollettino dell' Ufficio del lavoro* (from 1904), Rome; *Italia economica*, 1, 1907, Milan.

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JACQUERIE: In May, 1358, rebelling against the tyranny of Charles the Bad of Navarre and of the nobility, the French peasants rose in revolt during the imprisonment of John II., the Good, in England. The revolt commenced near Paris, but spread to the Marne and the Oise, and for three weeks carried all before it; but in June it was put down with great slaughter at Meaux. The name comes from the Jacques or clowns, used for peasants, from the Christian name Jacques, supposed to be peculiarly a peasant name.

JACOBSON, VLADIMIR R.: Russian representative (Group of Toil) of the Grodno Province in the First Duma; born 1861; Jew; lawyer of the city of Slonim, graduate of the law school of St. Petersburg University. Member of the committee for the investigation of the pogrom in Bielostock.

JAMES, EDMUND JANES: Economist; president of the University of Illinois; born 1855, at Jacksonville, Ill.; educated Illinois State Normal School, Northwestern University, Harvard College, Berlin, Leipsic, Halle; 1887-95 professor of public finance and administration in the Wharton School of Finance and Economy, University of Pennsylvania, and 1884-95 professor of political and social science; 1891-95 president of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching; 1896-1901 professor of public administration and director of Extension Department University of Chicago; 1902-4 president. Northwestern University; 1904 president of University of Illinois; 1889-1901 President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science; 1890-5 editor of the *Annals* of the Academy.

He was one of the first to take part in the movement for the improvement of city politics

in the United States, and one of the organizers of the Municipal League of Philadelphia, serving as its first president; author "The Relation of the Modern Municipality to the Gas Supply" (1886); "The Canal and the Railway" (1890); and over 100 papers, articles, and monographs in economic and other journals. Address: Urbana, Ill.

JANNET, CLAUDIO: Lawyer; professor; born at Paris 1844. He became a lawyer at Aix and later professor of political economy at the Catholic University of Paris. Some of his principal works are: "De l'état présent et de l'avenir des associations coopératives" (1867); "l'Internationale et la question sociale" (1871); "les Institutions sociales et le droit civil à Sparte" (1874); "les États Unis contemporains" (1875); "les Faits économiques et le mouvement social en Italie" (1889); "le Socialisme d'État et la réforme sociale" (1889); "le Capital, la spéculation et la finance au XIX^e Siècle" (1892). Jannet belongs to the school of Le Play.

JAPAN: After the gigantic struggle with Russia, the nation has welcomed back her million soldiers who went to the front with *Banzais* and triumphal arches in every town and almost every rural village.

The nation is sobered, but resourceful, and hopeful for the future. Japan is making large plans for the extension of its commerce and manufacturing industries. The great victories of the war have confirmed Japan in a place of equality with the Western nations. The new Anglo-Japanese Treaty for Alliance still further emphasizes Japan as a world-power, and is a guaranty of general peace in Eastern Asia and in India.

Japan has assumed a protectorate over Korea and Southern Manchuria, and has gained a preponderating influence over China, as shown by the fact that thousands of educated Japanese are teaching in the new provincial schools in China, and also drilling her armies, and that more than 10,000 Chinese are studying in the higher schools of Japan. This new and widening sphere of work and influence is a great incentive to Japan to do her best in meeting her new responsibilities.

An unsuccessful struggle has been going on for years to secure party government. The present cabinet is a compromise, complex cabinet. The *Seiyukai*, the successor of the old Liberal Party, is the strongest, having about 150 seats in the Lower House. Marquis Saionji, the prime minister, and two members of the present cabinet belong to this party.

Political Parties

The Progressive Party, led by Count Okuma, holds nearly 100 seats in the Lower House. The "Daigo" Club is made up of small heterogeneous parties, and holds about eighty seats in the Lower House.

Manufactures, especially of silk and cotton spinning and weaving, are increasing with great rapidity. There are now 350 manufactories in Japan, with a capital of over 400,000,000 yen.¹ There are about 400,000 operatives employed in these factories, two fifths of whom are men and three fifths women. About 34,000 of these operatives are under fourteen years of age. They work from twelve to fourteen hours a day, resting only on the first and fifteenth of each month. In some factories they work sixteen or seventeen hours a day. The men receive about fifteen cents and the women about ten cents a day.

There are nearly 165,000 working in mines. In 1904, of these, there were killed 267, and 323 severely and 629 less severely injured. Three million people are engaged in fishing. In 1904, 301 of these were killed, 73 wounded and 270 missing. There were taken during that year 44,000,000 yen worth of fish and 31,000,000 yen worth of other marine products.

Industries

Japan has a population of about 300 to the square mile, but as only 15 per cent of its area is under cultivation, it has a population of about 2,000 to each square mile under cultivation; 76 per cent of the population is rural, but the urban population is increasing; 63 per cent of the population are tillers of the soil; 40 per cent of the tilled land is worked by tenants, and the tenant gets only about 40 per cent of the produce.

The average market value of tilled land is 720 yen an acre. One man tills only one or two acres. About one half of the land is tilled exclusively by manual labor without the use of horses or oxen. An acre yields about thirty bushels of rice and about twenty bushels of barley, the one raised in the summer and the other in the winter. Thus an acre produces about thirty yen worth in a year, on an average.

There is provision made by mine owners for miners when sick or injured, and in case of death aid is given toward the funeral expenses, and also a small allowance to the families. Some of the large mining companies give more than 1,000,000 yen a year to disabled miners, and a like sum to bereaved families. This system is being followed to some extent by some of the railroad companies,

but not to any large degree by factories. Mine Workers' Mutual Aid Associations are formed in many of the mines and members pay a certain sum each month, and mine operators and other friends contribute, and help is given from these funds in case of illness, injury, or death of any member.

A large tide of emigration has for many years set toward the northern island, the Hokkaido. The same is now true in regard to Korea and Manchuria. It is doubtful if the number emigrating to Hawaii and the United States will continue to be as large in the future as in the past.

Each prefecture has a relief fund and the State hands over each year to each prefecture an amount proportioned to that set apart by the prefecture. This fund is used when

Charities

any calamity occurs within the limits of the prefecture. The State also makes disbursements for paupers and foundlings. An aggregate relief fund of about 30,000,000 yen exists at the present time in the several prefectures.

Over 15,000 paupers are aided by the State each year, at an expense of over 200,000 yen.

The following statement is made in the Japan Year Book for 1906, page 457:

It is a significant fact that by far the greater part of private charity work of any large scope is conducted by Christians, both natives and aliens, and that the part played by Buddhists in this direction is shamefully out of proportion. As to Shintoists, they are privileged, in popular estimate, to keep aloof from matters of this kind.

This is significant as coming from the Japanese editor and compiler of the Year Book.

The four leper hospitals in Japan are all conducted by foreigners. Mr. Hara's Ex-Convict Home, in Tokyo, is the largest and most successful of all the forty-three such homes in the country. Mr. Hara was converted while in prison, and he has been engaged in this work for twenty-two years. During the last nine years he has received into his Home 768 ticket-of-leave convicts. Of these 54 are now in the Home, 414 are self-supporting in honest work, 65 have died, 116 are missing, that is, their whereabouts not known, and 119 have left the Home unreclaimed. The emperor has recently given 1,000 yen to this Home. Mr. Tomeoka's Christian Reform School and Home for Boys in Tokyo has also received a gift of 1,000 yen from the emperor.

The Okayama Orphanage is the largest of the nearly thirty orphanages in Japan. There are over 1,200 children now in this institution, which needs greatly increased equipment in buildings and endowment. The emperor and empress gave to this institution, two years ago, 2,000 yen and promised 1,000 yen a year for ten years.

The Red Cross Society in Japan is the most remarkable organization in the empire. Started in 1886, when Japan joined the Geneva Convention, it now numbers over 1,100,000 paying members, with a fund on hand of over 10,000,000 yen. During the late war, 4,500,000 yen were used for Japanese patients and Russian prisoners.

A Japan Woman's League has been formed which has 500,000 members. This league did much during the late war in comforting sick and wounded soldiers and aiding their families. About 10,000,000 yen were expended during the war by relief societies, in aiding disabled soldiers and soldiers' families.

The great famine which came upon three provinces in the north, last year, affecting a million

¹ The Japanese yen is equal to fifty cents.

people, was met by over 100,000 yen from foreign countries, more than one half of which came from the U. S. The Japanese, including the imperial gift of 50,000 yen, raised about 400,000 yen. Local governments voted funds to be used in public works to the amount of nearly 4,000,000 yen, and 2,000,000 yen in national and local taxes was remitted. An abundant harvest this year throughout the empire makes all hearts glad.

The government is buying seventeen railways at a cost of about 424,000,000 yen. These roads comprize a mileage of 2,806 miles, making, with former government lines, an aggregate of 4,466 miles, and leaving only a little over 400 miles operated by small private companies. The government owns all the telegraph lines and some of the telephone lines, and operates them in connection with the Postal Department. The government also has a monopoly of salt, camphor, and tobacco.

The public-school system is very thoroughly organized and the attendance is very general; 94.43 per cent of children of school age are in school, or else have finished the ordinary elementary school. Only 15 per cent of the teachers are women.

Teachers who have served for fifteen years are entitled to a life pension of one fourth of their salary, on becoming sixty-five years of age, when disabled by sickness, and in other special cases. If a teacher has served more than fifteen years, $\frac{1}{10}$ is added for each year. The middle schools are able to receive only about 60 per cent of those who apply, after graduating from the grammar schools. The high schools, also, are able to receive only about 36 per cent of the graduates of the middle schools who apply. There are now ninety-five higher girls' schools with nearly 30,000 scholars. Two thirds of the teachers in these schools are women, and the proportion of female teachers in the other schools is gradually increasing. Women are also being employed in post-offices, banks, and railroad ticket offices.

The National Temperance League has ninety-eight affiliated societies with a membership of 8,517. A bill prohibiting the use of any and all kinds of liquors to minors, after passing the Lower House, was defeated in the House of Peers by 106 to 97, and the matter was referred to the Educational Department.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has affiliated with it sixty-three local unions with a membership of nearly 3,000.

Meetings have been widely held by both of these organizations, and much valuable literature has been published and distributed.

A Rescue Home, capable of caring for forty girls, has been completed in the capital and fourteen girls have been in it. About 30,000 "comfort bags" were sent to the soldiers, in which were sent over 200,000 copies of temperance and religious literature.

The W. C. T. U. is doing a much needed work in calling attention to the facts concerning the immorality in many of the schools for young men, by means of which young women in some of the higher schools, especially in the capital, have been led astray.

The conditions in the schools is such that the Minister of Education issued an "Instruction" last June, from which I quote:

It is scarcely necessary to say that the duty of scholars and students is to have a steadfast mind, to propose to themselves a fixt purpose, and to look forward to achieving great results by zeal and diligence. Nevertheless, among the youths of both sexes I detect, to my great regret, a tendency to occasional despondency and to ethical decadence. Certain of those now in the schools show an inclination to luxury or torment themselves about empty theories, or, in extreme cases, allow their minds to become absorbed in dissipation, and, violating the precepts of virtue, lose their sense of shame. Unless steps be presently taken to severely reprimand these errors, their harmful results will be incalculable. There are signs that the trend of a part of society is toward insincerity and that the youths of both sexes are being led astray in increasing degree. Especially is this the case with recent publications and pictures, for these either ventilate extreme doctrines, inculcate pessimistic views, or depict immoral conditions to the no small detriment of education.—*Japan Year Book*, p. 448.

During the last two years an increasing number of student young men committed suicide, having adopted pessimistic ideas of life. They threw themselves over the 250-foot Kegan waterfall, and into the craters of active volcanoes. Two young men and one young woman thus threw themselves over the Kegan fall the week the writer was there, a short time ago.

The social conditions of some of the boarding-houses of the great factories are deplorable, as are those of some of the smaller weaving-houses. Take the great "Nishijin" weaving district in the northeastern part of the city of Kyoto. There are said to be 60,000 operatives in that district. A large part of them are girls and boys who are apprenticed by their parents for a term of three years, and some of the girls apprenticed over three times. Many of them are crowded together at night, boys and girls in the same rooms, with deplorable results. One Christian physician in the city has cared for nearly 400 of these unfortunate girls in one year, during their confinement. The efforts of Rev. U. G. Murphy and others, begun several years ago, to secure freedom for girls who have been sold to a life of shame, to quit such life, have already resulted in its abandonment by about 20,000, out of a total of 70,000 in the empire; and if the Supreme Court gives a favorable decision in a case now before it, as to whether a girl can leave her place of detention although there are debts standing against her, there will be a still further and more rapid diminution of these unfortunates, who are in durance vile. As it has been, the keepers of these houses managed to keep a girl constantly in debt. The Salvation Army, in addition to its other laudable work, is doing a good work in assisting girls to leave a life of shame. They have brought 129 girls to Tokyo from the famine region, during the last year, and placed them in suitable situations, most of whom would otherwise have been a prey to those seeking victims for immoral purposes.

Shinto is disestablished and virtually declared not to be a religion. There are, however, over 80,000 Shinto priests, and the "solemn ceremony of the emperor in person at the great shrines of Ise for the purpose of proclaiming to the imperial ancestors the happy termination of the war has exerted a more or less powerful influence on the minds of the general public in favor of Shintoism."

Of Buddhism, the Japan Year Book says (page 451): "On the whole, the world of Japanese Buddhism remains stagnant." Then, after speaking of the efforts of the most popular sect to minister to the soldiers in the late war, and of three priests who went to Tibet to study the Lamaic branch of Buddhism, it continues: "In

Public Ownership

Education

Social Reforms

contrast to these worthy undertakings, the chronic scandal of the East Hongwanji continues to seriously impair the credit of Buddhism as a whole."

The reference here is to the alleged squandering of the revenues of this richest temple in Japan, so that it is said to be some millions of yen in debt and some of its property has been seized by the creditors.

There are, however, at present over 70,000 officiating Buddhist priests.

In regard to Christianity, it is to be said that the late war has sobered the nation, and there is a marked desire on the part of the people, especially among young men, to examine Christianity and listen to its teachings. The gifts of the emperor to distinctively Christian institutions and the magnificent and unparalleled success of the Young Men's Christian Association among the soldiers in Manchuria are having a wide and powerful influence in favor of Christianity. Most of the leading generals were favorably impressed and the returning soldiers have carried favorable impressions of Christianity into nearly half a million homes. The whole atmosphere, generally, is favorable. In connection with the Protestant work, there are about 500 churches, and 700 other preaching places. There are nearly 100 self-supporting churches, and about 400 church buildings, worth nearly 1,000,000 yen. There are nearly 60,000 church members who gave last year 150,000 yen for Christian work. There are about 450 ordained Japanese ministers and over 800 unordained Japanese workers. There are over 200 young men in theological schools and 150 women are being trained in Bible schools. There are over 800 foreign missionary workers in Japan. The Y. M. C. A. has seven foreign secretaries and as many Japanese secretaries with organizations in nine cities, and in fifty-five schools, including two universities, seven higher middle schools, seven medical schools, and twenty-five middle schools.

REFERENCES: *The Japan Year Book*, 1906, Tokyo; *The Christian Movement in Japan*, 1906, Tokyo; *Japan in the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, published by Imperial Japanese Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

J. B. DAVIS.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

A Constitutional Empire (1889). Mikado (1868-). Mutsu Hito, aided by a Privy Council. Legislative power is vested in the Mikado, the Diet of a House of Peers, and a House of Representatives. The Peers number about 370, princes or prominent men, elected for life or for seven years. The Representatives number 369, elected for four years, by males over twenty-five, paying a tax of at least 10 yen.

Japan has 147,655 sq. m., with a population (1905) of 47,812,702 (310 per sq. m.). The Islands of Formosa (13,500 sq. m., with 3,059,235 population), the southern part of Sakhalin and the Pescadores, also belong to Japan. Tokyo (the capital) has 1,440,121; Osaka, 821,235; Kyoto, 353,139; Yokohama, 193,762; Kobe, 215,780. In 1902 there were 84,038 Shintoist temples, 71,788 Buddhist, and 1,102 Christian churches (Roman Catholic, Greek, and Protestant). Besides there were 220,572 shrines to eminent ancestors of the Imperial House, independent of religious sect.

Revenue (1906-7, estimated), 494,709,700 yen; expenditures, 495,704,700; public debt (1906), 1,872,381,120 yen. The extraordinary expenses of the Russian war amounted to 1,982,000,000 yen. About 22,000,000 yen are to be set aside yearly to meet the war debt, which it is estimated will pay it off by 1939.

Exports (1905), 328,232,220 yen; imports, 498,715,870 yen. Chief products: Rice, tea, sugar, silk. Imports (1905) from British Empire, 221,370,000 yen; from United States, 106,460,000 yen; from China, 52,618,408 yen; exports to British Empire, 540,900,000; to U. S., 95,970,000.

Of the 45,000,000 population of Japan, 30,000,000 are farmers, or, more correctly speaking, gardeners. The Japanese farm is a garden, irrigated and fertilized and scientifically and intensively tilled.

A writer in the *Booklover's Magazine* for Aug., 1904, says: "The secret of the success of the little Daybreak Kingdom has been a mystery to many students of nations. Patriotism does not explain the riddle of its strength, neither can commerce, nor military equipment, nor manufacturing skill. Western nations will fail fully to grasp the secret of the dynamic intensity of Japan to-day, and will dangerously underestimate the formidable possibilities of the Greater Japan—the Dai Nippon—of to-morrow, until they begin to study seriously the agricultural triumphs of that empire. For Japan, more scientifically than any other nation, past or present, has perfected the art of sending the roots of its civilization enduringly into the soil.

"Progressive experts of high authority throughout the Occident now admit that in all the annals of agriculture there is nothing that ever approached the scientific skill of Sunrise husbandry."

JAURES, JEAN LÉON: A French Socialist leader; born at Castres (Tarn), 1859. Graduating from a normal school, he was a professor at Albi and Toulouse. Elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1885-89, he voted with the Moderate Republicans. Returning to his profession, he became interested in social questions and 1893 was elected for Albi, and became the leading Socialist of the Chamber, and leader of the evolutionary wing of the national Socialist movement. Defeated in the election of 1898, he became the editor of the *Petite République*. He favored the entry of Millerand into the Waldeck-Rousseau cabinet, opposing in this J. Guesde and the orthodox Socialists, but carrying the majority of French Socialists with him. His impassioned oratory and other gifts make him a natural leader, and to his influence largely is due the present union of the French Socialist Party. He was reelected in 1902 and 1906. Author of "Socialist Essays."

JEFFERSON, THOMAS: Third President of the United States; born Albemarle County, Va., 1743. Attending William and Mary College, and studying law at Williamsburg, was admitted to the bar in 1767, and soon acquired standing and wealth. From 1769 to the Revolution he served in the Virginia House of Burgesses. He soon became a leader of the opposition to the king, and in 1775 took his seat in the Continental Congress. He drafted the Declaration of Independence; 1776 resumed his seat in the Virginia Legislature, and secured the first law establishing perfect religious freedom. From 1779 for two years he was Governor of Virginia. In 1782 his wife died, and, distracted with grief, he accepted an appointment as Minister to France. Appointed by Washington Secretary of State 1789, he served till 1794, when he resigned. During this period the Democratic Party (or Republican-Democratic Party as it was first called) developed with Jefferson as leader, opposed to the Federalism of Hamilton, Jefferson's colleague in the Cabinet. In 1796 Jefferson was elected Vice-President, and in 1800 President. During his administration the public debt was reduced, Louisiana purchased for \$15,000,000, Algerian pirates conquered, and the system of precedence abolished for a reasonable etiquette. Jefferson was reelected in 1804 almost without opposition. His embargo policy retaliating upon France and England by prohibiting U. S. vessels leaving port, however, struck a blow at the navy, and opposition to him increased. In 1808 he declined to be nominated for a third term, and retired to Monticello, where he interested himself in founding the University of Virginia. Died July 4, 1826.

In social reform Jefferson is still a vital force, as the father of democracy and of decentralization in the U. S.

JENKINS, JOHN: English Labor M.P.; born 1852, Pembroke Dock, South Wales. When sixteen, apprenticed to two firms of Cardiff ship-builders, he worked his way till he became president of the Cardiff Shipbuilding Society. In 1893 he represented the Bristol Channel District in the Associated Shipwrights' Society. His interest in municipal affairs led to his election in 1890 as town councillor, and in 1903 mayor of Cardiff. When the Trade-Union Congress met at Cardiff in 1895 he presided. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament for Chatham, supported by the Labor Representative Committee. *Address:* Grange-town, Cardiff.

JENKS, JEREMIAH WHIPPLE: American economist; born 1856, St. Clair, Mich.; graduated University of Michigan, 1878; Ph.D. at Halle, Germany, 1885; professor of political economy and social science at Indiana University, 1889-1891; and at Cornell (his present position), 1891. Mr. Jenks has been appointed on numerous United States commissions as expert agent and special investigator; for the INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION on trusts and combinations, 1899-1901, for the U. S. Labor Department on the same, for the War Department on financial and labor conditions in the Orient, on international exchange and currency reform in China, also by the Mexican Government on currency in that country. Author "The Trust Problem," 1900, revised 1903; also reports for the above commissions, and numerous economic articles and papers. *Address:* Ithaca, N. Y.

JEVONS, WILLIAM STANLEY: British economist; born Liverpool, 1835; went in early life to Australia, and held the post of assayer in the Sydney mint from 1854-59; then returned to England in order to pursue his studies in philosophy and ethics; was professor of logic from 1866-1876 at Owens College, Manchester, and of economics at University College, London, from 1876-81; was drowned at Bexhill in 1882.

In the field of applied economics Jevons discussed monometallism and bimetalism, declaring himself, tho in very temperate and guarded terms, a monometallist. He favored cooperation and profit-sharing, and also believed in State legislation on social questions. (See his "The State in Relation to Labor," 1882.)

In economic theory he is best known for his conception of total utility (*q. v.*). He is the author of a "Primer of Political Economy" (1878); "Money the Mechanism of Exchange" (1879); "Principles of Science" (1874, 2 vols.); "Theory of Political Economy" (1879); "Methods of Social Reform" (1883); and "Investigations in Currency and Finance" (1884).

JEWISH COLONIES: "Back to the soil" is the latest cry of the Jews. After 1,800 years of trading, trafficking, and banking, they are awakening to the fact that they were originally an agricultural people and have been kept from the soil by adverse laws and not by their own inclinations. During this long period nearly every State forbade the Jew to hold land, and he was forced into other occupations. Gild laws and other restrictions even hindered their becoming artisans; hence largely their entry into commerce. These obstacles, however, being now largely removed, the Jew has begun to become a farmer and a mechanic—tentatively at first, but now in ever larger numbers.

The oldest Jewish colonies were located in Palestine, where several are reported to have existed as early as 1170, and one, consisting of 60 families, was definitely mentioned as located at Gaza in 1481. At the close of the sixteenth century another colony, "where only Jews were to dwell," is said to have been established near Tiberias. Other reports are indefinite and unreliable.

The first definite attempt to colonize the Jews was, strange to say, made in Russia. The historian Czacki and the poet Derzhavin prevailed upon the Emperor Paul in 1799 to take measures for settling them in agricultural colonies. He consented in order "to check the selfish occupations of the Jews." After various preparations Czar Alexander I. issued an "Enactment concerning the Jews" in 1804 to the effect that the Jews should be grouped into five classes, agriculturists, manufacturers, artisans, merchants, and minor burgesses; that the agriculturists should be permitted to buy and lease land in the western and southwestern provinces; that the government grant 8,000 acres of land to the poorer colonists; that a medical certificate of health and physical fitness should be submitted by every prospective settler; and that every family should give evidence of possessing at least 400 rubles. In 1806 a large number of Jewish families settled in different parts of the province of Kherson and established in all 9 colonies, which had to be located at a certain distance from Christian villages, and in which any occupation but farming was forbidden. Owing to adverse conditions of soil, climate, and government, the colonies did not prosper. But in 1823 General Intzov procured a grant from the Czar of 50,000 rubles for the colonies; 443 new families joined the 1,690 already settled. The military discipline was, however, not suited to the temperament of the Jews, and the colonies never prospered. A later attempt (1835) at colonization in New Russia failed, notwithstanding many privileges granted prospective settlers by the crown. In 1836 the Czar issued an order designating 40,895 acres of land near Tobolsk and Omsk in Siberia for Jewish colonies. Nine hundred families from various parts of Russia sent in their applications, and 36 of them actually arrived at Omsk, when in Jan., 1837, a counter order was issued to the effect that "the transfer of Jews to Siberia must be stopt." Seven hundred and thirty-eight families were taken into the 9 colonies at Kherson against their desire. The government expended 234,539 rubles from 1841-45 for these, and 6 new colonies; about 1,661 families, or 12,779 persons, were settled in 15 colonies; 5 synagogues, 12 houses of prayer, 6 town-halls, 7 warehouses, 7 bath-houses, 8 windmills, were built; they had all necessary farm implements and animals, but—the colonies failed owing chiefly to the interference of corrupt government officials. From 1847-60 17 new colonies were established in the province of Ekaterinoslav and 2 in Kherson. In 1865 there were in all 37 colonies, with 2,873 families and 32,943 persons cultivating nearly 249,700 acres of land. In 1864 Jews were deprived of the right to buy, or even to settle on private land. This edict was later recalled, and colonization progressed rapidly in various parts of Russia and Poland, notably with the money and under the philanthropic direction of Baron Günzburg. In 1900 there were in Russia 265 agricultural col-

onies with about 100,000 persons, working about 256,500 acres of land. There were, moreover, 10,038 persons in families scattered over the country, working over 41,310 acres. Poland has a large number of Jewish colonies and single families owning and partly cultivating in 1887 over 639,000 acres.

The Jews are now doing well in the Russian colonies; they have mastered the intricacies of farming, and have established a college where advanced teaching is given in various branches of agriculture. In order to prevent a return to commerce the colony of Rossianka, Bessarabia, requires that every storekeeper within its borders should be a Christian. If they have a number of failures standing against them, these must be attributed to the uncertainty of Russian decrees on the subject, or to the thwarting of the benevolent intentions of the emperors by the bureaucracy, and not to a Jewish repugnance to settle on the land.

Palestine is next in chronological order with Jewish colonies. Sir Moses Montefiore (*q. v.*) visited the Holy Land seven times with the intention of making arrangements for colonies of his coreligionists. In 1838 he selected thirty-five families from Safed and started them on land bought by him. An attempt to form a colony had also been made by Colonel Gawler, of the British Army, but the conditions were not favorable to that project, in 1845, after the war between Turkey and Egypt in 1839-40. A number of organizations, e. g., the Alliance Israélite Universelle of Paris, the Russian "Lovers of Zion," the Odessa Aid Society, the Zionists, the Jewish Colonization Association of London, and several individuals, chiefly Baron de Hirsch (*q. v.*) and Baron de Rothschild, were so interested in the matter and had so many applications that the subject was attacked vigorously after 1870, and since that time up to 1899 about 26 colonies have been established with approximately 5,200 people, occupying over 64,500 acres of land. They have had many privations to endure, and had to combat partly inexperience and administrative difficulties, partly an inclination of the colonists to depend on charity. Many colonies have, however, paid off their indebtedness to the various charitable societies, and are doing well. They raise the various crops of Palestine, chiefly cereals; are interested in arboriculture, horticulture, agriculture, and floriculture. A new departure is the raising of silkworms. But their chief delight is viniculture, and they are said to produce an excellent wine in some colonies, particularly in the Risbon-le-Zion near Jaffa. They have introduced modern scientific farm implements, steam-plows and mills, spacious wine cellars, etc., e. g., at Zikron Ya'akov.

The Argentine Republic has three groups of colonies, established by the Jewish Colonization Association of Paris under the auspices of Baron de Hirsch. Seventeen million acres were purchased in Aug., 1891, for \$1,300,000 in different parts of the republic. *Moiseville*, Santa Fé province, was founded 1891 on a tract of 60,000 acres, 22,500 of which were tilled and occupied by 168 families with 825 persons in 1899. The great prosperity of the colony is due chiefly to the culture of Luzerne, which yields 6 crops a year, and enables the colonists to engage in dairying. *Mauricio*, province of Buenos Ayres, comprizes 62,000 acres, occupied by 211 families

with 1,045 persons; 22,000 acres were tilled in 1898; the rest was used as pasture for over 3,000 head of cattle. The financial and sanitary conditions are good. The *Clara* colonies, Entre Rios province, date from 1894. They tilled (1898) 66,656 acres out of a total of 195,545 occupied. There are 19 villages or groups with a total population of over 5,000; all of them are fairly prosperous.

Canada had 4 Jewish colonies—*Moosomin*, *Hirsch*, *Oxbow*, and *Wappella*. One of these proved a failure. *Hirsch*, Assiniboia, named after its founder, began in 1892 with 30 families. In 1900 there were 28 families occupying about 11,700 acres, all doing well. *Wappella*, Assiniboia, was established in 1894 with 20 families. They had means of their own, and received help only for the building of a school in 1898. The colonies are prospering.

The United States had a Jewish colony as early as 1837 at Wawarsing, Ulster County, N. Y., consisting of 13 families. It was abandoned in 1842. The Alliance Israélite Universelle, acting through a local committee in New York City, bought 5,000 acres of land on Sicily Island, Catapoula, near Bayou Louis, La., and settled 60 Jewish Russian families with 173 persons in 1881. They worked hard, but a flood of the Mississippi in 1882 swept away all their belongings, and the colonists scattered. That year saw the beginning of the great Russian Jewish migration to the U. S., and colonies were soon established in many states. But a large number have been abandoned.

There are a number of other colonies which have had a temporary success, but failed after one, two, or three years. The most significant thing about Jewish colonies in the U. S. is the fact that where the colonists confined themselves to farming, failure was the rule; success has been met only where industries were combined with farming.

Woodbine, N. J., is the most prosperous colony in the U. S., and deserves special mention. It has its own town organization, and all the officials are Hebrews. The settlers are farmers, artisans, and manufacturers. The weekly rest day is Saturday, but the sixteen Christians of the colony may work on that day. Only one arrest has been made since the foundation of the colony, that of a drunken tramp. A new school-house, costing \$15,000, was built in 1904, for 561 pupils; an agricultural college has been established. A "Brotherhood" for the general uplift of the colony was organized which has raised \$12,000 within a few years. The village had 2,500 inhabitants in 1907, and was generally prosperous.

The success of Woodbine has greatly encouraged Jewish philanthropists in their endeavor to colonize their coreligionists. In 1904 Mr. Rich, of Milwaukee, founded *Arpin*, Wis., with thirty-three persons on the model of Woodbine. A test farm of 1,000 acres has been established at *Kings Park*, Long Island, to give the prospective colonists a preliminary training for a year, so as to avoid the mistake, made so often in the past, of sending grocers, shopkeepers, and factory hands to the land without any knowledge of farming. About \$1,000,000 has been subscribed by various societies and philanthropists in order to push the colonization, not only with zeal as in the past, but with discretion. In this endeavor to furnish prospective Jewish farmers with the

TABLE OF ATTEMPTED AND EXISTING JEWISH COLONIES IN THE U. S. SINCE 1880

NAME	Location	Estab- lished	Aban- doned	Families	Persons	Land in acres	Capital	Founder or head	Nature
Cremieux.....	Sicily Island, Ia.....	1881	1882	60	173	5,000	\$5,500	Alliance Israélite.....	Agricultural
Bethlehem Yehudah.....	Davidson Co., S. D.....	1882	1885	20	About 90	5,000		Herman Rosenthal.....	Agricultural
Cotopaxi.....	Davidson Co., S. D.....	1885	1886					Alliance Israélite.....	Agricultural
New Odessa.....	California.....	1882	1883	15	64	1,780		Emigrant Aid Society, N. Y.....	Agricultural
Painted Woods.....	Oregon.....	1882	1888		50	3,000	Over \$5,000	Independent.....	Agricultural
Montefiore.....	Burlingh Co., N. D.....	1882	1887	54	200	8,000	\$10,000	Rev. J. Wechsler, St. Paul.....	Agricultural
Lasker.....	Pratt Co., Kan.....	1884	1885					Sir Moses Montefiore.....	Agricultural
Beersheba.....	Ford Co., Kan.....	1885	1888	17		5,860		Montefiore Aid Society, N. Y.....	Agricultural
Hebron.....	Hodgeman Co., Kan.....	1882	1885	80				Montefiore Aid Society, N. Y.....	Agricultural
Gilead.....	Kansas.....	1886	Unknown	20				Beth El Hebrew Relief, Detroit.....	Agricultural
Palestine.....	Comanche Co., Kan.....	1886	Unknown	10	63	800		Independent.....	Agricultural
Washington.....	Near Bad Axe, Mich.....	1891	Exists	15				Lovers of Baltimore.....	Agricultural
Waterfield.....	Virginia.....	1883	Soon	9				Baron de Hirsch Fund.....	Agricultural
Chesterfield.....	Virginia.....	1882	1886	33		2,000	3,000	Baron de Hirsch Fund.....	Agricultural
Alliance.....	Connecticut.....	1892	Exists	96	512	1,500	15,000	Alliance Israélite.....	Agricultural
Carmel.....	Salem Co., N. J.....	1882	Exists	80	471	2,400	10,000	Emigrant Aid Society.....	Agricultural
Rosehayn.....	Cumberland Co., N. J.....	1882	Exists	67	201	1,300	37,500	Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society.....	Agricultural
Woodbine.....	Cape May Co., N. J.....	1883	Exists		75	5,300		Baron de Hirsch Fund.....	Agricultural
		1891							and industrial

necessary educational qualifications, and to provide homes for Hebrews in the country, philanthropists should be encouraged as far as possible.
RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: Frederic, *The New Exodus*; Buchholz, *Geschichte der Juden in Riga*, 1889; A. M. Luncz, *Jerusalem*, i.-iii.; *Seventh Report of the Jewish Refugees' Aid Society*, London, 1892; *Die Welt*, various articles, 1897-1900; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. i.; *The Circle*, Sept., 1907.

JOHNSON, ALEXANDER: General secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction; associate director of the School of Philanthropy; born 1847 at Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire, England. He engaged in commerce until 1884, when he became secretary of the Associated Charities of Cincinnati, 1884-86, and later of the Charity Organization Society of Chicago, 1886-89, and of the State Board of Charities of Indiana, 1889-93. From 1893 to 1903 he was superintendent of Indiana School for Feeble-Minded Youth. In 1897 he was elected president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. Mr. Johnson's views on political economy and social reform may be called those of a sympathy with the Fabian Socialists, but he is hardly prepared to accept all their program. Address: 2139 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, Ind.

JOHNSON, FRANCIS: General secretary of Independent Labor Party; born 1878 in London, where he was educated in a board school. After he had served for a time as a shop-boy in a second-hand bookstore he rose to the position of manager. Joining the Independent Labor Party, he soon became prominent in his local branch. In 1900 he entered the general office of his party, became assistant secretary in 1903, and general secretary in 1904. Address: 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E. C., London, England.

JOHNSON, JOHN: Labor member of Parliament for Gateshead; born 1850; went into the pits at the age of nine; became a member of the Executive Committee, Durham Miners' Association, in 1883; treasurer in 1890, and financial secretary in 1897. Elected to Parliament in 1894; again in 1906 by the votes of the Miners' Association. Address: 20, The Avenue, Durham, England.

JOHNSON, TOM LOFTIN: Reform mayor of Cleveland, and capitalist. He was born in Georgetown, Ky., July 28, 1854; removed to Indiana in his early childhood, and received an elementary education there. After he had made some money, he bought a street-railway in Indianapolis; and when he had put the road on a paying basis, he acquired large interests in the street-railways of Cleveland, Detroit, and Brooklyn. In Cleveland, he began to manufacture iron and steel.

He was elected a member of Congress by the Democrats from 1891-95; and became a strong advocate of the "single tax" theories. At the present he is devoting all his time to economic questions, particularly to that of taxation, and to his official duties as mayor of Cleveland, having been elected to that office in 1901. He has succeeded in reducing the fare to three cents on the street-cars of his city. Address: Cleveland, Ohio.

JOHNSON, WILLIAM: Labor member of Parliament for Nuneaton, Warwickshire; born 1849; began work early in a factory, later in a mine. Has been secretary and agent of the Warwick-

shire Miners' Association since 1885; is a member of the County Council for Bedworth. Was elected to Parliament in 1906, chiefly by the votes of the Miners' Association, assisted by the Liberals. Address: Miners' Offices, Bedworth, Nuneaton, England.

JOHNSON, WILLIAM EUGENE; American journalist and Prohibitionist; born Coventry, N. Y., 1862; educated in public schools and University of Nebraska. He was writer on the *Lincoln Daily News*, and in other journalism till he became associate editor of the *New York Voice* (Prohibition) and of *The New Voice*, Chicago, 1899-1905. Was Prohibitionist nominee for Congress in Maryland, 1904; he is special agent of U. S. Interior Department, and appointed to aid in suppressing the liquor traffic in the Indian Territory and Oklahoma. Author (with John Woolley) "Temperance Progress in the Nineteenth Century" (1903), and of the "Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem" (in preparation). Address: Laurel, Md.

JONES, RICHARD: English economist; born Tunbridge Wells, England, 1790; graduated Cambridge 1816; was ordained to the ministry; in 1833 became professor of political economy at King's College, London, and in 1835 succeeded Malthus in the chair of political economy and history at the East India College, Haileybury. From 1836 to 1851 he occupied the position of commissioner under the Tithe Commutation Act. Died at Haileybury, Jan. 26, 1855. As an economist, Jones stands between the school of Adam Smith and the modern historical economists. He recognizes strongly the necessity of the inductive method, and opposes the deductive method of Ricardo.

JOWETT, F. W.: English Labor M.P.; born at Bradford. He worked in the textile mills there and became manufacturer's manager at twenty-eight. In 1901 Jowett devoted himself to public work, and for several years was director of the Bradford Provident Industrial Society. In 1892 he became a city councilor, and in 1895 was made an alderman. Mr. Jowett was before the constituency from 1897. He was elected to Parliament, 1906, for Bradford West, indorsed by the Labor Representative Committee. Address: 2 Grantham Place, Bradford.

JUDAISM, SOCIAL POLITY OF: All views and interpretations of the sacred books of the Hebrew race find in them the institutes of a peculiar social polity. Viewed as the product of infallible inspiration or in the light of the latest and highest criticism, the Old Testament records a social polity, whether given of God in immediate revelation or developed through long ages of national evolution, of deepest interest and most practical significance. The heart of the whole is in the national law. Says Canon Fremantle ("The World the Subject of Redemption"):

The Law was the center of the religion and theology of Israel. . . . It was not "the law of commandments contained in ordinances," but the law of righteousness, which underlays the ordinances. . . . The mere ceremonialism, apart from moral good, finds no encouragement in the Old Testament. Against that all the prophets from Hosea onward protest. . . . The law of moral and political relations is the center of the theology of the Old Testament. . . . The theme which is more than any other upon their poets' lips is the law of Jehovah.

In the Psalms there are a few faint allusions to ceremonial

customs, such as the laws of drink offerings of blood, or of forbidden food, or the purging with hyssop; a few words about the new moon and solemn feast days; not a word about circumcision, not a word about the passover, not a word about the Sabbaths, not a word about ceremonial uncleanness. There is probably in modern hymns, eighteen centuries after Christ, more of artificial religion than in the Psalms, written in the bosom of Judaism. But, on the other hand, almost every Psalm appeals to the law of plain justice, public and private. . . . It is the moral and political law, not the ceremonial, which is enshrined in the hearts of the people.

The basis of the whole law is the recognition of Jehovah as the God of the nation, the Creator and Ruler and Owner of the earth. Land belongs to Him; His are the firstfruits; He is the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; His law is to be

obeyed. This law is given to the organized nation, not to individuals.

The first duty of parents to the male child of a Gentile convert was circumcision, the symbol of initiation into the national life. The Law was not given to any person in view of a personal relation to God, but only to the circumcised, or their wives and daughters, those who belonged to the organic national life. It was, thus, primarily a law of institutions. With the organized national life went the family. The first duty of the circumcised child was to obey and honor his parents (Ex. xx. 12). "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honor the face of the old man" (Lev. xix. 32). Purity and chastity were strictly inculcated. The law allowed polygamy; but he who follows the development of the Hebrew people from the obscenity and impurity, into which they are recorded as falling, through idolatrous practises, in the early years of their history, into the comparative purity and monogamy which prevailed among the Jews in the time of Christ, will realize how practically the Law aided and developed pure family life.

As in all patriarchal civilizations, the servant or slave was made a member of the household. Slavery was allowed, but it was nothing like chattel slavery; it was scarcely slavery. In Judea alone of all countries, ancient and modern, the slave had rights and was not under the caprice of his master. Every Hebrew slave could go free at the end of the sixth year (Ex. xxi. 2). He was to be furnished liberally out of the

National Basis

Treatment of the Poor

flock, and out of the flour, and out of the winepress (Deut. xv. 14). The wages of servants were to be paid every night: "The wages of him that is hired shall not abide all night until the morning" (Lev. xix. 13). Charity in all relations was inculcated: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor," said the law (Lev. xix. 18); "Thou shalt hate thine enemy" was an unauthorized addition. Justice in trade was a sacred duty (Lev. xix. 36); but the needy were particularly to be aided. "If there be among you a poor man, of one of the brethren, within any of the gates in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother, but thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need" (Deut. xv. 7, 8). The loan was to be without interest. "If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as a usurer; neither shalt thou lay upon him usury" (Ex. xxii. 25). Usury meant interest; the word is sometimes translated increase. "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother, usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury," said the Deuteronomic

law. This was not a moral law of universal validity. The Hebrew was allowed to take interest from a Gentile. "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury" (Deut. xxiii. 20). It was a socialist law, and one had to belong to the instituted nation to gain its benefits. Those who walked through cornfields or vineyards were to be allowed to pluck of the corn or the vine (Deut. xxiii. 25). The widow and the orphan were particularly to be cared for (Deut. x. 18).

All these enactments were made possible by the Hebrew land law. Under private property and a competitive civilization it is impossible to lend without interest to every one that asks, or to allow trespassing on a planted field or vineyard. Under the Hebrew law it was possible, because everybody was protected in the use (not ownership) of a little land, and therefore those who needed to borrow or receive aid were comparatively few. God was considered the owner of all the land, and it was meted out not for ownership, but for use. "The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine," God is represented as saying in Lev. xxv. 23. The land was supposed to have been measured out by Joshua by the line and the lot, and a portion assigned to each family according to its size. And this ownership for use was inalienable. If any family became embarrassed and gave the land in debt, it returned on the fiftieth year—the year of jubilee—to its former owner. This was the wording of the law as given in Lev. xxv. 24-31:

Land Law

And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land.
If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold.
And if the man have none to redeem it, and himself be able to redeem it;
Then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it, that he may return unto his possession.
But if he be not able to restore it to him, then that which is sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of jubilee; and in the jubilee it shall go out, and he shall return unto his possession.

There was a difference, however, with walled cities.

And if a man sell a dwelling-house in a walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold; within a full year may he redeem it.

And if it be not redeemed within the space of a full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be established forever to him that bought it, throughout his generations: it shall not go out in the jubilee.

But the houses of the villages, which have no walls round about them, shall be counted as the fields of the country: they may be redeemed, and they shall go out in the jubilee.

The object of this distinction seems to have been to make agricultural life and property more secure than city life and property, in order to encourage agricultural life. But it was not only the land that the law protected for the use of all. It was a socialist law in that it protected the worker in the ownership of his tools. If he gave them in pledge they could not be kept from him overnight. Says Deut. xxiv. 10-14:

When thou dost lend thy brother anything, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge.

Thou shalt stand abroad, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee.

And if the man be poor, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge. In any case thou shalt deliver him the pledge again when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own raiment, and bless thee; and it shall be righteousness unto thee before the Lord thy God.

Verse 6 in the same chapter says: "No man shall take the nether or upper millstone to

pledge, for he taketh a man's life to pledge." Protected thus, both in the access to land and the use of tools, no Hebrew, as long as the law was obeyed, need be poor. Taxation was a single tax of one tenth of all produce of the soil or the flock. This prevented all extortion of financiers. The whole system of laws was connected with a ritual to connect the political law with the thought of God. Great religious festivals were organized in connection with the national history and with the seasons. The Levites administered the law in connection with the temple or religious gatherings. The people, in solemn assemblies, repeated the curses and blessings of the Law. The whole law of the land was connected with the religious Sabbatical feasts. One day in seven the laborer found complete rest. One year in seven the land was to go untilled; the slave was to go free; one year in seven times seven was the year of jubilee, when land reverted to the owner and every mortgage was wiped off. Religion was thus associated with relief from labor and release from debt. There was no king; those ruled who showed themselves inspired of God; the nation was organized by tribes, families, and other divisions. Such was, in brief, the Hebrew social polity. In practise it was overthrown. The Hebrew people eventually chose a king, and found slavery and captivity. Some think the law was never fulfilled; that the law we have summarized was only very gradually developed. With the history we are not here concerned. Christian socialists believe that it needed the Spirit of Christ to fulfil the law. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) Socialists argue that the world was not yet ready for socialism. Individualists claim that it was an impossible and impractical legalism.

Religious Sanctions

REFERENCE: Canon W. H. Fremantle, *The World, the Subject of Redemption*.

JUDICIARY SYSTEM UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN: (For other countries, see those countries.)

I. UNITED STATES.

The judiciary system of the U. S., on account of the size of the country and the involved relation of federal and state courts, is very much more complicated and involved than in any other, and in no other country does the judiciary play the important political part that it does in the U. S.; for in no country except the U. S. is the Supreme Court of justice also the Supreme Court of legislative judgment.

We consider (a) the Federal Courts; (b) the Supreme Court; (c) the State Courts; (d) the Miscellaneous of Justice.

a. *The Federal Courts*.—The constitution gives to federal courts jurisdiction in

1. All cases in law and equity arising under the constitution, the laws of the U. S., treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority, and in general all cases concerning the country as a whole, ministers, and consuls.

2. Controversies between two or more states, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

The federal courts are of three kinds—the Supreme Court at Washington, circuit, and district

courts. The Supreme Court has nine judges—a chief justice (salary, \$13,000) and eight associate judges (salaries, \$12,500). They are nominated for life by the president and confirmed by the Senate, and are removable only by impeachment. Only once has a judge of the Supreme Court been impeached—Samuel Chase, of Maryland, in 1804–5, and then unsuccessfully. The Supreme Court sits from October to July of each year. Six judges must be present to pronounce a decision, and every case is discussed by the whole body twice over.

The circuit courts number nine, each with its own judges (salaries, \$7,000), and to each is allotted a judge of the Supreme Court. A Circuit Court of Appeals was established in 1891, to attempt to relieve the overtaxed Supreme Court. District courts number 91, and there has been established at Washington a special Court of Claims. All federal judges are appointed for life (subject to impeachment), as the Supreme judges, tho the constitution does not state that this should be so. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in cases affecting ambassadors, and where a state is a party, is original; in all other cases it is appellate.

The criminal jurisdiction of the federal courts, which extends to all offenses against federal law, is purely statutory. "The U. S. as such can have no common law. It derives its powers from the grant of the people made by the constitution, and they are all to be found in the written law, and not elsewhere" (Cooley's "Principles," p. 131).

Jurisdiction

Each federal court has attached to it a U. S. marshal, to carry out its decisions, and he can call on good citizens for help, and, if necessary, apply to Washington to obtain the aid of the federal troops.

On the somewhat complicated point as to the relation of federal and state law, Mr. Bryce says ("The American Commonwealth," 1st ed. pp. 247, 248):

The U. S. is a federation of commonwealths, each of which has its own constitution and laws. The federal constitution not only gives certain powers to Congress, as the national legislature, but recognizes certain powers in the states, in virtue whereof their respective peoples have enacted fundamental state laws (the state constitutions) and have enabled their respective legislatures to pass state statutes. However, as the nation takes precedence of the states, the federal constitution, which is the supreme law of the land everywhere, and the statutes duly made by Congress under it, are preferred to all state constitutions and statutes; and if any conflict arise between them, the latter must give way. The same phenomenon therefore occurs as in the case of an inconsistency between the constitution and a congressional statute. Where it is shown that a state constitution or statute infringes either the federal constitution or a federal (i. e., congressional) statute, the state constitution or statute must be held and declared invalid. And this declaration must, of course, proceed from the courts, nor solely from the federal courts; because when a state court decides against its own statutes or constitution in favor of a federal law, its decision is final.

b. The Supreme Court.—The constitution of the U. S. is above the power of Congress to change. It was ratified and made binding not by Congress, but by the people, and can be amended only by the people in appointed ways—a most difficult and slow process. Congress can therefore legislate only subject to the limits the constitution sets. The tenth amendment to the constitution, adopted in 1791, distinctly says: "The powers not delegated to the U. S. by the constitution nor prohibited by it to the states are reserved to the states respectively or to the people."

The body that finally decides what is constitu-

tional is the Supreme Court. Any law that the Supreme Court decides unconstitutional is illegal. This gives the Supreme Court enormous power. After long debate Congress passed an income tax (*q. v.*), and there is no question that such a tax was desired by a large majority of the people; but the Supreme Court decided by one vote that the bill was unconstitutional, and the bill did not become law. In such a case a single corrupt judge could subvert the will of the whole people save as by slow process the constitution is amended. This to an extent makes the judiciary supreme over Congress and the executive, and (except by the slow process of constitutional amendment) to a degree supreme over the people. It is true that the Supreme Court does not formally act on legislative bills—its power is only one of interpretation. It simply decides the individual case brought before it according to the law, and where laws conflict, according to the highest law, that is the constitution; but this practically enables it to pass upon any bill enacted by Congress. And this power of interpretation is the greater for two reasons: (1) That a wrong decision is not easily reversed. In England, if the courts find that a law means what the people do not desire, the law can easily be amended. In the U. S. a wrong interpretation of the constitution is most difficult to reverse. (2) The constitution, being of necessity brief, the opportunity for interpretation is very broad. Hence in practice the Supreme Court has enormous power. It is true that this power has not been frequently corruptly used. The Supreme Court has not by many been considered venal or even unfair; but the trouble is that the people often have more to fear from just decisions than unjust. A decision flagrantly unjust or venal could be more easily reversed; but a just decision that the constitution does not allow of a certain measure is difficult to reverse, even tho the whole people desire it. Yet, to Democrats, at least, what the large majority desire ought to be legal. Legislation ought to belong in usufruct to the living. A free people ought not to be fettered by a constitution enacted a century ago under conditions utterly different from the present. Yet if the Supreme Court decides a bill unconstitutional, it cannot hold, no matter what the people will, save by slow process of amendment; and the more honest the judges are the more difficult to change the decision. In cases where a U. S. official, like the president, deems that the Supreme Court has made a mistake in the interpretation of the constitution, it has been claimed that he must follow the best judgment he has and disobey the Supreme Court, since, in his judgment, to obey the court would violate the constitution he is first of all bound to obey. President Jackson attacked the U. S. Bank as illegal, tho the Supreme Court had decided it legal. Jefferson denounced a judgment of Chief Justice Marshall. Majorities in Congress have claimed the same right; but recently both executive and legislative have receded from claiming this right, and certainly in case of a just decision it would be impossible to disobey it on this ground.

Dangerous Powers

The constitution does not limit the number of supreme judges, and some claim that the will of the people could be realized by appointing judges who would decide that the will of the people was constitutional; but such a procedure would be looked upon as revolutionary by many, if not by

most. The seriousness of this feature of the constitution cannot, therefore, be easily exaggerated. It is true that thus far no great evils have seemed to arise. John Fiske says of the Supreme Court ("Civil Government in the U. S.," p. 252):

It is peculiarly American, and for its exalted character and priceless services it is an institution of which Americans may well be proud.

Mr. Bryce says ("The American Commonwealth," 1st ed., pp. 406, 407):

The rigid constitution of the U. S. has rendered and renders inestimable service. It opposes obstacles to rash and hasty changes. It secures time for deliberation. . . . It forms the mind and temper of the people. It trains them to habits of legality. . . . It familiarizes them with, it attaches them by ties of pride and reverence to, those fundamental truths on which the constitution is based.

And again (p. 271):

The credit and dignity of the Supreme Court stand very high. No one of its members has ever been suspected of corruption, and comparatively few have allowed their political sympathies to disturb their official judgment.

But in spite of this favorable view two things must be remembered: (1) that the longer the country moves from the conditions when the constitution was framed, the more must its requirements fetter and be unsuited to the needs and wishes of the people; (2) the more political questions turn upon industrial and financial questions, the more likely is the Supreme Court to be out of touch with the masses of the country. Almost of necessity the supreme judges come from the class of the most educated, the most successful, the most wealthy; this must be so almost inevitably from the nature of the case; almost inevitably, therefore, with the best of will, they must judge from their environment, their education, their experience. Whether they will

Unnecessary

therefore, especially in industrial matters, at least questionable. Without, then, reflection upon the purity of the Supreme Court, its power under the constitution is open to the gravest question. It is not necessary. In England it is not so. In England, Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, the Acts of Union with Scotland and Ireland are merely ordinary laws which can be repealed by Parliament at any moment. There is no constitution superior to the legislature. All laws are made by the legislature and all can be repealed by it; nor is the institution necessary even to a republic.

Says Mr. Bryce ("The American Commonwealth," pp. 259, 260):

The case of Switzerland shows that the American plan is not the only one possible to a federation. The Swiss Federal Court, while instituted in imitation of the American, is not the only authority competent to determine whether a canonical law is void because inconsistent with the federal constitution, for in some cases recourse must be had not to the court but to the Federal Council, which is a sort of executive cabinet of the confederation. And the Federal Court is bound to enforce every law passed by the federal legislature, even if it violate the constitution. In other words, the Swiss constitution has reserved some points of canonical law for an authority not judicial, but political, and has made the federal legislature the sole judge of its own powers, the authorized interpreter of the constitution, and an interpreter not likely to proceed on purely legal grounds.

Some radicals believe that the cure for America lies in one constitutional amendment giving to Congress the power of action, within certain limits, without reference to the constitution. A large number find the cure in the adoption of the referendum (*q. v.*).

c. State Judiciary.—The judiciary in every state includes three sets of courts: A supreme court or court of appeals; superior courts of record; local courts; but the particular names and relations of these several tribunals and the arrangements for criminal business vary greatly from state to state. There are courts of common pleas, probate courts, surrogate courts, prerogative courts, courts of oyer and terminer, orphans' courts, courts of general sessions of the peace and jail delivery, quarter sessions, hustings' courts, county courts, etc.

The jurisdiction of state courts is complete. There is no appeal to federal courts except on matters pertaining to federal law. Each state recognizes the judgments of the courts of a sister state, gives credit to its public acts and records, and delivers up to its justice any fugitive from its jurisdiction charged with a crime. Of course the courts of one state are not bound either by law or usage to follow the reported decisions of those of another state. They use such decisions merely for their own enlightenment, and as some evidence of the common law, just as they use the English law reports. Each state makes its own law, and these laws vary enormously not only between states, but also from time to time.

Concerning the purity of the state judiciary, Mr. Bryce says ("The American Commonwealth," p. 507):

Any one of the three phenomena I have described—popular elections, short terms, and small salaries—would be sufficient to lower the character of the judiciary. Popular elections throw the choice into the hands of political parties—that is to say, of knots of wirepullers, inclined to use every office as a means of rewarding political services, and garrisoning with grateful partizans posts which may conceivably become of political importance. Short terms . . . oblige the judge to remember and keep on good terms with those who have made him what he is, and in whose hands his fortunes lie. . . . Small salaries prevent able men from offering themselves for places whose incomes are perhaps only one tenth of what a leading barrister can make by private practise. . . . The mischief is serious, but I must own that it is smaller than a European observer is prepared to expect.

The reasons given for this lack of the worst results Mr. Bryce considers the presence in every state of federal tribunals, the power of public opinion, and lastly the power of the professional influence of the bar. Nevertheless, great scandals have arisen. (See CORRUPTION.)

Lawyers in the U. S., differently from those in Europe, are allowed to plead in any court they will. Almost absolute liberty is given. The result is an intense competition, and not unfrequently a low tone for the profession.

This freedom allows of great injustice to the poor. Judgments are often pronounced, not upon absolute equity, but upon whether the accused has in court been proven to have violated a law. Especially where the laws are as involved as in the U. S., a shrewd lawyer, unless opposed by one equally shrewd, can find some loophole in the law for almost any client, at least in civil practise. A wealthy corporation can afford to employ the shrewdest counsel. The poor usually cannot. Therefore the poor are usually in such cases helpless. Of the injustice of this to the poor we speak in the next section. Of its effect

upon the lawyers we speak now. It means that in most cases success for the lawyer lies in shrewdly defending or serving the interests of the great corporations, as the railroads, etc.

To do this requires of necessity no actual dishonesty, but simply the development of ability

Corporation Lawyers

to see shrewd ways of avoiding or using the requirements of law. The average successful lawyer is the corporation lawyer. He becomes accustomed to viewing things not from the standpoint of equity, but of shrewd interpretation in favor of his corporation. This is what he is paid to do. Involving at first at least no absolute dishonesty, it leads too often to a blunting of the moral sense. Even where this does not result, by his interests, his ambitions, his associations, his professional instinct, above all, his social environment, he becomes honestly the partizan of the corporation. He goes into the legislature and finds there abundant opportunity to serve his former clients, and by his training is led even unconsciously to do so. The financial prizes in this line are very large. Corporation lawyers, in what is considered perfectly legitimate practise, can make as much as \$100,000 a year, while \$50,000 is not infrequent. With 114,000 lawyers in the U. S., in 1900 competing for these prizes, many of them poor, the temptation to rise by serving the interests of wealth becomes well-nigh irresistible. A very few succeed by championing the cause of labor, but usually they lose professional and social caste, so that many who for political reasons might choose the side of the poor are deterred by family and social claims. Under these circumstances, without the necessity of implying any unusual corruption on the part of the lawyers, the people are, and especially the labor people, not without reason, growing suspicious of corporation attorneys, and particularly of their presence in legislatures, where, however, they form the large majority in the House of Representatives.

d. *The Miscarriage of Justice.*—The miscarriage of justice in modern courts is not mainly due to unjust judges or corrupt lawyers, but to the present judicial system. Professor Ely writes in the *Christian Advocate*:

Perhaps no current phrase is more frequently heard than that all men are equal before the law. It belongs to a class of phrases which cover facts and prevent thought. Nothing could be farther from the truth, for it is possible to mention at least six respects in which legal inequality exists to-day in the U. S.

1. All men are supposed to be familiar with the law, and ignorance of the law excuses no one. How, then, can we talk about the equality of the law, when the law is so complicated, and only few can know it? In addition to the comparatively few who can know it, there are a few wealthy individuals and corporations who can employ well-trained experts in the law to inform them of the law in so far as it is important for them to know it. Compare the situation in this respect of a great railway corporation and a labor organization with which it may be engaged in conflict. It is not at all unlikely that some of the officers of the corporation may themselves be trained lawyers, receiving salaries of from \$5,000 to \$25,000, and in addition to this the corporation is certain to have in its constant employment attorneys receiving high salaries, and who give advice upon every step taken. The counselors of the corporation are familiar with every twist and turn of the law, and know the purport of conflicting judicial decisions, so hard for the ordinary man to understand.

The highest salary ever received by an officer of a labor organization was \$5,000, and it is believed that at the present time no one receives over \$3,000. No labor organization can keep in its constant employ able attorneys, for, on the one hand, it cannot pay sufficiently high salaries to secure the best talent, and, on the other, the position of attorney for working men is not calculated to lead to further advancement.

2. The law affords very unequal protection to the rich and to the poor. The avenues of justice are in one way and another closed to the poor and ignorant. If ignorance itself of the proper methods of securing redress is not a sufficient barrier, fees of one kind and another and heavy court charges deter the poorer members of the community from seeking justice at law. When poor people have a case in the courts to protect them against their employers, or others with larger economic resources, the case may be delayed from time to time, may be appealed from one court to another, and it may be transferred from one jurisdiction to another. Railway

corporations engaged in interstate commerce like to transfer cases to the U. S. courts, and thus they can put their antagonists to the expense of long journeys. These are some of the ways by means of which the resources of the poorer party can be exhausted and justice defeated. Often the poor man does not know how to take the first step to secure justice, and when he takes the first step it often happens that he is exhausted before he can take the last one.

The secretary of the Chicago Bureau of Justice, to which reference has already been made, in his second annual report speaks about the inaccessibility of the means of legal redress for wage-earners, and generally for the poorer members of the community. He says that it is necessary that the fee system should be abolished, both in so far as it relates to justices of the peace and to constables.

3. We must consider the inequality of the law itself. The law in the U. S. is not so framed expressly that an offense committed by an employer or a rich man receives one kind of punishment, and the offense committed by an employee or a poor man receives a different kind of punishment, but the penalties are so framed that they bear with unequal severity upon the various social classes, and thus offenses apt to be committed by the rich are not likely to be visited by such heavy penalties as those to which the poorer people are specially liable.

I am glad to be able to quote so good an authority, a man so highly esteemed, as the late Josiah Quincy, who in his "Figures of the Past" thus describes one kind of legal inequality: "It is no disrespect to the majesty of the law to maintain that it has not yet sloughed off all its barbarisms. So long as a punishment of a money fine is accepted from the rich, and the alternative imprisonment is exacted from the poor, the equality of all men before the law is but a sounding phrase."

4. We have under the next heading to notice the unequal administration of even equal law. The devices which are open to those who can employ the best legal counsel for escaping the penalties of the law on the one hand, and for bringing them to bear heavily on opponents on the other hand, are well known to all. Again, I am glad to be able to make a quotation, in order to have additional confirmation of my position, altho I think no honest and well-informed man will attempt to dispute it. It excited no surprise a few years ago when Mr. Walling, ex-Superintendent of Police of New

York City, said, "Altho, of course, all things are possible, yet I would not count as among probable contingencies under the present system of government in New York the hanging of any one of its millionaires, no matter how unprovoked or premeditated the murder he might have committed."

Many examples of unequal administration of the law can be given—in fact, so many that it seems almost absurd to mention any concrete cases. Nevertheless, I will give one or two illustrations in order to direct the thought of my readers, and to lead to further observation on their part. Railways are again instructive. A few years ago a terrible accident occurred in Massachusetts. The railway directors had disregarded the express recommendations of the railway commissioners of Massachusetts to test the safety of the bridge properly. There were no automatic brakes, and there were not so many brakemen as the law requires. A prominent paper of New York of high standing said that the case was clearly one of a preventable accident, and that it was deemed in law criminal negligence. The writer of the editorial stated that the parties responsible could be indicted and punished, and suggested that an example of punishment would teach railway managers a useful lesson. Is it necessary to tell my readers that no attempt was made to enforce the law? Every reader knows it before I state it, and he knows, furthermore, that the law in such cases is not likely to be enforced. Suppose, on the other hand, that the leaders of a great labor organization, in their desire to raise wages, or for any pecuniary reasons, should take a course resulting in loss of life, is there one of my readers who does not know that the law would lay a very heavy hand on these labor leaders? It happened not long ago that certain directors of a great corporation were indicted for an accident which resulted in a horrible death of passengers. How tenderly and considerately they were treated when they were brought before the court was described by the daily press, and the bail was fixt at \$5,000, a mere nothing for men of vast wealth. About the same time a labor leader was indicted in New York for conspiracy and extortion. This leader was at the time in Pennsylvania, and bail was at first altogether refused, and finally was fixt at \$20,000, an enormous sum for such a person, probably more than he and a half dozen of his best friends together were worth.

Taxation reveals another kind of unequal administration. The property of the rich is rarely assessed at so high a relative rate as the property of the poor.

5. A fifth kind of legal inequality is seen in the failure to provide laws needed by the masses when contrasted with the readiness to provide laws needed by the few rich, especially powerful corporations.

6. The last kind of legal inequality relates to the use of more or less corrupt means for defeating the ends of justice. These means, which of course should not exist at all, are

Expense of Litigation

accessible only to the few. Jury-bribing is one, but that is coarse and clumsy. There are many more refined processes. A friend of mine was employed in a large law office which was concerned especially with railway cases. He tells me that the lawyers in this office secure a list of all names on the jury list in all places along the line of the railway for which they are attorneys. They found out before cases were tried the personal opinions in regard to railways of every single man who could be drawn for jury service, and they challenged the names of those who were regarded as unfriendly to railways. He said that it thus becomes impossible for any one to recover damages. I will mention only two other devices under this head. One is through influence with the appointing power to secure the appointment of judges friendly to railway interests where judges are appointed, and through influence with politicians to secure the nomination of judges by both parties favorable to these same interests.

II. GREAT BRITAIN.

The judicial system of Great Britain and Ireland is much more simple. In England and Wales the principal courts with criminal jurisdiction are the High Court of Justice, the courts of oyer and terminer and jail delivery (assizes), the general or quarter sessions, the petty sessions courts, and the Central Criminal Court. Two or more justices of the peace, sitting with a metropolitan or borough police magistrate or other stipendiary magistrate, constitute a petty sessions court. Two justices constitute a court of "quarter sessions," meeting quarterly in "general sessions" at other times. Assize courts also meet quarterly in appointed towns, held by a commissioner, nominated by the crown, usually from the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice, but sometimes merely a king's counsel. The Central Criminal is for the city of London. The petty sessions deal with minor offenses, and greater offenses are usually investigated by them and then tried in sessions or assizes. At least twelve and not over twenty-three citizens of the district form a grand jury, and if they find a true bill, the case is tried before a judge and petty jury of twelve, from which there is ordinarily no appeal. If declared innocent the accused cannot be tried again on the charge; if convicted on questions of law (not of fact), the judge may reserve the case for the Court of Crown Cases Reserved.

In Scotland borough magistrates and justices of the peace try minor cases; county sheriffs are the criminal judges, and if they try cases with a jury there can be no appeal. The supreme court is the High Court of Justice, and consists of all the judges of the Court of Sessions. One judge can and usually does try most cases.

In Ireland the system is not essentially different from that of England and Wales. (For other countries, see those countries.)

JURY, TRIAL BY: A "petit" jury is a body of twelve men selected and sworn to determine the facts as to a suit or an indictment and to find their verdict according to the evidence presented to them. A "grand" jury is one of not less than twelve or more than twenty-three, of whom twelve must agree, to decide whether there is a sufficient reasonable probability that a person has committed an offense to justify presenting or holding him for trial before a petit jury. The grand jury still has generally the right to some extent to inquire into criminal offenses of its own motion.

The jury, as known in England and America, is the descendant of the Frankish and Norman use of the inquisition, i. e., the practise of ascertaining facts by summoning together by public authority a number of men most likely and most competent, as living in the place where the facts

occurred, to know and tell the truth. By a slow, but logical, process of development, it is now established that the jury must base their verdict only on the evidence submitted to them. The judges have now adequate power to set aside verdicts which they consider contrary to the evidence or to the instructions given by the court as to the law, and to reduce damages. It is clearly established that the jury are to deal only with the facts, and that all matters of law are to be left to the judge in civil cases, and so almost everywhere in criminal cases. Almost everywhere, provision is made for waiver of jury trial by consent and for sending to masters or auditors cases which appear to be too long or complex for the jury, even though the parties may still insist upon a retrial before a jury. Great pains are taken everywhere to secure impartial juries. The parties in civil cases, and the accused in criminal, have ample opportunity to object to jurors for cause and to some extent without assigning cause.

There is now, as there always has been, some complaint of the jury system, but nothing more satisfactory has yet been developed. In criminal cases, many men who might be competent are disqualified because they have, or think they have, formed an opinion on newspaper reports. Men of intelligence and otherwise good character are rarely willing to do their share of the public duty by serving on juries, while others not fit for those duties are eager to undertake them, attracted by the pay, generally more than that of an unskilled laborer. That this is nothing new may be seen from the recital in the statute of 13 Edward I., 38, in 1285, of the practise of putting on diseased, decrepit and poor men, and sparing the rich. The abolition of the requirement of uniformity in verdicts is often and frequently urged.

For a thorough and interesting account of the development of the modern English and American jury and of the consequent formation of a great body of law as to evidence, see "A Preliminary Treatise on Evidence," by James B. Thayer, professor at the Harvard Law School.

ROBERT H. GARDINER.

JUSTI, HERMAN: Commissioner of Illinois Coal Operators' Association; born Louisville, Ky., 1851; attended public schools until fifteenth year; first worked for Louisville Board of Trade as messenger and statistician; at nineteen worked in the iron and hardware business of W. B. Belknap & Co., and in 1875 was admitted to a partnership in the firm, from which he retired in the spring of 1882 and went abroad. Returning to the United States, settled in Nashville, Tenn., and became in turn merchant, trust officer, bank president, until 1898, when he moved to Illinois and engaged in the coal-mining industry. Here he conceived the idea of settling disputes with labor through a commission selected by the employers and in 1900 became the first Commissioner of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association, which position he still holds. He is a member of the American Economic Association and the American Society of Social Science. Mr. Justi maintains that the relations existing between capital and labor should be purely business relations and that the methods employed to avoid and settle labor disputes should be business methods. He opposes the incorporation of labor organizations, but believes that labor organizations should put in trust with some responsible trustee a sufficient fund to compensate individual employers where loss has resulted

to them because of failure to carry out contracts. He has written many papers, and makes many addresses on labor questions, among which are: "Conciliation and Arbitration in the Coal Mining Industry"; "The Organization of Capital"; "The Open Shop versus the Closed Shop"; "Labor Problem in the South." Address: Fisher Building, Chicago, Ill.

JUVENILE COURTS: Courts where offenders under sixteen or eighteen are heard before a special judge appointed for that purpose. The objects of the juvenile courts are: (1) to keep young offenders from the ordinary courts with their hardened criminals and loafers; (2) to enable the judge to pay particular attention to each case—an impossibility in ordinary courts with their volume of business; (3) to make investigations about an offender beforehand, so as to know his or her antecedents; (4) to make punishment educational rather than punitive; (5) to sentence for indeterminate periods, so as to put the offenders on their good behavior, and thus to evoke every spark of honor and manliness in their hearts.

A corollary of the preceding principles is the sentencing of youthful offenders to industrial schools and reformatories, rather than to jails, in order to avoid the contact with hardened offenders. It is generally considered, too, that parents, guardians, and employers should be held to a certain extent responsible for the waywardness of their wards, and they are accordingly often reprimanded, fined, and placed on good behavior. Judge Lindsey (*q. v.*), of Denver, who has had great success with these courts, had a law passed as to contributory delinquency of parents, employers, and adults, in order to emphasize their joint responsibility and accountability before the law.

A judge in a juvenile court has a large amount of power, because sentence to jail, to an industrial school, or suspension in charge of a probation officer, are left to his discretion. He must consequently be a man of exceptional qualities, understanding child nature and having sufficient patience and acumen to make a thorough investigation of every case. If a judge has to hear too many cases, the very object for which juvenile courts were created is defeated. If this institution is to do its beneficial work properly, the judges should be chosen for their special fitness—not for political service—they should not be burdened with too many cases, and, finally, they

should be men of absolute probity and integrity. In the hands of a mere "machine man" this court would become an additional danger, owing to the large discretionary powers the law puts into the magistrate's hand.

The necessity for these courts may be seen from the following figures. In 1901 the 65 reformatories in the United States had an average attendance of 19,410; since their establishment, about 1830, these institutions have harbored 210,000 children. Judge Lindsey found that Denver alone had sent 2,136 boys and girls to jail from 1896-1901 for terms varying from 3 to 30 days; and that about 5,000 of them were sentenced yearly in the U. S. He has heard about 2,000 cases from 1901-5; and Judge Mack, of Chicago, is hearing about 4,000 in a year. Over 37 cities and 22 states in the union have introduced these courts; and in many cities, and nearly all the remaining states, bills for that purpose are pending. Canada, England, Australia, and other states have followed this example.

The beneficial effect from a purely economical point of view may be inferred from the fact that Colorado is said to have saved about \$270,000 during four years of Judge Lindsey's tenure of the magistrate's bench. The saving in other respects is, of course, outside the realm of figures. But the fact that the state now assumes the guardianship of the children for the purpose of assisting them to a normal and healthy maturity, and having these courts sit as chanceries rather than courts of law, has undoubtedly saved many youthful offenders from a career of crime.

Massachusetts was the first state to introduce juvenile courts in 1898; Chicago followed, 1899; Denver in 1901; the institution has since been introduced all over the country. (See also PROBATION AND PROBATION OFFICERS; LINDSEY, BEN B.)

REFERENCES: Ben B. Lindsey, *The Just Judge*, in *McClure's Magazine*, Oct. to Dec., 1906; *Century*, Dec., 1906; *Review of Reviews*, March, 1906; *American Magazine*, Feb., 1906.

JYSZKIEWICS, COUNT, VLADISLAV YU-ZEFOVICH: Russian representative from Warsaw (*Autonomist*); born 1865. He is a large landowner, and a graduate of St. Petersburg Law School. He began public service in the Ministry of Justice, and was at one time a judge in Riga. He is one of the prominent members of the Society for the Encouragement of Industry and Commerce, also a champion of the rights of the Polish people.

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KANSAS CITY: Kansas City, owing its rapid growth mainly to its being the second railroad center in the United States and the main distributing point for the area west of the Missouri River, is perhaps more purely a commercial city than any in the U. S. It stands only ninth among American cities in manufacturing, but second as a railroad center, in meat-packing, in milling, and first as a market for agricultural implements and for lumber. It has also been called "the most American of cities," because it attracted a comparatively small number of foreigners and has been built up on "American" lines. It is in this light of somewhat special sociological interest.

It is interesting, therefore, to note that among American cities it has been somewhat notably free from large "graft," partly due to the fact that its poorer class of citizens have been less ignorant than in most large cities, partly that its richer corporations have had not so much local as sectional interests, and not a little due to the fact that prominent citizens, largely led by the independent paper, *The Star*, early undertook for business reasons to make Kansas City a good city to live in, knowing that otherwise the city could not meet the formidable competition of other cities, since its importance was in its railroad connections, and not in its local activities. It

has been noted as having produced a political boss who has been honest. It is also a fact that the intelligence of all classes of citizens has led them to take an unusually informed interest in civic affairs. Its adopted constitutions have, as a result, been unusually progressive. Its charter of 1875, replacing the original charter of 1853, is thought to be the first "home-made" charter in the U. S., being drafted and presented to the legislature by a committee of thirteen citizens

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chosen at a mass-meeting. In 1889, however, it was changed, the city meanwhile having grown from 50,000 to 100,000 on lines progressive for the time, tho the boards of public works and of the police, which had the power of licensing and controlling the saloons, were created by the state, while the schools and libraries were also under state law. It was said that the city did not rule the police, but the police the city. There was alliance with the saloon element and corruption at elections and in other ways, tho no large graft. Therefore a new charter was drafted in 1904, but defeated in the legislature in 1905 by the police and saloon element. Nevertheless, the discussion of this charter, which was very near to the ideals of the National Municipal League, prepared the way for the adoption of the Galveston idea (*q. v.*) of municipal government, which Kansas City is considering. This civic spirit has been largely led by the Civic League, established in 1901.

In other ways the city has been progressive. It expends a larger proportion of its revenue than most cities on good public schools; it has a fine library, city water-works, and other progressive features. The "Kansas City spirit," however, is largely commercial, resulting in the city's having a banking business with resources of over \$100,000,000, and large modern business buildings and hotels, side by side with those very primitive and small. It has many fine residences, with a large number of homes of families of moderate means and very few under conditions of overcrowding and poverty. The Bethel Home Settlement, the Institutional Church, an efficient charity organization society, with other agencies of this nature, work among the poor. Sunday closing has been enforced in the saloons, tho, as shown above, and as seems almost inevitable in a railroad and commercial center, with an unusual proportion of a transient population, the saloon and social evils have no little power.

Among the more important reform organizations are the:

Anti-Saloon League, 506 Kansas City Life Building.
Associated Charities, 1115 Charlotte Street.
Civic League, 20 Water-works Building.
Labor Headquarters, 1112 Locust Street.
Salvation Army, 1300 Walnut Street.
Socialist Headquarters, 1400 Grand Avenue.
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 6904 Washington Park Boulevard.
Young Men's Christian Association, 810 Wyandotte Street.
Young Women's Christian Association, 1024 Bart Avenue.

KARYEYEV, NICHOLAS IVANOVICH: Russian historian; representative of St. Petersburg in the First and Second Doumas; born in 1850 at Moscow, where he visited the Gymnasium and later the university, graduating in philology. He taught history in one of the gymnasia of Moscow; became professor in the university, 1878-79; in Warsaw, 1879-84; and St. Petersburg, 1885-1901, and is now professor at the Women's High School in that city—an imperial institution of high rank. He is also the editor of the Russian *Historical*

Review, and has not always defended the crown, as his imprisonment testifies. Nevertheless, he is a member of the St. Petersburg Municipal Council, and represented that city in the Douma. He is a Constitutional Democrat and author of several historical works.

KAUFMANN, MORITZ: Author; born in Germany, he early went to Ireland, and graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, and was lecturer there 1899-1900. Entering the Church of England, he became rector of Ingworth and vicar of Calthorpe. He has been a lifelong student of socialism, and has written numberless magazine articles and accounts of socialism, with several books, such as "Socialism: its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered"; "Utopias from Sir Thomas Moore to Karl Marx"; "Christian Socialism"; "Charles Kingsley, Christian Socialist and Social Reformer"; "Socialism and Modern Thought." Address: Ingworth, Norwich, England.

KAUTSKY, KARL: Socialist; born in 1854; editor of *Die Neue Zeitung*, the leading German Socialist review, and also, with E. Bernstein, of *Die Geschichte der Sozialismus*. He has been a voluminous writer. Among his books are: "Thomas Moore und seine Utopie"; "Der Arbeiterschutz, besonders der internationale Arbeiterschutz"; "Gesetzgebung und der Achtstundentag"; "Die Klassengesetze von 1789"; "Karl Marx, Oekonomische Lehren, Das Erfurter Programm in seinem grundsätzlichen Theil"; "Der Parlamentarismus, die Volksgesetzgebung und die Sozialdemokratie."

KAWEAH was a cooperative colony located in Tulare County, Cal. In 1884 a number of Californians decided to form a cooperative colony, and in 1885 filed their claims, forty-five in number, to some government land near the Kaweah River, under the Timber Act of June 3, 1878. Commissioner Sparks, however, ordered a suspension of their claims on the ground that he doubted if they were bona-fide settlers.

The colonists, conscious that they were bona-fide settlers and had acted legally every way, believed that in due time their claim must be acknowledged, refused to spend any money in Washington to push it, and went ahead, opening up the land and building a road eighteen miles long through land the timber companies had considered inaccessible. By 1890 they were prepared to haul lumber for the market. Their claims, meanwhile, dragged along uncompleted. The colony was organized on a cooperative plan in 1886. Shares were \$500, one fifth of which had to be paid before residence was allowed. A socialistic paper was published. All went reasonably well till 1890. Then, at least as the colonists believe, the timber companies of California, fearing their competition, plotted their overthrow. A bill was hurried through Congress on the last day of its session, Oct. 1, 1890, reserving land for the Yosemite National Park, and including in it the land the colonists had taken up. Stories were circulated that the colonists were cutting down the big trees of the Yosemite, which, tho near the colony, the colonists had not touched, and offered to guarantee not to touch. The colonists claimed that they had legally entered their claims, that judgment on them had been suspended only to be sure that they were bona-fide settlers, and that since this was the case, they could not be dispos-

sest except by eminent domain, with compensation. They were, however, dispossessed. The trustees were accused of illegally cutting down five trees which the colonists argued they had done legally. The papers where the trial took place were filled with editorials against the socialistic leaders, and they were condemned to pay \$300 each for cutting down five trees. Appeal was taken.

On Feb. 25, 1891, Lewis A. Groff, Land Commissioner at Washington, submitted to Secretary of the Interior Noble a full and elaborate report concerning the title of the colonists to their lands, in which the commissioner maintains that the colonists had faithfully complied with every requirement of the land laws, and shows that the General Land Office was possess of no legal reason why their patents should not be at once issued.

But, in spite of this report, Secretary Noble rendered a decision in which he ordered the colonists' entries to be canceled, on the ground that their titles were not *perfected*, that "Congress, in the exercise of its authority, has made other and final disposition of the lands."

The colony, already financially hurt, was broken up by this decision.

See Hinds's "American Communities."

KELLEY, MRS. FLORENCE: General secretary National Consumers' League; born in 1859 at Philadelphia, Pa.; graduated from Cornell University 1882; studied at Zurich, Switzerland, and at Heidelberg, 1883-86. Member of the bar of Illinois; Chief State Inspector of Factories for the State of Illinois, 1893-97. Associate editor of *Charities*. She is author of the following: "Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation"; "Reports of the Illinois State Department of Factory Inspection, 1893-96"; "Reports of the National Consumers' League." Address: Consumers' League, 105 E. 22d Street, New York.

KELLEY, G. D.: English Labor M.P.; born at Ruskington. Learned lithographic printing with a firm in the city of York. When the Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers was founded he became its secretary. He is also secretary of several trades councils, was president of International Association of Lithographers' Congress at Milan, 1904, and for six years one of Manchester's city councilors. Kelley was elected to Parliament for Manchester, S. W., in 1906. Indorsed by the Labor Representative Committee. Address: 63 Upper Brook Street, Manchester.

KETTELER, WILHELM EMANUEL, FREIHERR VON: Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church; born at Munster, 1811; was educated there, and under the Jesuits at Brug, and at the universities of Göttingen, Heidelberg, and München; entered the public service as "Referendar," 1834-38, but siding with the Church against the State, he studied under Dollinger, and was ordained priest in 1844. Located at Mayence, was very popular and untiring in his work, especially during an epidemic, and was elected to the Germanic Parliament at Frankfurt. In 1848 he preached at Mainz on social subjects to five or six thousand people, and in 1850 was made Bishop of Mainz. Untiring in his devotion to his people, he started various church associations for working men, and is considered the founder of the Catholic Socialism of Germany, a movement which, tho of

some size and political influence, is, however, quite different from English Christian Socialism. [Acquainted with, and perhaps influenced by, Lassalle, von Ketteler's ideas were in many points radically socialistic, tho always from a Church standpoint, conceiving of all social reforms as to be carried out under the patronage of the Church. Bishop von Ketteler's main published work is "Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christentum." Died in 1875. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

KIDD, BENJAMIN: Sociologist author; born in England, 1858. From 1877-96 in the English Home Civil Service. He has been a frequent and interesting contributor to the magazines, tho not always over his name, notably to *The Nineteenth Century*, *Review of Reviews*, *The English Illustrated*, *Cornhill*, *Longman's*, and others. His "Social Evolution" (1894) aroused remarkable interest. It argues that progress inevitably depends on natural selection and the struggle for existence, and that socialism, arising from the short-sighted working-class opposition to this struggle, cannot endure, but will end in increased State activity, not in owning or conducting industry, but in insuring competition by preventing all monopolies. Religion, he believes, has played a large part in civilization, by its superrational sanctions teaching an altruism the effect of which has been to lift up the weaker portion of the community to a place where they can more effectually compete with the stronger, and subordinating the individual to the necessary conditions of the struggle, for which otherwise there is no sanction in the individual's own reason. In "Principles of Western Civilization" (1902) he treats Western civilization as an integrating organism, from the standpoint of the increasing control over the present by the future. "The Control of the Tropics" (1898) deals with the subjects implied in the title. (See BIOLOGY; EVOLUTION.) Address: The Warders, Tonbridge, Kent, England.

KINDERGARTEN is the German name (meaning "garden of children") given by Friedrich Froebel (*q. v.*) to the "play school" invented by him for furthering the physical, moral, and intellectual growth of children. Froebel's observation of nature and his fondness for analogies drawn from trees and plants made him attach especial importance to the early years of childhood.

Pestalozzi, Comenius, and others, who attached much importance to the first years of life, looked to the mother as the sole educator. But, as in the case of the poor, the mother might not have time to attend to her children. Pestalozzi planned and Oberlin formed day asylums for young children. Schools of this kind took in the Netherlands the name of "play school," and in England of "infant schools." Froebel's conceptions differed, however, materially from those of the infant schools. He held that children should be educated physically, morally, and intellectually at once; that the essence of all education was to be found in rightly directed but spontaneous action, that at their age the most suitable and natural employment was play, especially games in which to imitate the parts they themselves will have to fill in after years. Froebel agreed with Montaigne that the games of children were "their most serious occupations."

Froebel embodied his ideas in "The Mother

Play and Children's Songs." His principles for child education prior to entering the regular school were: 1. The law of the connection of opposites, or the law of harmony and equilibrium. 2. The law of development, according to which the child is supposed to pass through the same stages as mankind. 3. The law of education through symbols, e. g., the nine "gifts" and "occupations"—being partly an attempt to develop the child by various simple figures, plain or solid, partly a preparation for future usefulness.

The first kindergarten was opened at Blankenburg, near Rudolstadt, in 1840, but after a needy existence of eight years was closed for want of funds. In 1851 the Prussian Government declared that

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"schools founded on Froebel's principles or principles like them could not be allowed." But the idea had far too much vitality to be starved or frowned down. As early as 1854 it was introduced into England by the then famous Ronges.

The great propagandist of Froebelism, the Baroness Marenholtz-Bülow, drew the attention of the French to the kindergarten from the year 1855, and Michelet declared that Froebel had "solved the problem of human education."

After 1872 the system spread rapidly, and is now more or less adopted in all European public-school systems, especially on the Continent. It has been most developed, however, in the United States. In 1854 Mr. Henry Barnard, of Connecticut, declared it "by far the most original, attractive, and philosophical form of infant development the world has yet seen," and wrote about it in the *Journal of Education* in 1856. Soon after, Miss Elizabeth Peabody, of Boston, established the first kindergarten in this country. In 1871 an American Froebel Union was established in Boston, merged later into the Froebel Institute of North America, established by Mr. W. N. Hailmann in 1882, and to-day kindergartens exist in all portions of the country. (See EDUCATION.)

Since most of the kindergartens are private institutions, no accurate figures can be obtained. Their growth in the U. S. is evidenced by these

numbers: 1873, 43; 1882, 348; 1892, 1,311; 1898, 4,363. Of the total number in 1898 reports were received by the Commissioner of Edu-

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cation from 2,884 kindergartens with 5,764 teachers and 143,720 pupils. In 1903-4 there were 353 communities in the U. S. with over 4,000 population reporting 2,997 public kindergartens with 4,534 teachers and 191,882 pupils, an increase over 1902-3 of 14.2 per cent of communities, 10.3 of schools, 8.4 of pupils, and 12.6 of teachers. The private kindergartens were estimated in 1904-5 to have 105,932 pupils. Japan had in 1901 in all 254 kindergartens with 671 teachers and 23,671 pupils.

REFERENCES: *Froebel's Educational Laws*, by Hughes, 1899; *The Kindergarten Messenger*, a periodical.

KINGSLEY, CHARLES: Author; Christian Socialist; born at Holne Vicarage, Dartmoor, Devonshire, 1819; educated at private schools, King's College, London, Magdalen College, Cambridge (graduating in 1842), the same year ordained curate of Eversley, in Hampshire, his home through all his life. In 1848 he published his first work, a drama, "The Saint's Tragedy," and soon after

"Twenty-five Village Sermons." In 1849, stirred by the Chartist movement and by the sufferings, particularly among the agricultural laborers and the sweated tailors of London, he threw himself into the Christian Socialist movement with the little company of clergymen and laymen that gathered around Frederick D. Maurice (*q. v.*) as leader. He declared himself in one passionate address "a Church of England parson and a Chartist."

In "Politics for the People" and the "Christian Socialist" (see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM), he wrote "Letters to the Chartists," signed "Parson Lot." In his "Cheap Clothes and Nasty" he made a burning plea for the sweated tailors. Perhaps, however, he did his best work for social reform in his novels "Yeast" and "Alton Locke." With Maurice, he advocated and sought to establish cooperative shops. In politics he was a Tory. He wrote: "I expect nothing from the advocates of *laissez-faire*, the pedants whose glory is in the shame of society, who arrogantly talk of economics as of a science, so completely perfected, so universal and all important, that common humanity and morality, reason and religion must be pooh-poohed down." The Bible he considered the poor man's comforter and the rich man's warning. His program, however, was not radical. If he wrote: "My only quarrel with the Charter is that it does not go far enough in reform," he meant, he explains farther on, that the Chartists erred only in "fancying that legislative reform is social reform, or that man's heart can be changed by act of Parliament."

"We must touch the workman at all his points of interest," he wrote to Mr. Ludlow, "first and foremost at association, but also at political rights, as grounded both on the Christian ideal of the Church and on the historic facts of the Anglo-Saxon race. Then national education, sanitary and dwelling-house reform, the free sale of land and corresponding reform of the land laws, moral improvement of the family relation, public places of recreation—on which point I am very earnest."

In later life, altho not giving up his views, he greatly modified his expressions, and is said to have regretted his earlier intensity. He devoted himself to ecclesiastical and parochial and sanitary reforms. "Politics and political economy," he said in 1857, "may go their way for me. If I can help to save the lives of a few thousand working people and their children, I may earn the blessing of God."

In 1860 he was made professor of history at Cambridge, resigning in 1869. He became Canon of Chester, and, in 1873, of Westminster. He paid a lecture visit to America. Died at Eversley in 1875. Kingsley wrote "Hypatia" (1853), "Westward Ho" (1855), besides numerous other stories, volumes of sermons, etc.

KLEIN, GUSTAV ADOLF, DR., JR.: Imperial Privy Councilor, President of Senate in the Imperial Insurance Department; born at Darmstadt, Germany, 1863; studied jurisprudence, political economy, administration, and statistics at Berlin and Leipsic. In 1890 was Royal Prussian Gerichtsassessor. From 1891 to 1897 a member of the Imperial Statistical Department at Berlin; since 1895, Regierungsrat; since 1897 in the Imperial Insurance Department. From 1891 to 1897 he was engaged in compiling criminal and bankruptcy statistics, and the statistics of sick in-

surance; and since 1897 of the statistics of accident insurance. Author: "Atlas and Statistics of Workmen's Insurance"; "German Workmen's Insurance." Address: Imperial Insurance Department, Berlin, Germany.

KNEIS, CARL G. A.: Professor of national economics at Heidelberg, and one of the German Socialists of the chair (*q. v.*). His "Die Politische Oekonomie vom Standpunkte der Geschichtlichen Methode" (1853, 2d ed., 1883) formulates and completes with great precision the canons of the historical school (*q. v.*) of Hildebrand and Roscher (*q. v.*). He challenges absolutism in economics, and teaches that political economy should vary in different times and countries. His "Geld und Kredit" (1873-79) has become a classic.

KNIGHTS OF LABOR, THE: The order of the Knights of Labor was first organized as a local secret society in Philadelphia in 1869 by ten garment cutters. They had previously been organized as a trade-union, but dissolved this union and organized the new society mainly under the lead of Uriah S. Stephens, one of their number. The names of the others were James L. Wright, Robert C. Macauley, Joseph S. Kennedy, William Cook, Robert W. Keen, James M. Hilsee, David Westcott, W. H. Phillips, Washington Shields. On Dec. 30th the new society declared itself Local Assembly No. 1 of the Knights of Labor. Mr. Stephens was elected Master Workman. They decided to admit to their number working men, no matter of what occupation. They grew slowly; but a second assembly was not organized till 1872. During that year, however, twenty-seven assemblies were organized in Philadelphia. The first assembly organized outside of Philadelphia was an assembly of gold-beaters in New York City. Christmas Day, 1873, the first district assembly was formed. A general assembly was not formed till 1878, at Reading, Pa., when Mr. Stephens was chosen Grand Master Workman. Up to this time the order had elicited little general notice; it was strictly secret, with ritual and educational work in the principles of the labor movement. The following declaration of principles was adopted at this assembly, having been written in substance by Mr. G. E. McNeill (*q. v.*) for a labor congress at Rochester in 1874. It became from this time the principles of the order.

The alarming development and aggressiveness of the power of money and corporations under the present industrial and political systems will inevitably lead to the hopeless degradation of the people. It is imperative, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that unjust accumulation and this power for evil of aggregated wealth shall be prevented. This much-desired object can be accomplished only by the united efforts of those who obey the divine injunction: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Therefore we have formed the Order of the Knights of Labor for the purpose of organizing, educating, and directing the power of the industrial masses.

It is not a political party, it is more—for in it are crystallized sentiments and measures for the benefit of the whole people; but it should be borne in mind, when exercising the right of suffrage, that most of the objects herein set forth can only be obtained through legislation, and that it is the duty, regardless of party, of all to assist in nominating and supporting with their votes such candidates as will support these measures. No one shall, however, be compelled to vote with the majority.

Calling upon all who believe in securing "the greatest good to the greatest number" to join and assist us, we declare to the world that our aims are:

1. To make industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness.
2. To secure to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create; sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral, and social faculties; all of the benefits,

recreations, and pleasures of association; in a word, to enable them to share in the gains and honor of advancing civilization.

In order to secure these results, we demand at the hands of the law-making power of municipality, state, and nation:

3. The establishment of the Referendum in the making of all laws.
4. The establishment of bureaus of labor statistics, that we may arrive at a correct knowledge of the educational, moral, and financial condition of the laboring masses and the establishment of free state labor bureaus.
5. The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people, and should not be subject to speculative traffic. Occupancy and use should be the only title to the possession of land. Taxes upon land should be levied upon its full value for use, exclusive of improvements, and should be sufficient to take for the community all unearned increment.
6. The abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capitalists and laborers, and the removal of unjust technicalities, delays, and discriminations in the administration of justice.
7. The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing, and building industries, and for indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries received through lack of necessary safeguards.
8. The recognition, by incorporation, of orders and other associations organized by the workers to improve their condition and to protect their rights.
9. The enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employees weekly, in lawful money, for the labor of the preceding week, and giving mechanics and laborers a first lien upon the product of their labor to the extent of their full wages.
10. The abolition of the contract system on national, state, and municipal works.
11. The enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators.
12. The prohibition, by law, of the employment of children under fifteen years of age; the compulsory attendance at school for at least ten months in the year of all children between the ages of seven and fifteen years; and the furnishing at the expense of the state of free text-books.
13. That a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances be levied.
14. To prohibit the hiring out of convict labor.
15. The establishment of a national monetary system, in which a circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue directly to the people, without the intervention of banks; that all the national issue shall be full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private; and that the government shall not guarantee or recognize any private banks or create any banking corporations.
16. That interest-bearing bonds, bills of credit or notes shall never be issued by the government, but that, when need arises, the emergency shall be met by issue of legal-tender, non-interest-bearing money.
17. That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited.
18. That in connection with the post-office the government shall provide facilities for deposits of savings of the people in small sums.
19. That the government shall obtain possession, under the right of eminent domain, of all telegraphs, telephones, and railroads; and that hereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers, or freight.

And while making the foregoing demands upon the state and national governments, we will endeavor to associate our own labors:

20. To establish cooperative institutions, such as will tend to supersede the wage system, by the introduction of a cooperative industrial system.
21. To secure for both sexes equal rights.
22. To gain some of the benefits of labor-saving machinery by a gradual reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day.
23. To persuade employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employees, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.

At the third annual General Assembly, Mr. T. V. Powderly (*q. v.*) was elected Grand Master Workman, and annually reelected till 1893. The order now began rapid growth and attracted general attention. There were at one time 700 local assemblies with some 500,000 members. Each year saw new growth. In the winter of 1885-86 there seemed to be a rush into organization. The railroad strikes in the Southwest (see STRIKES) and the excitement over the so-called Chicago anarchists (*q. v.*) turned the attention of working men everywhere to labor organization. At the

General Assembly of 1886 delegates were present representing 800,000 members, and it was claimed that the total membership was over 1,000,000. The growth was too fast. Men, without understanding the principles of the order, voted rash strikes. The general executive committee undertook too centralized an authority. Massing men of various callings into the same assembly, and failing sufficiently to respect the autonomy of the different trades, an opposition to this policy sprang up, eventuating ultimately in a split which culminated at the General Assembly of 1886, and resulted in the formation of the American Federation of Labor (*q. v.*), which does recognize the autonomy of each craft, and only federates the organizations of the various crafts into one general federation for general purposes. Since then the Knights of Labor have gone down and the Federation has grown. The order, however, was still for many years very powerful. In 1887 extensive headquarters were purchased in Philadelphia. A footing, too, was gained for the order in England and Belgium. Cooperative experiments were made, but proved unsuccessful. The order entered into political alliances with the Farmers' Alliance (*q. v.*), but little resulted from it save education.

In 1890 a journal was commenced called *The Journal of United Labor*, and later made a weekly and called *The Journal of the Knights of Labor*. The order continually losing ground, in 1893 dissensions led to the defeat of Mr. Powderly for reelection as General Master Workman, and Mr. J. R. Sovereign (*q. v.*) was elected in his place. Dissensions and desertions from the order have continued; it has mainly been used for political purposes, till at present the order numbers only a very few thousand men, with Simon Burns as Grand Master Workman, 518 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburg, Pa. (See **TRADE-UNIONS**.)

KNIGHTS OF ST. CRISPIN: The order of the Knights of St. Crispin was an organization in the shoe trade, first conceived by Newell Daniels, of Milford, Mass., in 1864. He moved West, and the first lodge of the order was organized in Milwaukee, Wis., in 1867. It spread East, and by 1868 a grand lodge meeting was held in Rochester, representing sixty chapters. Martin Gavin was chosen the first presiding officer. The aim of the order was to unite all shoe-workers, to obtain the control of the trade. During the next few years the order grew very rapidly, claiming 400 lodges and 40,000 members at one time, making it among the largest trade-unions of the world. It established a journal, attempted cooperation, entered politics; it conducted strikes and won many, but the reaction came, and divisions sprang up and led to desertions, till in 1874 it had almost disappeared. In 1875 it was revived in Massachusetts and defeated an attempt of the Lynn manufacturers to make their employees promise to belong to no organization. The revival, however, was temporary, and by 1878 the order was practically extinct. It had aimed at too much, and failed save in educating its members for wiser efforts.

REFERENCE: McNeill, *The Labor Movement*.

KORESHAN UNITY, THE: A communistic colony of the Koreshan Church in Estero, Fla. The first community of the order was established at Chicago, Ill., in 1886, and the colony at Estero in 1894, in 1903 the Chicago community removing

to Estero, with printing-plant, machine-shop, and other industries.

The Koreshan Unity is a religio-social organization, owning about 7,000 acres of land in Lee County, Fla., valued at over \$100,000. The total cost of machinery and tools owned by the community is \$18,675; the total assets, \$276,000; liabilities, \$20,594.

The Koreshan Colony is communistic and celibate. There is, however, an auxiliary order which admits of monogamic marital relations. The membership of the colony, embracing three settlements, is 200. The members of the auxiliary society (Arch-Triumphphant) number 500. The total adherents to the Koreshan doctrines in various degrees of acceptance they estimate to be 10,000 throughout the world.

The church system is called the Koreshan Ecclesia. Its aim is the application of the laws of life and love to God and the neighbor for the attainment of immortality in the flesh.

Its Universology was founded in 1870 by Dr. Cyrus R. Teed, formerly of New York, and he is the Prime Counselor of the community. The title of the Pre-Eminent of the Koreshan Unity, the head of the church and its orders, is Victoria Gratia, who holds her position by appointment by the Founder.

The members of the colony are engaged in printing and publishing, boat-building, agriculture, orange-growing, pattern-making, metal-work, and steam-laundering. Lumber for buildings is supplied by their own sawmill, and cabinet-work and fine wood-work are turned out.

The colony publishes *The Flaming Sword*, a monthly. Address: V. G. Morrow, editor, Estero, Lee Co., Fla.

KOVALEVSKY, MAKSIM MAKSIMOVITCH:

Russian publicist, author, and sociologist; member of the First and Second Douma, from Kharkov; born in 1851; a graduate of Kharkov University, he studied afterward in Berlin, Paris, London, and was professor of civil law at the University of Moscow, 1877-87, but was discharged during the reactionary period. Afterward he traveled and lectured in Stockholm and Oxford. He founded the party of Democratic Reformers, with a program similar to that of the Constitutional Democrats. He established the "Free French University in Paris for Russian Youths" while living there, and was editor of *Strana* ("Country"), a paper devoted to various reforms. He is author of "The Origin of Modern Democracy;" "Tableau des origines et de l'évolution de la famille et de la propriété," 1900; "La régime économique de la Russie," 1898; "Les questions sociales au moyen-âge," 1902.

KROPOTKINE, PETER ALEXEYEVITCH:

Prince; anarchist; born in Moscow 1842; studied at St. Petersburg; in 1862 joined a regiment of Cossacks as lieutenant, but resigned and traveled for five years in eastern Siberia, collecting geological and geographical information. In 1867 he returned to St. Petersburg, studying science, and acting as secretary to the Geographical Society. In 1872 paid a visit to Belgium, and became interested in the International, along with Bakounin (*q. v.*). Returning to Russia, he joined the revolutionary circles, under the name of Borodin, and gave many secret lectures. Arrested in 1874, he was confined in the prison of St. Peter and St. Paul, but at the request of leading scientists was

allowed to continue his writings on the "Glacial Period." His health failing, he was transferred to the Military Hospital, whence in 1876 he escaped to England. In 1877 went to Switzerland; in 1879 founded the paper *Le Révolté* at Geneva (in 1885 transferred to Paris). Expelled from here, he was arrested, in 1883, in France, condemned to five years' imprisonment, but liberated by the President of the French Republic. In 1886 he helped to found the English anarchist-communist paper *Freedom*. He has since resided at Harrow-on-the-Hill, near London. He takes high rank as a geographer and geologist, and is the leader of the anarchist movement in England. His title of Prince he repudiates. He has written many articles and tracts: "Paroles d'un Révolté"; "Coming Anarchy"; "Scientific Basis of Anarchy"; "Appeal to the Young," etc. Address: Bromley, Kent, England.

KRUPP STEEL WORKS, SOCIAL WORK AT:

This firm, the largest steel factory of Germany, and the largest gun establishment in the world, had in its employ in all 41,600 persons (4,064 officials) on July 1, 1903, when it was turned into a stock company. The principal works are near Essen, but the company has over fifteen subsidiary companies and over 500 branches in Germany and other parts of Europe.

Already in 1861 the number of persons in the employ of the Krupp Steel Works at Essen had increased till the dwelling capacity of Essen was overtaxed. The firm began to think of methods to improve the situation. The first start in this direction was made in 1861-62. Two rows of houses, one with six dwellings and the other with four, were built for the foremen of the factory.

In the summer months of 1863 the first colony of workmen's dwellings, known as *Alt-Westend*, was built, and the houses rented to the employees. The buildings were simple, and, in the words of Mr. Alfred Krupp, intended for poor families who must save, but desire a healthful dwelling.

A second colony, called *Neu-Westend*, was completed in the winter of 1871-72 for 20,000 workmen.

In July, 1891, there were 3,659 dwellings (not including 43 dwellings given to widows rent free). There has been a net income of 2.5 on the capital invested, and this has been spent on other local improvements.

In 1903 there were 4,300 dwellings at Essen, arranged in 9 "colonies." The houses in the 4 older settlements, the 2 Westends, Schederhof, and Nordhof are not remarkable in any way. Cronenberg is, however, built on better lines. It has about 3,000 inhabitants who are housed in 1,750 dwellings of two- and three-story flats; each building is surrounded by small gardens, one for each family. The rent is seventy-five cents a week for a flat of three rooms, attic and cellar, and seventy-five cents a year for the garden. The streets and the market place are lined with trees.

Baumhof, built in 1890, at a little distance from the town, on cheaper land, offered the opportunity for a step forward. The buildings are detached, have two stories, accommodate three or four families, and are surrounded by larger gardens. The rent for five rooms and garden is about eighty-five cents per week, including porch and lobby \$1.

Alfredshof, erected 1894, still ranks as one of

the model villages, and is surpassed only by Altenhof, built a few years later, and on more generous lines. Altenhof is intended exclusively for aged employees and their widows; it contains 183 dwellings, all rent free, 150 each of three rooms for men with wives or daughters, 24 for widows. Every family in these two colonies has a large garden and a separate entrance. The roads are wide, lined with trees, well laid out, and connect the numerous small parks. The rental at Alfredshof is low, considering the accommodations. A detached house, facing an open space, with garden, porch, and lobby, parlor, reception-room, kitchen, two bedrooms, and cellars plus an attic, and free water, rents at \$1.50 a week.

The latest colony, Friedrichshof, is in some respects a return to the block system. But the mistakes of the buildings in the older colonies are avoided. Each block has a different design, altho in harmony with the others, and is surrounded by a large garden. The building line is, moreover, broken, so that each block gets plenty of sunshine. Every family has ample space, and the rooms on the fourth story are reserved for families whose needs have grown since they occupied a lower story.

Every colony has a market-place, beer-hall, a cooperative store, park, and music pavilion. The blocks for the firemen and foremen at the works proper and in Cronenberg are beautifully designed, contain three rooms, with closets, pantry, cellar, attic for each family, and a common laundry; rent, \$1.35 per week. There are bath-houses in every colony and at the works.

In addition to the 4,300 workmen's dwellings at Essen, the company owns 700 in four other colonies, Bredeney, Annen, Gaarden, and Bochum.

Dining-halls for single men are among the provisions made by the firm. At Essen there are 6 dining-rooms, *Menagen*, for workmen; 1 restaurant for officials at the magnificent clubhouse; and halls, where the employees bring their own lunch and buy coffee, milk, rolls, etc., at cost. The *Menagen* have had varying fortunes; started in 1856 with 200 men, they provided meals for 1,775 in 1873, 500 in 1875, 800 in 1894, and now about 2,000. At the Gruson works of the company in Buckau about 1,000 men take their meals in 3 dining-halls; and the same number in Bochum; in the latter to the playing of an orchestra.

Where opportunity for bathing is scarce, the company provides baths at nominal charges, e. g., at the mines near Hanover for 1,100 men; shower and tub cost 10 to 15 pfennigs; steam, 1 mark.

In order to provide the necessities of life at reasonable prices, Friedrich Krupp started a cooperative society for his employees in 1868. The firm managed it for a number of years, charging only enough to cover expenses; but later the society became cooperative in reality, profits being divided at the end of each year on the basis of the cash purchases of each member. This *Kansun-Austalt* has its own stores, bakeries, mill, butcher and tailor shops, shoe stores, etc. A building association has existed for many years.

There are a number of schools connected with the colonies. In addition to the elementary instruction required by the State, several schools provide instruction in various subjects of immediate practical value, e. g., arithmetic, drawing, etc., for apprentices; sewing, dressmaking,

cooking, housekeeping for girls, whose small fees are returned in the form of savings-bank deposits.

An extensive system of sick, accident, and old-age insurance exists in addition to those legally required by the State, both for employees and officials. All superannuated workmen and officials are pensioned; the former, or their widows, being provided for at Altenhof. The firm spends about 250,000 marks per annum on pensions alone, only about 25 per cent of which is required by the Imperial Insurance Law. The total outlay of the firm in regular contributions to the various insurance, pension, and benevolent agencies amounted to about 3,100,000 mk. in 1902. A board of physicians has been formed whose sole duty is to look after the health of the employees and their families. Two other funds were established by F. A. Krupp in 1887. One was a gift of 1,000,000 mk., the interest of which is to be distributed in pensions to those employees who need them but cannot get them owing to some technicality; and to those whose regular pensions are insufficient to keep them from want.

The other was a gift of 500,000 mk. to the city of Essen, the interest to be applied for moral and material improvements of working men. It is at present devoted to building laborers' dwellings, that being considered the most pressing need.

In order to make provision for recreation and for the social and intellectual development of his men, Mr. Krupp built club-houses for the officials of various grades, and established a literary society and two libraries—one general with over 38,000 volumes, the other technical with over 40,000. About 1,100 papers and magazines are provided for the different reading-rooms.

Lest his men might not be able to avail themselves of these numerous means for development and recreation by too long hours or weariness, the firm voluntarily reduced hours of labor from eleven and a half to ten.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: *Alfred Krupp*, by Blencke, 1898; *Friedrich Alfred Krupp*, by Klein und Hehemann, 1903; *Model Factories and Villages*, by Budgett Meakin, 1905.

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LABOR: As correctly used in economic science this term may be defined as work done by mind or body in producing wealth (see PRODUCTS, p. 753; WEALTH). The word, however, is often popularly used to represent the class who mainly live by labor, in contradistinction to capital, meaning thereby those who mainly live by capital. This is not to deny, however, that many capitalists also labor and that the work of the supervision of industry and the production of capital is not true labor.

Even those who maintain, as did Adam Smith, and as most German Socialists and American trade-unionists still do, that labor is the sole source of VALUE, never claim that manual labor is the only kind of productive labor. Every one recognizes the need and value of the labor of management, the labor of the mind, in various ways. Manual and artisan labor is principally referred to in such phrases as "the labor movement," not because it is regarded as the only kind, but because it is that kind of labor which those who engage in the movement believe to have been most wronged in the past and most to need having wrongs righted in the present. All Socialists, all trade-unionists, all working men recognize at least some kinds of mental labor as necessary factors in production. (For the kinds of labor that some consider unproductive, see PRODUCTION.) Some have limited the word labor to painful labor. Jevons says ("Political Economy," v.): "Labor, I should say, is any painful exertion of mind or body undergone partly or wholly with a view to future good." But this is undoubtedly misleading, if the word painful be understood in its ordinary sense, and partakes too much of views now generally condemned which largely put a despoite on manual labor. The labor of an artist, of an inventor, of a teacher, of a carpenter, of a farmer, need by no manner of means be always painful. Ruskin's definition is: ("Unto this Last.") "Labor is the contest of the life of man with an opposite; the term life including his intellect, soul, and physical power, contending with question, difficulty, trial, or material force."

Of the importance of the part played by labor in production there is no question and need be no statement. To the problems connected with labor this encyclopedia is devoted. (Concerning the reward of labor, see WAGES. Concerning the statistics of laborers, see OCCUPATIONS. Concerning the condition of laborers, see POVERTY; WAGES; WEALTH. Concerning the history of labor in the past, see SLAVERY; MIDDLE AGES; GILDS. Concerning the history of the labor movement in modern times, see the different countries; and TRADE-UNIONISM; EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT; SOCIALISM; ANARCHISM, etc.

LABOR BUREAUS: (see also LABOR EXCHANGE, and for Labour Bureaux as the term is used in England, see PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS): Labor bureaus, in the American sense of the term, are government bureaus (state or national) which concern themselves with matters relating to labor.

In the French Revolution of 1848 a department of labor was established (see ATELIERS NATIONAUX), and employment bureaus have existed from early times; but the first Bureau of Labor, in the American sense of the word, was the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, established June 23, 1869, as the result of an agitation conducted by the Boston Eight-Hour League (see EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT), mainly led by Mr. George E. McNeill, with the aid of Wendell Phillips and others. The first chief of the bureau was General H. K. Oliver, with Mr. George E. McNeill as deputy. Pennsylvania was the next state to follow, establishing a bureau in 1872, other states falling into line later, till now (1907) there are in the United States, including the federal bureau, thirty-three labor bureaus. These offices have various titles, but their duties are similar, and consist almost solely in gathering statistics of various kinds that bear in some way upon the condition or the interests of labor. The work they do is of somewhat varying value, according to the character of the men in charge, and according to the amount of money placed at

their disposal for the collecting of statistics. The statistics collected by some of them will scarcely bear any scientific analysis, while those of even the best of them—a place often accorded to the Massachusetts bureau—are often sharply criticized. Nevertheless, the good they have done in collecting information can scarcely be exaggerated, and most of their reports are reliable and of great value.

The bureaus of South Dakota and Utah have been discontinued. That of Kentucky, up to date, has not concerned itself with the immediate interests of labor.

The National Bureau of Labor at Washington, D. C., was created as an office in the Department of the Interior by act of Congress, approved June 27, 1884, and organized Jan. 22, 1885, by the appointment of Carroll D. Wright, of Massachusetts, as commissioner, who held the office till 1905, when his successor, Dr. Charles P. Neill, was appointed. This bureau, in 1888, became the Department of Labor. This act was the result of a demand on the part of the Knights of Labor and other labor organizations. The bureau now, however, is connected with the Department of Commerce and Labor.

The chief officer of each of the state bureaus is located at the capital of the state in which he serves, with three exceptions, in Maryland, at Baltimore; in California, at San Francisco; and in Louisiana, at New Orleans. The salaries paid the commissioners are \$5,000 for the U. S.; \$3,500 for New York; \$3,000 for California and Massachusetts, and from \$2,500 to \$1,200 in other states. The Secretary of State is ex-officio commissioner of labor in Colorado and the governor in Nebraska. The U. S. Federal Department of Labor spends some \$175,000 per year and has 103 employees; New York spends \$130,400, with twenty-two employees; Illinois, \$52,450, with five employees; Massachusetts, \$31,674, with twenty-five employees. No other state has over six employees.

Congress occasionally directs special investigations to be made, and appropriates money for the purpose, as in the case of an inquiry into the statistics of marriage and divorce and into the industrial and technical school systems. It also provides by special acts for the printing and binding of the annual reports. These are usually sent free of cost to all persons in the U. S. who apply for them if the supply admits. They are also sent in exchange to all government officials or other persons in foreign countries who have rendered the department a service by forwarding to it their own publications. If the supply is not exhausted, they are sent to other distinguished foreigners who express a wish for them.

In Nov., 1895, the department commenced issuing a *Bulletin* of about 250–300 pages, issued every other month.

The following are the most important reports of the U. S. Bureau:

- 1886. No. 1. Industrial Depressions.¹
- 1886. " 2. Convict Labor.¹
- 1888. " 4. Working Women in Large Cities.¹
- 1889. " 5. Railroad Labor.¹
- 1890. " 6. Cost of Production: Iron, Steel, Coal, etc.¹
- 1891. " 7. Cost of Production: The Textiles and Glass (two volumes).¹
- 1892. " 8. Industrial Education.¹
- 1893. " 9. Building and Loan Associations.¹
- 1895–6. " 11. Work and Wages of Men, Women, and Children.
- 1897. " 12. Economic Aspect of the Liquor Problem,

- 1898. No. 13. Hand and Machine Labor (two volumes).
- 1899. " 14. Water, Gas, and Electric-light Plants under Private and Municipal Ownership.
- 1901. " 16. Strikes and Lockouts (Jan. 1, 1881, to Dec. 31, 1900).
- 1902. " 17. Trade and Technical Education.
- 1904. " 19. Wages and Hours of Labor.
- 1905. " 20. Convict Labor.
- 1906. " 21. Strikes and Lockouts.

SPECIAL REPORTS

- 1889. No. 1. Marriage and Divorce.¹
- 1893. " 4. Compulsory Insurance in Germany, etc.¹
- 1893. " 5. The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic.¹
- 1894. " 7. The Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia.¹
- 1895. " 8. The Housing of the Working People (with plans and illustrations).¹
- 1904. " 10. Labor Laws of the U. S.¹
- 1904. " 11. Regulation and Restriction of Output.
- 1905. " 12. Coal Mine Labor in Europe.

SOME LEADING ARTICLES OF THE BULLETIN

The Bulletin is issued every other month

- No. 1. Private and Public Debt in the U. S., by George K. Holmes.
- " 4. The Sweating System, by Henry White.
- " 6. Cooperative Distribution, by Edward W. Bemis, Ph.D.
- " 7. Industrial Communities, by W. F. Willoughby.
- " 8. Railway Relief Departments, by Emory R. Johnson, Ph.D.
- " 10. Condition of the Negro in Various Cities. Building and Loan Associations.¹
- " 13. The Anthracite Mine Laborers, by G. O. Virtue, Ph.D.
- " 15. Boarding Homes and Clubs for Working Women, by Mary S. Ferguson.¹
- " The Trade-Union Label, by John Graham Brooks.
- " 17. Brotherhood Relief and Insurance of Railway Employees, by E. R. Johnson, Ph.D.
- " 18. Wages in the U. S. and Europe, 1870 to 1898.
- " 21. Pawnbroking in Europe and the U. S., by W. R. Patterson, Ph.D.
- " 22. Benefit Features of American Trade-Unions, by Edward M. Bemis, Ph.D.¹
- " The Negro in the Black Belt: Some Social Sketches, by W. E. B. Du Bois, Ph.D.
- " 26. Protection of Workmen in their Employment, by Stephen D. Fessenden.
- " 29. Trusts and Industrial Combinations, by J. W. Jenks, Ph.D.¹
- " 31. Betterment of Industrial Conditions, by Victor H. Olmstead.
- " Present Status of Employers' Liability in the U. S., by Stephen D. Fessenden.
- " 32. Accidents to Labor as Regulated by Law in the U. S., by W. F. Willoughby.
- " 35. Cooperative Communities in the U. S., by Rev. Alexander Kent.
- " 37. Railway Employees in the U. S., by Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D.
- " 40. Workmen's Compensation Acts of Foreign Countries, by Adna F. Weber.
- " 43. Report to the President on Anthracite Coal Strike, by Carroll D. Wright.
- " 44. Factory Sanitation and Labor Protection, by C. F. W. Doehring, Ph.D.
- " 46. Report of Anthracite Coal Strike Commission.
- " 48. Farm Colonies of the Salvation Army, by Commander Booth Tucker.
- " Labor Conditions in New Zealand, by Victor S. Clark, Ph.D.
- " 52. Child Labor in the U. S., by Hannah R. Sewall, Ph.D.
- " 53. Wages and Cost of Living.
- " 54. The Value and Influence of Labor Statistics, by Carroll D. Wright.
- " Strikes and Lockouts in the U. S., 1881 to 1900, by G. W. W. Hanger.
- " Wages in the U. S. and Europe, 1890 to 1903, by G. W. W. Hanger.
- " Cost of Living and Retail Prices in the U. S., 1890 to 1903, by G. W. W. Hanger.
- " Wholesale Prices in the U. S., 1890 to 1903, by G. W. W. Hanger.
- " Housing of the Working People of the U. S. by Employers, by G. W. W. Hanger.
- " Public Baths in the U. S., by G. W. W. Hanger.
- " Trade and Technical Education in the U. S. Hand and Machine Labor in the U. S.
- " Labor Legislation in the U. S., by G. A. Weber.
- " 55. Building and Loan Associations in the U. S., by G. W. W. Hanger.¹
- " 56. Labor Conditions in Australia, by Victor S. Clark, Ph.D.

¹ Bulletin out of print,

¹ Bulletin out of print,

- No. 57. Street Railway Employment in the U. S., by Walter E. Weyl, Ph.D.
 " 58. Labor Conditions in the Philippines, by Victor S. Clark, Ph.D.
 " 59. Laws Relating to Child Labor in European Countries.
 " 60. Government Industrial Arbitration, by Leonard W. Hatch, A.M.
 " 61. Labor Conditions in Porto Rico, by Walter E. Weyl, Ph.D.¹
 " 62. Municipal Ownership in Great Britain, by Frederic C. Howe, Ph.D.¹
 Laws Relating to the Employment of Children in the U. S.¹
 " 63. Course of Wholesale Prices, 1890 to 1905.
 " 64. Conditions of Living Among the Poor, by S. E. Forman.
 Benefit Features of British Trade Unions, by Walter E. Weyl, Ph.D.
 " 65. Wages and Hours of Labor in Manufacturing Industries, 1890 to 1905.¹
 Retail Prices of Food, 1890 to 1905.
 " 66. Third Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii.
 " 67. Conditions of Entrance to the Principal Trades, by Walter E. Weyl, Ph.D., and A. M. Sakolski, Ph.D.
 " 68. Free Public Employment Offices in the U. S., by J. E. Conner, Ph.D.
 " 70. The Italian on the Land, by Emily Meade Fogg.
 A Short History of Labor Legislation in Great Britain, by A. Maurice Low.
 The British Workmen's Compensation Acts, by L. Packer.
 " 71. Wages and Hours of Labor in Manufacturing Industry, 1890 to 1906.

In Great Britain a Labor Department of the Board of Trade was created in 1893, and issues the *Board of Trade Labour Gazette* monthly, an annual report (almost purely statistical), and special reports on labor in foreign lands, wages and hours of labor, etc. In Europe and elsewhere various governmental offices or bureaus or departments cover this ground under the following names and with the following publications:

Austria.—Arbeitsstatistisches Amt in K. K. Handelsministeriums (1898) publishes *Soziale Rundschau*, a monthly bulletin.

Argentina.—Departamento Nacional del Trabajo (1907), *Boletín*, Q.

Belgium.—Office du Travail (1895) publishes *Revue du Travail* semi-monthly and annual reports.

Canada.—Department of Labor (1900) publishes a *Labor Gazette* monthly.

Denmark.—Bureau de Statistique de l'État (1850) publishes *Communications Statistiques* irregularly.

France.—Office du Travail (1891) publishes *Bulletin de l'Office du Travail* monthly, and an *Annuaire Statistique*.

Germany.—Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt Abteilung für Arbeiterstatistik (1902) publishes *Reichs-Arbeitsblatt* monthly, and bulletins irregularly.

Italy.—Ufficio del Lavoro (1902) publishes *Bollettino del Ufficio del Lavoro* monthly.

Netherlands.—Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (1892) publishes *Maandschrift* monthly.

New South Wales.—Department of Labor and Industry (1895) *Annual Report and Statistics*.

New Zealand.—Department of Labor (1891) publishes *Journal of the Department of Labor* monthly.

Norway.—Det Statistiske Central Bureau (1902) publishes statistics irregularly.

Russia.—Comité Central de Statistique (proposed).

Spain.—Instituto de Reformas Sociales (1903). Monthly bulletin.

Sweden.—Afdelning för Arbetsstatistik (1902). Annual report and *Sociala Meddelanden*, Q.

Switzerland.—Secretariat Ouvrier Suisse (1886). Annual reports.

G. W. W. HANGER.

LABOR CHECKS: An idea put forth by some Utopian Socialists (among others, Lawrence Gronlund) according to which, under socialism, every one will work for the common good, and will be paid checks stating that he has labored so many hours, these checks to be good for purchases at the various stores of the commonwealth. English Fabian Socialists reject and laugh at the whole idea. Most Socialists, however, neither reject nor accept the idea, believing that socialism,

as distinctly evolutionary, will work its way step by step, and leave such details as labor checks to be devolved when the time comes, if it then seem wise. (See **SOCIALISM**.)

LABOR CHURCH: A movement in England which began in 1891, mainly under the initiative of John Trevor, to organize the religious impulses of the labor movement. The first Labor Church service was held in Charlton Town Hall, Manchester, on Sunday, Oct. 4, 1891, consisting of the singing of hymns, reading, prayer, and an address by John Trevor. Different speakers spoke alternate Sundays with Mr. Trevor, and in November a Labor Church was organized with the following principles:

1. That the Labor movement is a religious movement.
2. That the religion of the Labor movement is not a class religion, but unites members of all classes in working for the abolition of commercial slavery.
3. That the religion of the Labor movement is not sectarian or dogmatic, but free religion, leaving each man free to develop his own relations with the power that brought him into being.
4. That the emancipation of labor can only be realized so far as men learn both the economic and moral laws of God, and heartily endeavor to obey them.
5. That the development of personal character and the improvement of social conditions are both essential to man's emancipation from moral and social bondage.

During the winter of 1892-93 several more churches were formed, in each case the demand being entirely local and spontaneous, and in July, 1893, a conference of Labor Church delegates was called and a Labor Church Union was formed. At this conference ten churches were represented; a constitution was drafted, which was confirmed by a later conference, and a council was appointed.

By 1894 there were twenty-four Labor churches in England and Scotland.

For some years the movement showed considerable vitality. Labor Church Sunday-schools were formed and in some places the Labor churches attracted large audiences. Gradually, however, the movement waned before its many difficulties. Want of funds and failing health prevented Mr. Trevor from giving all his time to the movement. In 1900 there were some fifteen Labor churches. In 1902 there was some revival of interest and in 1903 a conference was held at Hyde, Cheshire, and a new impetus given to the movement. The statement of principles now reads:

That the Labor Church exists to give expression to the religion of the Labor movement.

That the religion of the Labor movement is not theological but respects each individual's personal convictions upon this question.

That the religion of the Labor movement seeks the realization of universal well-being by the establishment of socialism—a commonwealth founded upon justice and love.

That the religion of the Labor movement declares that improvement of social conditions and the development of personal character are both essential to emancipation from social and moral bondage, and to that end insists upon the duty of studying the economic and moral forces of society.

Under this new impulse new churches have been and are being formed, so that there are now (1907) upward of thirty Labor churches in the country. A revised hymn-book was published in 1906.

A pamphlet is in preparation dealing with "The Labour Church and Its Principles" and may be had from John Mitchell, Hon. Sec. L. C. U., 13, Moorwell Place, Ecclehill, Bradford, England. Also, any other information relating thereto, including Labor Church Sunday-Schools.

JOHN MITCHELL,

¹ Bulletin out of print.

In 1894 a Labor Church was started by Herbert N. Casson, at that time a militant Socialist, in Lynn, Mass., but continued only two or three years. In some other countries labor or socialistic services or Sunday-schools have been started, but have had little or no permanent life. See, however, SOCIALIST SUNDAY-SCHOOLS UNION, Alfred Russel, Secretary, 366 New City Road, Glasgow. For a fuller account of the Labor Church in England, see an article by John Trevor, in the first edition of this encyclopedia.

LABOR COLONIES: The idea of the farm and labor colony is a comparatively new one, altho such colonies have been established in Germany for twenty-three years and in Holland for over eighty years.

There can be no doubt that the idea of the colony originated with the feeling of social reformers that the land question and the unemployed question were inseparable, that for several classes of the unemployed almost the only resource is work on the land, which, at any rate, offers to the workless a chance of productive and useful employment. General Van Den Bosch, the founder of the Society of Beneficence in Holland, realized the truth of this when he started the first Dutch labor colony at Frederiksoord in 1818 with the motto, "Help the people and improve the land."

If there were no land needing cultivation, or if land, as in England, were not at the present time going out of cultivation, the case for drastic action would not be strong, but the soil cries out for labor and many great tracts of the country have become a wilderness. Bring the waste labor in contact with the waste land and both will be improved, or, as Commander Booth Tucker of the Salvation Army put it to Mr. Rider Haggard, "put the waste labor on the waste land by means of the waste capital and thus convert this trinity of waste into a unity of production." This much we can say without seeming in any sense to run the risk of exaggeration, that such an experiment is worth making everywhere. It is only a very broad generalization, but it gives a clue to the sort of line all who are interested in farm and labor colonies are beginning to take.

Whatever type of colony we may think it desirable to start, there are several important questions to be answered. Is our expenditure a real saving? Does this method of treatment conduce to the upbuilding of the man and the reclamation of the land? Are there any illustrations showing that such men as the colony helps have been made self-supporting? If such results can be achieved in any measure, are we justified in pursuing our experiments and in urging others to attempt them?

I. Colonies for the Unemployable

Before proceeding to deal with labor colonies that are especially suited to the various classes of the unemployed, it is necessary to clear the way by a short statement respecting the labor colony method of treating the so-called unemployable, including in our category not only the vagrant and the mendicant, but also those who are physically incapable of following ordinary industrial employment in the town. We may begin with this latter class. Generally speaking, men who are unemployable in the ordinary sense owing to physical causes, and yet might be employed on the land with good results to themselves, are the epileptic and the feeble-minded.

The adult epileptic is still in a sad plight as compared with many other sections of the community who have suffered from misfortune or sickness. Some of them, a large number, are to be found in our workhouses, where they receive a treatment which cannot be said to be either scientific or humane. The majority of them are still to be found living in the homes of the very poor, a grievous burden to the family itself, and somewhat of a trial to all the neighbors. Many of these epileptics, gradually becoming feeble-minded, suffer ill-usage from rough and foolish lads, and in any case little or nothing is done to lighten their sad condition or to make them useful to the community.

In many cases they can be employed in healthy outdoor labor such as will interest and occupy them to the required extent without taxing too much an enfeebled brain or greatly fatiguing the body. Such work can best be found upon the land, and a colony offers employment which is not only conducive to health but also will allow of an epileptic being employed in a great variety of ways. In such a colony the work would necessarily be under the advice and guidance of the medical man, but in almost any case some proportion of the food required to maintain him could be produced by this necessary and beneficial labor. It is unfortunate that so few of these colonies are in existence. What the Christian Union for Social Service is doing for epileptic children at Lingfield and Starnthwaite in England, ought to be done for adult epileptics in all parts of the world.

The Chalfont Colony in England is in its infancy, but has already completely justified its existence. This colony has gradually increased in efficiency of organization as well as in size year by year. In 1895 the average number of colonists was twenty-four, the total expenditure £1,719, the cost of maintenance of each colonist being £71 12s. 6d., but in 1901, with an average of 134½ colonists, the cost was only £5,333, the per capita cost of maintenance being reduced by 55 per cent. On the average in the colony there are about twice as many males as females. The male colonists are principally employed in the building department, carpentering, plumbing, painting, bricklaying, and smiths' work; the remainder are chiefly occupied in farm and garden work, while about half a dozen are engaged in basket-making. They take it in turn to give their services in the home as required. Of the female colonists nearly half are employed in the laundry, the remainder chiefly occupied by the housework and needlework, but a good deal of stress is laid on the necessity of plenty of fresh air daily.

The colony at Bielefeld in Germany is by far the most important colony of its sort in the world. Over 2,000 epileptics are there cared for, and altho many of them are children, a large number of adults are being treated, and some permanent cures effected. Of late years greater care in diagnosis and in the use of bromide have resulted in a larger percentage of cures, while the open-air work on the land, both in the neighborhood of Bielefeld and at the Wilhelmsdorf Colony, has very greatly contributed to the success with which adult patients have been treated.

What has been said with regard to epileptics applies with equal force to the *feeble-minded*, who are a constant responsibility in our workhouses and asylums, where the treatment is costly, when

under the conditions which special colonies offer the best of them might contribute something to the cost of their maintenance by labor, while their mental faculties might be trained in various ways. So far as the children are concerned, all that need be said is that epileptic and feeble-minded children become unemployable in later years, so that the colonies for them which have already been established are fulfilling a very real and pressing need.

The same treatment might also be meted out to the inebriate, who is far more likely to recover under the healthy and normal influences which he or she finds in a country colony. Granted the right kind of management, there is no reason in the world why such colonies should not be the most potent means in restoring to the ranks of the employed those who have put themselves outside the pale of citizenship by habits of intemperance.

But perhaps the largest section of the unemployable is the vagrant and tramp class to be found in the U. S. as well as in Europe—both men and women who are quite capable of working, but who have degenerated and become demoralized, it may be by lack of work, possibly by lack of training, or by evil conditions in their youth. The vagrant is constantly on the lookout for opportunities of obtaining food and lodging without giving work in return. He habitually depends upon charity, and finally becomes a danger to the whole community. Whatever causes may have contributed toward the making of the vagrant, whether hereditary disposition or lack of training in youth, physical deficiency, or unemployment, the truth is that a nomad class has been created which the casual ward of the workhouse does nothing to destroy but rather tends to encourage. A Departmental Committee on Vagrancy in England has recently reported on the subject. There seems to be a general consensus of opinion in the committee that some modification of the Belgian penal system will have to be introduced, and that feeling found expression in the report issued in 1906.

Several small commissions have visited the colony at Merxplas, near Antwerp, which, with two other colonies, is the Belgian Government's attempt to stamp out mendicancy. In Belgium vagrancy is not, strictly speaking, a penal offense, but it is regarded as so much of a social danger as to require special treatment, and by Article 13 of the Law of 1891 the *Juge de Paix* has authority to order the removal of a vagrant convicted of begging to the great penal colony at Merxplas known as a "*Dépôt de Mendicité*." The methods employed appear to be much more strictly repressive than redemptive. M. Stroobant, who is at the head of this colony, stated emphatically that the object of Merxplas was repressive. To quote his own words: "It taught men to work and to work regularly; it saved them from their own vices—the vices that had brought them there—but it did not seem to prevent them from going back over and over again." The colony compels men to work at agriculture, manufactures, forestry, and household employment. Soldiers conduct the agriculturists to their various fields, altho it is not very difficult for colonists to escape. This seems to cause no anxiety to the director, who says that if they can get work and are willing to do it, all the better, and that if they are unwilling to work they are sure to fall into the hands of the police and be returned again to the colony.

Merxplas is practically self-supporting, and whatever the disadvantages, there is no comparison so far as cost is concerned between the Belgian system and the casual ward system of England. Including the small wages that are paid to the colonists—and the wage system ought certainly to be adopted in England at a compulsory labor colony—and taking even the aged and infirm into account, the entire cost is under £10 per head per annum, and the small wages will account for at least half of this.

In addition to the colony at Merxplas with 4,500 men, there is one at Wortel and another at Hoogstraeten, the three colonies between them possessing about 3,000 acres of land. The two latter colonies form one establishment and are known as a *maison de refuge*. They are not penal in the strict sense, and are tending to become rather the resort of the aged and the infirm. The number of colonists is greatly increased by severe weather. Hoogstraeten would have about 800 in summer and about 1,500 in winter; Wortel 450 in summer and perhaps three times that number in winter. Very few of the colonists are young men, and the conclusion to which we are forced—and with this conclusion both M. Leroy, the "Director Principal," and M. Stroobant, the director at Merxplas, agree—is that the genuine unemployed man is relieved outside the colony, and that almost the only men who are sent to the colony are professional beggars or habitual drunkards.

A similar system, not so thoroughly carried out, prevails in Holland, where there are three government colonies which may be described as penal for beggars and tramps, Veenhuizen and Hoorn being for men, and the national workhouse at Leiden for women. The former is for vagabondage proper, while at the two latter habitual drunkards are also admitted. The present population of Veenhuizen is about 3,600, divided into three sections, and the work consists chiefly of forestry, agriculture, gardening, and various handicrafts, such as weaving, carpentering, masonry, smiths' work, and the manufacture of furniture, boots, and clothing. The colonist prisoners enjoy a certain amount of freedom within the colony, and have a very small allowance for wages.

II. Colonies for the Lower Class of the Unemployed

In considering the question as to how far the labor and farm colonies may be of assistance to the unemployed we have to remember that the unemployed themselves can be broken up into many classes, and that for each of these classes some provision should be made whether in the town or in the country. It has not yet been definitely proposed that skilled men who are usually employed during a large portion of the year, but who are thrown out of work by some severe depression in trade which affects large districts of the country, should be assisted at a labor colony, but for almost every other class such a method might very well be adopted, altho each class would have to be considered separately, and modifications of the colony system would have to be introduced to suit their varying needs and circumstances.

The section which bulks most largely in the public imagination, and in all our large industrial centers is perhaps the most difficult problem, is the class of unskilled laborers. What is wanted

for this class of man is a colony which will utilize his services to the fullest possible extent, and meanwhile, by this inducement to regular work, so increase his physical powers and capabilities that he may be able once again, if necessary, to obtain a situation in the regular ranks of industry. There can be no harm done in trying to restore hope and strength to the thousands of men who, owing to lack of work, enterprise, or character, have become hopeless and demoralized.

To meet the need of such men boards of guardians in England have for many years been attempting to discover some expedient, and the labor colony has often been suggested, but until quite recently no board was in a position to be able to make such an experiment until the Poplar Guardians obtained possession of a farm at Laindon in Essex. Mr. Joseph Fels offered the board that, if they would open up and maintain a farm colony somewhat on the lines of the successful experiments made both in England and abroad, he would be willing to purchase a suitable tract of land and place it at the disposal of the Guardians free of rent. He submitted a definite offer of 100 acres of land at a peppercorn rent for a period of three years, with the option of purchase at or before the expiration of that term for the price originally paid for the land. The local government board gave their consent, and a farm of 100 acres at Dunton, near Laindon, was purchased by Mr. Fels for the sum of £2,125, including a house and farm buildings, and full possession of the farm was obtained by the Guardians on March 5, 1904. Beginning with six men in June, 1904, the number rapidly grew to 100 in August, and since that time fifty additional men who were unemployed have been sent down under a separate regulation through the Central Unemployed Committee from the borough of Poplar. These men on the whole have worked to the satisfaction of the superintendent, and as a result of their work, not only has a large reservoir capable of storing 200,000 gallons of water been constructed, but a considerable portion of the farm has been thoroughly dug and planted, and progress made in the work of recovering much of the land that up to recent times was derelict.

Since that date a similar farm has been purchased by the West Ham Board of Guardians, and that such outlets for the waste labor of the workhouse will not be uncommon in the near future is evidenced by the fact that nearly a dozen boards are seriously considering the question of following the example of Poplar.

Starting, then, with the unskilled but able-bodied inmate of the workhouse, we come to the unskilled laborer, married or unmarried, who has received not so much direct relief from the poor-law as indirect charitable contributions from benevolently disposed persons and societies. We have many examples of the attempts that have been made both in England and abroad to meet this special difficulty, but none of them have taken account of the need for classification if effectual remedy is to be applied.

Generally speaking, it may be said that the colonies which serve the purpose above indicated are modeled on the German plan—a plan which is not wholly successful owing to this lack of classification. In England we have the Salvation Army Colony of Hadleigh, the Lingfield Training Farm, Libury Hall (a colony founded by the

German Labor Colony Central Board), while in Germany there are about thirty colonies under this same board, capable of receiving in all some 4,000 men. All these colonies are run by philanthropy, tho the German colonies are subsidized by the provincial governments.

The Labor Colonies Central Board was founded in Oct., 1888, on the initiative of Pastor Von Bodelschwingh, who started Wilhelmsdorf the year before. The colonies now under the board (thirty country and three town) are charitable institutions on religious lines, to which all able-bodied men able to work are admitted without distinction of character or religion so long as there is room. The only form of punishment is dismissal, and colonists dismissed for bad behavior cannot be admitted into another colony without the consent of the colony which discharged them.

The colonies are supported by (a) grants from the provincial governments, (b) municipalities, (c) donations, subscriptions, collections. The colonies are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the German Empire, and it is quite probable that the number will be increased. The average amount needed to be made up by subscriptions and donations after deducting the profit or adding the loss on the farms and industries is between five and six shillings per colonist per week; the expenses of administration and interest on borrowed capital are included. So far as possible an attempt is made to arrange for the fluctuation of the labor market, since there are nearly twice as many men in a colony in winter as in summer. The result is that the winter work is supplemented by the reclamation of waste land either on the colonies themselves or on the property of neighboring landowners. One difficulty we may foresee in the future is the impossibility of obtaining more land to reclaim in the neighborhood of the colonies. It may be necessary in this case to sell or lease the farms and to establish other colonies elsewhere. There is a growing feeling—a feeling which the writer found was strongly expressed at Bielefeld—that it would be necessary in the future to classify somewhat more strictly than in the past.

The radical fault of all the German colonies is the admixture of classes. Varying reports have been received and published with regard to these colonies, but a careful investigation on the spot seems to show that the Board of Trade report has somewhat exaggerated the number of men who may be called "criminal." Roughly speaking, 20 per cent would be criminal, 20 per cent first offenders (that is to say, men charged with mendicancy or vagrancy), about 50 per cent men of somewhat weak will—deficient in some respect or below par in physical and mental ability—while about 10 per cent would be willing and industrious men of good character unemployed through no fault of their own. It is, however, for the 50 per cent referred to that this class of colony is required. A much more satisfactory result would be produced if the criminal could be separated off from the man of fairly good character, and if again the genuine unemployed could be given a trial in another colony where opportunity would be offered, if necessary, of permanent work upon the land.

The best results that have been produced in Germany can be witnessed at Lühlerheim. The British Board of Trade report gives Wilhelmsdorf as an example, but Wilhelmsdorf, tho the oldest of these colonies, is somewhat handicapped by

being closely connected with the epileptic colony at Bielefeld, the result being a larger proportion of mentally and physically "below par" men than would otherwise be the case. Luhlerheim has the advantage of a rather exceptional man in the person of Herr Siemon, who was at the head of the farming work of the Rauhe Haus, near Hamburg. He has created out of somewhat uncompromising material in the shape both of waste land and waste labor, what must be regarded as an extremely successful labor colony. The buildings have been, in the main, constructed by the colonists with a very little paid skilled assistance. The colony itself is gradually being transformed from a tract of barren and sandy soil, which refused to grow anything owing to the hard ochreous spit beneath the surface, into a fertile and productive farm. The cow-sheds and piggeries, two very important factors in the success of the colony, were constructed by the colonists under skilled superintendence. The general result witnessed is the partial reclamation, at all events, of a large percentage of the men at a cost of something like two shillings and sevenpence per head per week—about half the cost of any other colony in Germany, and less than half the cost of any similar experiment in England. If Luhlerheim could pick and choose its men, rejecting only those who have any radical moral or physical defect, it might almost become self-supporting. What is needed in Germany is the establishment of colonies side by side with the existing institutions into which could be drafted either the worst or the best of the men who from time to time resort to these harbors of refuge. Classification in this respect would, I feel confident, result in real economy, and it would at the same time render the scientific and reformatory treatment of the lowest type much more possible.

Returning for a moment to the English colonies, we are struck with the fact that both Hadleigh and Lingfield labor under peculiar difficulties owing to the inadequate financial support which they receive, especially from the authorities which are most indebted to these colonies for assistance. The provincial governments in Germany do, at any rate, subsidize the colonies to some extent (about one third of the cost being derived from such sources), but in England both Hadleigh and Lingfield, apart from private subscriptions, have only the Boards of Guardians to look to, if we except the work of the Mansion House Fund and Central Unemployed Committee in connection with Hadleigh during the last two winters. In any case, the financial support derivable from such sources barely covers the cost of maintenance, and the men who are sent by Boards of Guardians, so far from being selected with a view to their permanent benefit, are often the hopeless ne'er-do-wells who would cost such boards a larger sum if they remained in the workhouse.

In this sense especially, apart from its work among epileptic children, Lingfield may be regarded as a sort of subsidized Poor Law Colony, and it is to the credit of the director and those in charge that satisfactory results have been obtained to a very considerable extent. This colony consists of a farm of 250 acres, and has now been in existence for over nine years. It accommodates some fifty or sixty men of vari-

ous types, thus described by the director, the Rev. J. L. Brooks:

- (1) Youths with physical defects; others dull-witted or half-witted. These were, for a considerable time, the only cases that Guardians would send.
- (2) Men at the other end of life, nearly all over fifty years of age. A few of these would spend the remainder of their days in the workhouse; but, on the land, would be able partly or wholly to maintain themselves for some years.
- (3) The ne'er-do-well sons of lower middle-class homes, who are exceedingly difficult to direct.
- (4) The drunkards. Of these last the colony has had, among the 500 men who have been through it, 120.

He claims, however, to have been able to rehabilitate and restore to mental, moral, and physical health, 33 per cent of the cases put in his hands, and surely there can be no question whatever that if Lingfield can do this with the material at its command it is an institution which should receive consideration at the hands of the State. The cost is not extravagant as compared with the poor-law. It works out at nine shillings per week per man, exclusive of clothing, the chief item being food, four shillings and tenpence per week; lodging and laundry, two shillings and twopence; superintendence, one shilling and sixpence; waste and medical care, sixpence. In such a colony farming cannot be made to pay, that goes without saying; the real assets may be described as the "helpless lives made useful, waste lives reclaimed, the drunkards restored, and mischief prevented."

Hadleigh is a larger colony, run on somewhat different lines by the Salvation Army. It consists of an area of about 3,000 acres of which some 400 are let off at present to a farmer. It is situated four miles from Southend. The land is a stiff clay, rather poor and cold in character, but it is rapidly improving in value. About 100 acres are planted with fruit-trees, and the total receipts from the fruit farm, its pastures, market gardens, chicken farms, and brick works in 1904 amounted to over £33,000. The population on the land near by has as a result of the colony greatly increased, and Hadleigh village now numbers over 1,300, and in many respects is quite thriving. Here again the difficulty crops up of the great mixture of men which Hadleigh receives—many of them taken from the shelters in the town, some supplied by Boards of Guardians, while a few are capable, willing workers who are unemployed for the time being, or who have come down through misfortune; the remainder are weak, unsatisfactory men sent by philanthropic societies, by relatives and friends. The best of these men Hadleigh seems to have little difficulty in restoring once more to a permanent occupation, or if they cannot be so restored they are usually emigrated. The majority require a longer period of treatment than the colony, for many reasons, is able to give, and the result is that much of the labor is thrown away. Both Hadleigh and Lingfield should be subsidized by the government, and thus enabled to deal exclusively with the men who need the reforming and reclaiming influence which such men as their officers are able to bring to bear.

The Church Army also has a small labor colony, the Newdigate Farm Home. It is really an emigration test farm situated at Holmwood, near Dorking, and consists of 150 acres of heavy clay soil, which when it was purchased by the Church Army in 1899 was practically derelict. The buildings on the estate only afforded accommodation for a manager and his family and about eight men, but a dormitory, dining-room, and

German
Colonies

English
Colonies

workshop have been built, providing accommodation for a further sixteen men. The land is now in a fair state of cultivation, about fifty acres being under crops, while there are three acres of garden and orchard. During the year 1905, after testing and training, sixty men and youths were emigrated. At the present moment the Church Army is contemplating a very large extension of this colony work, and a valuable estate has already been offered for this purpose.

Libury Hall, at Great Munden, Herts, is an actual example of the German method in England, with this only in its favor, that the German in England who happens to be out of work is a man of rather better type than the average colonist in Germany. The scheme is to some extent one of repatriation, and many men have been sent back to their fatherland through its instrumentality. Mr. E. D. Court, a local government board inspector, has given an account of this work from which I make the following extract:

The object and working of the colony might be stated thus: The mission of the colony being not to give alms nor money, but to help by affording opportunity to work, the freehold of 300 acres of suitable land in Hertfordshire was purchased. About thirty-five acres of this is occupied by buildings, poultry runs and duck ponds, willow bed, gravel pit, fruit and vegetable garden, and wood; thirty acres by meadow, and the remainder is sown or planted with wheat, rye, barley, oats, potatoes, beans, swedes, turnips, artichokes, clover, rape, mustard, vetches, and sainfoin. A basket-weaving shop on a large scale was erected, with a carpenter's shop and smithy, and large well-ventilated stables, cow-sheds, and piggeries, also small shops for tailor and shoemaker, a bake-house, laundry (now being greatly enlarged), dairy, kitchen, etc. In all these departments, as well as in cleaning the house, work is found, but the great majority of men are employed out of doors, the stronger men in digging gravel, breaking flints, making roads, and so on; the weaker in the garden or looking after the poultry. There are sixteen cart-horses, and about the same number of milch cows, and useful experience has been gained by intending emigrants looking after them. Beds were at first provided for ninety men, sixty-four of them in one large dormitory, divided into sixteen cubicles. Later, to meet the winter pressure, room for twenty more beds was found by cutting off a part of the basket-weaving department, and it is proposed shortly to build for 150 more men. About 860, or more than two thirds of those received, have been distinctly benefited. As to financial position, the colony is not self-supporting so far, and probably never will be. The buildings have involved large expenditure, and the expenses are heavy. For ten weeks' work a man receives not only board and lodging, but, if necessary, clothing, and a sovereign is spent on his return journey to Germany, while he is given tokens to the value of one penny and a half a night during his stay at the colony unless he misbehaves. On the other hand, the average stay is a little under eight weeks, and for the first three weeks, owing to poor condition and so on, not very much work is done. Also there is difficulty in finding a market for some articles.

Turning to Scotland we find one illustration of this type of colony, started partly as a result of "General" Booth's book on "Darkest England." The committee appointed recommended the establishment of a farm colony, and in 1897 the Scottish Labor Colony Association was formed to carry out the objects of the original Labor Centers Board. The farm of Mid Locharwoods, consisting of 490 acres of land excellently situated eight miles south of Dumfries, was purchased, 150 acres being good arable land, and the rest reclaimed or unreclaimed moss land. The moss land lies at one extremity of Lochar Moss, so that there are great possibilities of expansion in the operation of the colony. The peat is used as fuel, and the land reclaimed by liming and claying is capable of growing good crops of turnips, cabbages, carrots, and potatoes. The colonists are chiefly taken from a shelter in Glasgow and are not of the very best type. The colony receives nothing from the poor-law authorities in Scotland, who have no power to make grants for the

able-bodied, however destitute. It is therefore dependent almost entirely on voluntary subscriptions, the loss on each man being four shillings and one penny per head per week. The colony received during the year 1904 about sixty-seven men, and forty of these left with every prospect of doing well.

There are still several other colonies that need a word or two of description. Switzerland possesses two, the one for the Canton of Berne at Tannenhof, the other at Herdern, in the Canton of Thurgau. The former, established in 1889, consists of 160 acres of land, with accommodation for fifty inmates; while Herdern, established in 1895, has now about 250 acres, and can take in nearly 100 colonists. As in Germany, the great pressure comes in winter. A very considerable proportion of the colonists are between forty and sixty, and many of them for this reason alone would be unable to obtain situations, but practically no one is refused who is at all able-bodied

Other Countries

except on the score of previous expulsion for bad behavior. There is a very small wage paid at both colonies, not amounting to more than threepence or fourpence per day, but remuneration is given for the labor of the colonists chiefly in the form of clothing and boots. Nearly 50 per cent find work on leaving the colony or have it found for them by the colony authorities. The finances are furnished partly by contributions from public authorities and partly by private donations and subscriptions. The Swiss colonies make the same mistake as the German in the mixing of the various classes, in respect of which practise Sir C. Green, in his report on the Swiss Labor Colonies, makes this interesting remark: "Moreover, the fact that these colonies admit the criminal element, even with the laudable intention of reforming them and refitting them morally and materially, seems to constitute the most serious obstacle to the adoption of the system as a relief for bona-fide working men, whose only fault, or their worst, consists in their inability to find the means to earn their daily bread."

The French colony of La Chalmelle is situated in the Forêt de Traconne, about fifty miles from Paris, the nearest station being Les Essarts-la-Forêt. The colony was founded in Jan., 1892, at the instance of M. Georges Berry, and consists of about 370 acres of rather poor quality land. Since 1900 it has been possible to accommodate about fifty-five men at a time, admission being granted to those who are recommended by the directors of the night refuges in Paris. Roughly speaking, the colony, which is a municipal institution run by the Council of Paris, costs the City Council on the average about £1,800 a year, about £1,000 being received as a result of the sale of produce and in other ways. A special effort is made by the directors of the refuges through the agency of the colony, to return persons connected with agriculture once more to the soil. Some 74 per cent of those who enter the colony are connected with agriculture, chiefly country laborers who flock to Paris at the end of the harvest and vintage, and in the course of the winter find themselves stranded. The majority are between twenty and forty, so that, both in respect of occupation and of age, La Chalmelle is a much more hopeful experiment. The length of stay in the colony is not long. Out of 820 men, 436 left in less than two months, and an additional 249 in

less than four months, while of those who left 59.9 per cent obtained situations. During the year about 250 workmen come and go and half of these seem to derive very material benefit from their stay at La Chalmelle. Even with the rest much more good might be done if criminals, drunken vagabonds, and the habitués of the night refuges could be excluded or sent to another institution.

III. Colonies for Better Type of the Unemployed

Perhaps the most famous example of the type of colony that helps the unemployed is Fredericksoord, which is situated in Friesland, north-east of the Zuyder-Zee, about nine miles from Steenwyk. It is one of three, the other two being Willemsoord and Wilhelminasoord. These colonies consist of 10,000 acres of heath and sand and are now under cultivation by town-bred men, many of them over forty years of age, who have failed to get work in the town, and have, therefore, been sent out by the Society of Beneficence, which was founded in 1818 by General Van Den Bosch. The colonists are admitted on the recommendation of charitable associations and societies working in the big cities of Holland. Most of them are unskilled laborers, and very few of them have any knowledge of agricultural work. Fredericksoord, the best known of the three, has a population of 1,900, and the work on which colonists are engaged is chiefly agricultural, although it includes dairying, brick-making, mat-making, and basket work.

These three colonies receive married men with their families, as well as unmarried men. At Fredericksoord there are at least 400 families. The new men on arrival at the colony are placed on one of the five large farms, and there given work under skilled superintendence. Provided that their behavior is good they may remain on the colony all their lives, but in certain cases where a man has shown ability to learn the trade of agriculture, after a probation of at least two years, he is given a free farm of about seven acres and a half. As a rule a colonist is not capable of earning his own living until he has been something like two years in the colony, so that two years is the shortest probation possible if a man is to qualify for the position of a free farmer. Sometimes men are in the colony four or five years before they obtain this promotion. At the present moment there are about 150 free farms of from six acres and a quarter to seven acres and a half; the majority of them are in good condition. These holdings are cultivated on what is practically a life tenure. Rent is paid to the colony, which provides stock and seeds and the necessary credit. If the free farmer conducts himself well in the opinion of the director, he can hold his farm until his death, while frequently in such a case the widow is allowed to retain the holding providing that she can cultivate it herself with the aid of the members of her family. In a few cases the daughter of a free farmer who marries the son of a colonist takes over the farm, but there is no legal right to a holding under any circumstances, and a farmer might possibly be expelled without compensation for improvement. It is needless to say that such cases are very few and far between. Besides growing enough food to provide the family a free farmer will have two or three milch sheep and four or five pigs; for the rest the principal produce is

butter and potatoes. Generally speaking, the credit of the farmers is improving, and there are very few bad debts; no interest is charged on loans, but the amount due to the colony by the free farmers is steadily decreasing, being only £1,691 in 1902; the loans advanced in that year only amounted to £47 5s.

Similarly, Willemsoord, which has an area of over 5,000 acres, is doing good work in establishing these small freeholders, nearly all of whom are so occupied on their own piece of land that they have no need to work as agricultural laborers, and are, in fact, entirely self-supporting. At Willemsoord, in addition to the particular trades already mentioned, there is a certain amount of blacksmithing, tailoring, and carpentering. The colony possesses six large farms, upon which the men are taught and trained, a chosen few being drafted off, as at Fredericksoord, on to free farms.

What general conclusions may we draw? It perhaps ought to be pointed out that the colonies are not so well managed as in Germany. There is at present a noticeable lack of enterprise, and new ideas which ought to be readily entertained do not find much favor. The total population of the colonies tends to decrease, a result which may be due either to the increase of employment in the large towns like Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague, or to the growing disinclination of the unemployed to go to a colony where very few, comparatively speaking, have the chance or the opportunity of becoming independent. One point which militates against the success of the colonies is the age of the average man. If he is over forty and has not succeeded in the town, the chances are that he will not be wholly successful in the country. Then again, the colonies have, perhaps, in their desire to make both ends meet, made a mistake in encouraging the authorities to send paupers on private contracts. The number of such paupers is on the increase, which is very noticeable during the periods of severe depression or hard winter. Financially, the colonies cannot be considered altogether a failure, for if we take it for granted, as the latest figures seem to imply, that each colonist, man, woman, and child, costs the benevolent societies and other charities from £1 10s. to £2 per annum, we must at the same time admit that this is a small sum as compared with the amount that would have been expended on the same people in the town, while the result of their labor has been for their physical and moral good and the enrichment of the land.

In Germany, as long ago as 1886, the idea of Heimat-kolonisten (home colonists) was broached, and at Freiderichwilhelmsdorf, near Walsdorf, about three miles from Bremerhaven, twelve colonists were taken on the understanding that it meant permanent settlement if they proved industrious and capable. At the present time there are only four or five colonists permanently settled on farms of their own, but some forty or fifty are in the probation stage working on the farm.

Another and still more successful experiment was made in Dec., 1898, by the Executive Committee of the Town Labor Colony at Hamburg. It acquired an estate of over 900 acres at Schäferhof, in Holstein, and there seems every hope that many men who are at present working there will eventually find permanent settlement. It is perhaps worth while quoting the words of a member of the Colonies Central Board, in a speech delivered on Nov. 1, 1903:

Whereas up till now the colonies have had a constant succession of inmates who, on account of their want of strength and skill, have been hardly able to do as much as one half or one quarter of a man's work, we have in our permanently settled inmates at our home colony at Schäferhof got together a set of workmen who have, so far, done really wonderfully good work. Our home colonists, who now number 100, not only do all the agricultural work on the Schäferhof estate of over 875 acres, but also, even in the first four years, when there were many fewer colonists, they helped us to build a big cow-house to accommodate beasts, a colonists' house with cubicles for sixty men, and a splendid greenhouse, which last, indeed, they built entirely themselves. Besides this they have in the same period put 113 acres of heath and moorland into cultivation, and have macadamized a length of 2,040 yards of field roads, which they carried out in an altogether satisfactory manner, and for which they broke up about 400 cubic yards of stone. In the last two years they have planted out and tended 7,854,500 saplings for other people, and 83,000 oak, fir, apple, and pear-tree saplings for the colony.

The only colony in England which at all approximates to the Schäferhof experiment is that situated at Hollesley Bay, near Woodbridge, in Suffolk. It was offered to the Central Unemployed Committee of London by Mr. Joseph Fels on exactly the same conditions as Sumpner's Farm at Laindon was offered to the Poplar Board of Guardians, and has now been purchased with the consent of the Local Government Board for that committee under the Unemployed Workmen Act. The Hollesley Farm consists of an estate of 1,200 acres, taken over formally and legally by the committee in Feb., 1905. It was originally a colonial college, in which training and instruction in agriculture was given, and in many respects it was very well suited for colony purposes. About 500 out of the 1,300 acres are arable land, and the rest pasture, while a considerable amount is woodland and heath, part of which has already been brought under cultivation. The buildings of the college are in every way suited for this experiment, and twenty-three cottages on the estate will provide accommodation for about 300 men. There are farm-buildings and well-fitted workshops—for example, carpenter's, blacksmith's, and wheelwright's, together with a shoeing forge—and a great deal of expense will thus be avoided, while practically all the repairs that are required in such a colony could be carried out on the spot.

Three special objects are kept in view by the committee for the conduct of the colony:

- (1) The provision of special work for periods of exceptional distress.

- (2) The provision of more continuous work for men who are not only in exceptional need of employment, but who have either already lived upon the land or show a marked aptitude for country life.

- (3) The establishment of suitable men and families in agricultural or other rural industries.

In the case of No. 1, as is quite natural, the work of the selected men who are out of employment during a period of exceptional distress will not be so much agricultural as road-making, reclaiming heath land, strengthening the sea wall, brick-making, and the general repair work of the colony. All this can be done without interfering with ordinary industry.

In the case of Nos. 2 and 3, Hollesley Bay will more closely approximate to the type of colony with which we are dealing at present. Taking class No. 2, it is suggested that there should be two stages—(a) a probationary period of three months, during which the men might live in the colony buildings, their wives and children being supported in London; and (b) a second stage, providing that the period of probation proves the men to have the necessary strength and ability

for agricultural work. In this case it is proposed that the wives and children of the men shall be brought down from London, and that cottages be allotted to these families for a period of from six to nine months. Some cottages have already been built and are in occupation.

Following on this second stage in the treatment of class 2 is the definite establishment of selected men and families in agricultural or other rural industries, and it is hoped that not only may ordinary farm or market gardening situations be found for good men, but that finally some of these men may be established on small holdings in the neighborhood of the colony, and this hope would be held out to all who distinguish themselves by industry and capability. Hollesley Bay will be seen thus, supposing that these plans can be carried out, to offer the most constructive attempt yet made, either in England or on the Continent, to deal with the question of unemployed labor; and providing that the small holdings idea can be carried into effect and gradually developed upon cooperative lines, the experiment ought to result not only in the absorption of a certain class of genuine unemployed men, but also in the quickening up of rural industries.

During this last year emigration and the colony settlement idea has received considerable impetus, as a result of the report issued by Mr. Rider Haggard after a visit as government commissioner to the U. S. Mr. Rider Haggard was instructed by the English Government to investigate agricultural and industrial settlements which have been established by the Salvation Army. These settlements were established with the idea of facilitating the flow of suitable men and women from the great cities of the U. S. to the land, and the commissioner's special object was to ascertain how far an analogous system might be with advantage applied in the emigration of the urban population of the United Kingdom to different parts of the British Empire. It was also suggested that Mr. Haggard, after inspecting the settlements, should report on the possibility of such emigration to Canada, conferring with Earl Grey, the governor-general.

Mr. Haggard's report gives the result of his investigations at the Salvation Army land settlements in Colorado and California, namely, Fort Amity and Fort Romie. On the whole the two experiments seem to Mr. Haggard, who is very optimistic on the subject, to be eminently successful, and to demonstrate in the case of Fort Romie that indigent people of the agricultural laborer class can be settled upon land and there do well, and in the case of Fort Amity that such persons can even be taken from towns and yet prosper. In both cases they are nearly self-supporting, for the nominally there has been a total loss of about £10,000 on the two, Mr. Haggard attributes the loss to certain exceptional difficulties, to the high rate of interest the Salvation Army has to pay, and the charges which should not have been included.

To quote Mr. Haggard's own words:

Broadly stated, these results may be said to include the turning of a block of waste prairie land into a prosperous settlement, where a population of about 270 persons are living in happiness, health, and comfort, with a good prospect of becoming entirely independent and, in sundry instances, comparatively wealthy.

Mr. Haggard suggests that these colonies or settlements might well be established by an arrangement between the British and Canadian

Governments, and he has drawn up a scheme and given a financial estimate whereby land which the Canadian Government is willing to grant, 360 sq. m., or 240,000 acres, should be divided up between 1,500 families, or about 7,500 people. The cost of emigrating and establishing such a number in Canada he puts down roughly at £200 per family, or £300,000 in all, and he suggests that the interest on such a loan should be guaranteed by his Majesty's government, or perhaps by a combination of the two governments. He adds that the municipalities might be empowered to join in the guaranty. For the management of such a vast organization he suggests the appointment of a superintendent of land settlements, or a board representative of the Colonial Office, the Colonies, and the Treasury, whereof the superintendent would be a member. The expenses and salary of his office would be a charge on the land settlements loan.

PERCY ALDEN, M.P.

REFERENCES: See UNEMPLOYED.

LABOR COPARTNERSHIP ASSOCIATION, THE: This association, formerly known as the Labor Association, was founded at Derby, England, in the year 1884. Its object is "to bring about an organization of industry based on the principle of labor copartnership; that is to say, a system in which all those engaged shall share in the profits, capital, control, and responsibility." With this view, it seeks, first, in the cooperative movement to aid by its propaganda and advice all forms of production based on the above principle; and, second, to induce employers and employed in other businesses to adopt schemes of profit-sharing and investment tending in the same direction.

One of the first tasks of the association was to compile statistics of the copartnership societies at work at the end of 1883. It was but a meager showing of fifteen societies and a trade of £160,751, compared with 128 societies in 1906 and a trade of £3,806,156. (See COOPERATION, PRODUCTIVE.) To this growth the association has contributed by a steady propaganda of leaflets, lectures, etc. More recently, however, the association has largely diverted its activities from the formation of cooperative societies toward that of encouraging private firms to practise copartnership. In this direction its most signal success has been with the gas companies; the total amount of 7,138 workers' earnings which were capitalized by five companies reached £368,548 in June, 1906. The (London) South Metropolitan Gas Company bulked largely in the figures, Sir George Livesey being a stout supporter of the copartnership principle. Three of the employees of this company sit on the Board of Directors.

Attention has also been given by the Labor Copartnership Association to the new housing societies. (See HOUSING QUESTION.)

The Cooperative Productive Federation (*Secretary*, Mr. R. Halstead, 17 Marlborough Road, Leicester), advises with regard to trade, opening up markets, and obtaining capital, while the association continues its general propaganda work. *Secretary*, Mr. Henry Vivian, M.P., 6 Bloomsbury Square, London, W. C. HENRY VIVIAN.

LABOR DAY is a holiday in the United States for working men on the first Monday of September, usually celebrated by parades of labor organizations, addresses, picnics, etc. It

was first held in a few states in 1887, and is now a legal holiday in about half the states. In Europe, May 1 is usually celebrated as a labor festival, and has been taken advantage of by Socialists for gigantic demonstrations. In some countries disturbances on this day have caused the governments to forbid its celebration.

Thirty-six states of the union and the District of Columbia make Labor Day a legal holiday. This wide observance gives the celebration almost a national character. A Labor Day was celebrated in New York City in 1882, but not till 1887 was Labor Day made a legal holiday.

LABOR EXCHANGES (Bourses de Travail) are buildings or institutions established by the governments (municipal or state) of some countries in Europe, and particularly France and Italy, as headquarters for labor organizations and similar societies. The first Labor Exchange was started in Paris 1887, after some abortive beginnings in 1848 and under the Third Empire. In 1887, however, the Paris *Bourse de Travail* was founded and was given an annual subsidy of 150,000 francs, and an old building in the Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau. In 1892 a fine new building was provided in the Rue Château d'Eau, at a cost of 3,000,000 fr. Lit by electricity, heated and commodious, it became the headquarters of over 200 unions. It became, however, also, to a certain extent, the headquarters for socialistic and sometimes revolutionary movements, and for a while was closed by the government in 1894. Similar labor exchanges have been started in many French cities. From the first they have had Labor Registrars or Employment Bureaus connected with them, and latterly these have become important. (See PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS; BELGIUM; ITALY.)

LABOR LEAGUE, NATIONAL WOMEN'S: This is a national league established in England in 1906, to work for labor representation in connection with the Labor Party.

The purpose of the league is large, for the members engage to take an active interest in all better work. *Address:* 34 St. Thomas's Mansions Westminster Bridge, London, S. W.

LABOR PARTY, THE: The name adopted in England, in 1906, by the LABOR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE (which see) after its phenomenal success in the parliamentary election of Jan., 1906.

The Labor Party is a federation consisting of trade-unions, trades councils, Socialist societies, and local labor associations. A local labor association in any constituency is eligible for affiliation provided that the local trades council has been consulted in the first instance. Cooperative societies are also eligible. Its object is declared to be to organize and maintain a parliamentary Labor Party, with its own whips and policy; and to secure the election of candidates for whose candidatures an affiliated society has made itself financially responsible and who have been selected by a regularly convened conference in the constituency. All such candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this constitution, to abide by the decisions of the group, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labor candidates only.

The affairs of the committee of the Labor Party are transacted by an executive committee of thirteen members, of whom nine represent the trade-

unions, one the trades councils, and three the Socialist societies.

A parliamentary fund is raised in order to assist the main objects. This fund is maintained by a levy upon the affiliated societies at the rate of two pence per member per annum. According to the present arrangements the Labor Party pays 25 per cent of the election expenses of its candidates, and £200 per annum to such candidates elected to Parliament.

The seventh annual conference of the Labor Party was held in Belfast in January, 1907, under the presidency of J. J. Stephenson, and there were 347 delegates in attendance. The membership was reported at 998,538, an increase of 77,000 over the previous year. The parliamentary fund had received £5,000 in subscriptions, and £7,177 had been paid out. The net balance in hand was £4,793.

The party is practically, tho not technically, a Socialist party, and at least twenty of its representatives in Parliament are avowed Socialists, while all its other members favor most Socialist measures. The measures indorsed at the congresses include: An adult suffrage measure; national measures for dealing with unemployment; taxation of unearned increment; secular education and free meals for children; minimum wage of thirty shillings for government employees; compulsory early closing and abolition of "living in" for shop assistants; local veto on liquor traffic, and prohibition of publication of betting news.

Of the fifty Labor members in Parliament, thirty were indorsed by the Labor Representation Committee, thirteen were miners' candidates, and seven were other trade-union candidates. Of the thirty indorsed by the Labor Representation Committee, four were nominated by the Independent Labor Party only, thirteen by the Independent Labor Party and trade-unions, twelve by trade-unions only, and one by the Social Democratic Federation and a trade-union.

In February, 1906, J. Keir Hardie was elected Parliamentary Chairman of the Labor Party. It is estimated that the total Labor Party vote in 1906 was 350,643; not including the votes for Labor or other candidates unaffiliated with the Labor Party. The *Chairman* of the Labor Party executive is Walter Hudson, M.P.; its *Secretary*, J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., 28 Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S. W.

LABOR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE (now the English Labor Party): A political committee first formed in Great Britain, in 1900, by representatives of various trade-union bodies and Socialist societies, to indorse and support the candidates nominated by its constituent unions and societies.

The committee originated in a resolution adopted by the Trade-Union Congress at Plymouth, in 1899, to summon "a conference of trade-union, cooperative, socialistic, and other working-class organizations," to consider labor political representation. This conference was held Feb. 20-28, 1900, in London, attended by 129 delegates, representing societies with a membership of 568,177, of which 22,861 were Socialists and the balance trade-unionists. A Labor Representation Committee was formed with practical unanimity and has met with great success. Annual conferences have been held since, at Manchester (1901), Birmingham (1902), Newcastle-

on-Tyne (1903), Bradford (1904), Liverpool (1905), London (1906). At this last congress it was voted to adopt the name The Labor Party.

Mr. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD has been secretary of the committee from the beginning. The general election of 1900 was held before the committee was well under way, but fifteen candidates were indorsed by it and two were returned to Parliament, Richard Bell at Derby, and Keir Hardie at Merthyr Tydvil. In Aug., 1902, D. J. Shackleton was returned at a by-election in Lancashire practically unopposed. In 1903 William Crooks and A. Henderson were elected to Parliament at by-elections in Woolwich and Barnard Castle. Forty seats were also won in municipal contests. In 1904 the committee commenced paying its representatives in Parliament £200 each, raised by a penny levy on its 969,800 members. One by-election was won, and another in 1905, but both members died. In the general election of Jan., 1906, the committee indorsed fifty-three candidates and elected thirty members to Parliament, estimated to represent 331 votes. Besides these, twenty others, nominated by trade-union bodies, were elected, making a Labor group of fifty members, independent of other parties and not including fourteen other Labor members, like John Burns, W. R. Crewel, and others affiliated with the Liberal Party, and still a few other Fabian Socialists or Independents affiliated with the Liberal Party, but voting with the Labor group on many labor measures. It was this success that made the Labor Representation Committee at its 1906 congress vote to call itself The Labor Party. In 1900 the committee represented societies with 375,931 members; in 1906 the 231 societies and unions represented in the committee had 921,280 members. (See LABOR PARTY.)

LAFARGUE, PAUL: Socialist; born at Santiago, Cuba, 1842. Studying medicine in Paris, he took part in the Commune of 1871, and then fled to Spain and England, where he married a daughter of Karl Marx. In 1880, with Guesde (*q. v.*), he organized Marxist socialism in France, since which date Socialism of this type has steadily grown in France. (See FRANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Lafargue was imprisoned in 1883 and again in 1891, but was liberated on being elected to the Assembly from Lille, tho in the next election defeated. Author: "Le Matérialisme économique de Karl Marx" (1884); "Le Droit à la Paresse" (1887); "The Evolution of Property" (1891); "Le Socialisme utopique" (1892); "Cours d'économie sociale" (1884); "Le Communisme et l'Evolution économique" (1892); "Le Socialisme et la Conquête des Pouvoirs publics" (1899).

"LAISSEZ-FAIRE": The watchword of the classical individualistic political economy of Adam Smith and his school, tho it is said to have been used by a French merchant, Legendre, as early as 1680, in answer to a question by Colbert as to what should be done for industry. By 1735 the Marquis of Argenson said that *Laissez-Faire* should be the watchword of every government. (See INDIVIDUALISM; PHYSIOCRATS; SMITH, ADAM; POLITICAL ECONOMY.)

LAMENNAIS, HUGUES FÉLICITÉ ROBERT, ABBÉ DE: French reformer; born 1782 at St. Malo, France. At first skeptical, the materialism of France drove him to the Church, and he re-

ceived the tonsure in 1811, and the priesthood in 1817, becoming a teacher at St. Malo. Supporting monarchy, he attacked Napoleon, and was compelled to flee to England. Returning to France, he published his "Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion," 4 vols., 1817-20, and other works. In 1830 he founded the journal *L'Avenir*, with the motto, "God and liberty, the Pope and the people." He found many disciples, among them Lacordaire and Montalembert. De-nounced at Rome, in 1831 he went to Rome and waited seven months in vain for an audience with the Pope. His faith shaken by what he saw, he hovered between Romanism and democracy. In 1832 a papal encyclical indirectly condemned *L'Avenir*, and drove Lamennais from the Church. After living for a while in silence, he startled the world in 1834 by his burning "Les paroles d'un croyant" (The Words of a Believer). In this he declares Christianity to be love and service, and the French Church to be opposed to this. The Pope condemned this, and Lamennais answered in his "Affaire de Rome" (1836). In his "Le Livre du Peuple" (1837); "Esquisse d'une Philosophie" (1841-43); "De la Religion" (1841); "Du Passé et de l'Avenir du Peuple" (1842), he appeared as "the prophet of democracy," and of the alliance of Christianity and socialism. In 1839 he published a pamphlet, for which he was imprisoned twelve months. In 1848 he was elected to the Constituent Assembly, but after the *coup d'état* withdrew from public life and died in 1854, rejecting to the last all overtures of the Church, and was buried, in accordance with his will, in a nameless grave at Père la Chaise. His passionate belief was that religion is the root of all true progress in all aspects of life—in manners, politics, art, science, philosophy. He, like Mazzini, laid emphasis upon duties rather than rights. He asks why it is that the people have not conquered their rights and held them fast, seeing that the privileged classes are so inferior in numbers; and the reason he assigns is that while the people have in their hands that which overthrows, they have not had in their hearts that which builds up. "Do good," he writes, "by good means. Do not confound the strength wielded by justice and charity with the brute force of ferocity and violence. When fraternity shall be in the hearts of the people, it will not be long before it finds its way into their laws."

LAMPÉRIÈRE, ANNA M. J.: Formerly director of the École Normale, Paris; delegate to a number of congresses which aim at social betterment. She was born Nov. 19, 1854, at Lisieux, Calvados, Normandy, France, and early became interested in social and educational problems. In 1879 she was appointed director of the École Normale—the youngest appointee ever receiving that honor. She was a delegate to the "Congress of Social and Moral Reforms" at Chicago, 1893, being especially commissioned to investigate the "sweating system." Mme. Lampérière is still actively engaged in promoting the work of the "Groupe d'Initiative pour l'Éducation Sociale," and is particularly interested in the section for the social education of women. The articles which have come from her pen indicate sufficiently the line of her literary and practical work: "Le Patronage scolaire" (1894); "L'Éducation Sociale du Femme" (1896); "Fondation du Progrès Féminin" (1897), all in the *Temps*. She was actively engaged both with her pen and as a dele-

gate to the educational departments at the Expositions in Paris, 1900, and in St. Louis, 1903. She believes that woman is destined to take a higher place in society than she has in the past; for this purpose education along purely intellectual and general social lines is necessary, since her interests are identical with those of an advanced and enlightened society. Mme. Lampérière is the author of "Le Rôle Sociale de la Femme" (1898); Report to the Minister of Education in 1900 and 1903; and has in preparation "L'Éducation Sociale de la Femme." Address: Mme. Anna M. J. Lampérière, 46 rue de St. André-des-Arts, Paris, or "Cottage bleu," Lisieux, Calvados, France.

LAND: We consider in this article (1) the history of land tenure, in the development of modern conditions, a subject of large importance as it shows how comparatively modern is the present institution of private property in land, and how largely modern titles are based, not on justice or equity, but on robbery, extortion, and violence. (2) We notice the existing facts as to land ownership; (3) the economic and moral results of this ownership; (4) the various propositions for land reform; (5) the arguments for and against the private ownership of land.

(For fuller consideration of subsidiary points in the history of the past and the facts of the present, see PRIMITIVE PROPERTY; MARK; MANOR; MIR; COMMUNISM; FEUDALISM; MIDDLE AGES; METAYER; AGRICULTURE; FARMERS' MOVEMENT; SLUMS; TENEMENTS; MORTGAGES; WEALTH. For a discussion of the economic principles entering into the land question, see RENT; WAGES. For fuller development of the various proposals for reform on the land questions, see ANARCHISM; COMMUNISM; COOPERATIVE FARMING; LABOR COLONIES; SINGLE TAX; SOCIALISM.)

I. The Development of Modern Conditions

Land at the beginning of human history was wholly unappropriated. Each man helped himself to what he would and what he could. The world was a No Man's Land. But the preservation of life compelled the weak to seek protection by placing themselves under some strong leader. Leaders were glad to protect those who would slave for them; the rearing of the young compelled some sort of a more or less permanent habitation and defense from attack of man and of beast. Consciousness of kin and of kind drew men together; gradually property arose. Then land became appropriated, but under what forms is a matter of debate. One school of

Primitive Property

thought—led notably by Laveleye (*q. v.*)—has found in the forms of modern savage life, in the remnants and traditions of the Russian *mir*, the Javan *desa*, the Indian communal village, the Slavic communal families, the German *mark*, the Swiss *allmend*, the English *manor*, the Greek and Roman public feasts, the family communities of various out-of-the-way sections of Western Europe, evidence of a primitive communal holding of land, where little groups of men and women, perhaps patriarchal families, appropriated land collectively and tilled it for the common good. This view has been sharply criticized, notably by Fustel de Coulanges (*q. v.*). It is argued that the evidence does not prove a primitive communism but rather a primitive slavery, land being held, perhaps by tribes, but not by communal tribes; rather by despots, tyrants, bullies, who, with the aid of their minions, would seize and defend and till certain portions of the soil. Perhaps the true view is midway between these two extremes. The horde or the patriarchal family (*q. v.*) was undoubtedly the first unit that owned land; but this was probably anything but a democratic unit or a communal colony. Slave labor, the wife or wives perhaps being the first slaves, undoubtedly first tilled the soil in large and permanent ways. Babylon, Egypt, Persia, rested on slave labor, toiling for lords of the soil, who in turn followed despotic kings defended by slave armies. Out of this condition in Japan, China, and through Asia generally, a serfdom gradually developed, following in a rude way the feudal forms we best study in Europe. Japan only very recently has thrown off feudalism. Outside of civilized countries the land is yet held to-day by savage tribes, by

feudal lords or by men under despots, as in Mohammedan countries, despised and tyrannized cultivators of the soil.

It is in Greece and Rome that we find the real beginnings of individual ownership of land. In Greece, the city-State was supreme. It conquered the land and parceled out the territory among the free citizens, the assignments being tilled by slaves. Mines and some lands were held by the State, however, and worked for the State by slaves. Rome began in the same way. Two *jugera* (one acre and a quarter) were originally assigned to each household. Households were combined in *gentes* and the *gentes* in the State. The State, however, held some land, and perhaps rented some of it.

Greece and Rome

But by the time of Servius Tullius the original private portion of many households must have been greatly but unequally enlarged, for his new military organization was based on the obligation of service imposed on the freeholders (*assidui*) as distinguished from the mere laborers and breeders of children (*proletarii*).

Class distinctions based on landownership thus early began. The wealthy had their lands tilled by slaves. The poor landowners, unable to sustain themselves, hired themselves as laborers or sold themselves or their children into slavery. Finally the poorer citizens rebelled; they assembled on the Mons Sacer and threatened Rome. It was the commencement of the long struggle over agrarian laws.

The object of these laws is well illustrated in the Licinian law (387 A.U.C.). It enacted that no citizen should hold more than 500 *jugera* of the public lands; that no one should graze more than 100 oxen and 500 sheep on the common lands; and that every landowner should be obliged to employ a number of free laborers proportioned to that of his slaves.

Such laws pacified the people for the time, but had little permanent effect.

Successful wars gave a temporary outlet to labor in the formation of agricultural colonies, but at the same time immensely increased the number of slaves, who were treated as mere beasts of toil, to be worked out or sold off when no longer profitable.

Great estates tilled by slaves grew. The Gracchi demanded a distribution of the State lands among the people, but the demand was stifled in blood. Later, Julius Cæsar to an extent yielded; but it was too late. Great estates created an aristocracy. The Roman Empire grew corrupt with a few great owners of the soil in power and luxury, and the mass of the people enslaved and poor. Pliny's famous utterance sums it up: "*Latifundia perdidit Italiam*" ("Natural History" 18. 6. 7. § 35. "Great estates overthrew Italy"). Then the Goth came.

The exact connection between the Roman system and feudalism is not fully clear. The origins of feudalism itself are disputed (see FEUDALISM); but the great Roman villas, tilled by poor freedmen dependent on their lords, as well as by slaves, undoubtedly contributed at least somewhat to feudalism. Gradually under feudalism, and partly due to the Christian Church (see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM), chattel slavery disappeared in Europe, but the slaves and poor freedmen became serfs of the soil, entitled to some rights, but tied to the villa or manor, and compelled to render service to the lord of the soil. The *mark* (q. v.) had been previously the typical organization in German land tenure. It is disputed just how it was organized, but it was undoubtedly in general a tribal organization. Cicero says ("De Bell. Gall." vi.) of the Germans of his time:

No one has a fixed quantity of land or boundaries of his property, but the magistrates and chiefs every year assign to the communities and families who live together as much land and in such spots as they think suitable, and require them in the following year to remove to another allotment.

Tacitus describes it later in the same general way. Perhaps out of this organization, blending with the Roman system, came feudalism. As the Carolingian Empire arose and then dissolved, the various kings would assign different portions of their kingdom to the great barons to rule over and defend. They, in their turn, would similarly subdivide their territories, and this would produce feudalism. The system seems to have first arisen in Germany; but in England it is best studied, particularly in tracing its development into modern conditions, because in Germany various sys-

tems, as we shall see, existed side by side, while in England the development is clearer.

Alfred Russel Wallace ("Land Nationalization," pp. 22-25) has summed up in a few lines the essence of feudalism as far as land tenure is concerned, and its development into modern English landlordism. He says:

The actual system of land tenure and all existing rights of property in land in this country may be said to have originated at the Norman Conquest, when the whole land of the kingdom became vested in the crown. All the great landed estates

were then granted as fiefs by the sovereign; and their holders were obliged to render military and other service proportionate to the extent and population of their lands. These estates were also subject to various fines, on

marriage or on transmission to an heir; they were not allowed to be sold or alienated without the permission of the sovereign; and on the death of the owner without heirs the whole reverted to the crown. Any breach of fealty or the commission of any act of felony also entailed the loss of the estate. The great vassals were usually endowed with civil and criminal jurisdiction over the inhabitants of their estates, and were altogether more in the position of subordinate rulers than mere landlords in the modern sense of the term.

These immediate vassals of the crown again granted lands in fief, on various payments or services, and in process of time these fiefs were allowed to be divided or sold, and the payment or service to be commuted for fixed sums of money. . . .

The "lords of the soil" were the chiefs and protectors of the community which lived on their estates, while every individual, down to the villain and serf, possessed definite rights and privileges in connection with the land, which, tho they might be infringed by force or rapine, were fully recognized by custom and law.

But as time rolled on this system became modified in a variety of ways, tho always for the benefit of the lord, and to the injury of the inferior landholder. As the king obtained more power and the attractions of court life became greater, the nobles and great landowners came to look upon their estates chiefly as sources of revenue to be spent in the capital or in foreign lands. The employment of foreign mercenaries and the rise of standing armies enabled the king to dispense with the military service of his vassals, and by self-made laws this and other burdens on the land were gradually thrown off, and were replaced to a great extent by taxes on the mercantile and landless classes. The ingenuity of lawyers and direct landlord legislation steadily increased the powers of great landowners and encroached upon the rights of the people, till at length the monstrous doctrine arose that a landless Englishman has no right whatever to the enjoyment even of the unclosed commons and heaths and the mountain and forest wastes of his native country, but is everywhere, in the eye of the law, a trespasser whenever he ventures off a public road or pathway. The lord of the manor is said to be the "owner of the soil," and the surrounding freeholders and copyholders have certain rights of pasture, fern or turf cutting; but the dwellers in the adjacent towns and villages, and all who are mere Englishmen, have no rights whatever, so that if the two former classes agree, the common can be (as hundreds of commons have been) enclosed, and divided among them. It has thus come to pass that at the present day the owners of land, whether acquired by inheritance or purchase, treat it solely as so much property to be made the most of, quite irrespective of any rights of the people who live upon it. They now claim a power which no government, however despotic, has ever openly claimed—that of treating the land exclusively as a source of personal wealth, to which they have an indefeasible right, even at the sacrifice of all that the people who live upon the land hold most dear.

But even this does not bring out the whole situation. When the custom grew up of the baron's making a money payment to the king in place of service, it involved more than first appears. It enabled the king to hire a *standing army* rather than depend upon turbulent barons. The barons preferred it because they in turn could get money in place of service from their dependents, and so could live where they would, *escaping duties, tho maintaining income*. But this was not all. The king, wanting more money, some one suggested that he get money not only from the barons, but from their dependents. It was overlooked or ignored that the dependents were already paying the king *through the barons*, and that the barons were only entitled to payment from their dependents *as representatives of the king*. The dependents thus found themselves called upon to pay

both the king and the barons. Even this was not all. When the barons found their dependents paying the king, they said: "This money is the king's; what money comes to us is ours." The king's payment they called *tax*; their payment they called *rent*—in other words, they set up the claim to own as properties, from which they could collect rent, the lands they had been given to rule over for the king. In substantially such a process, tho disguised, often unconscious to the barons themselves, lies the genesis of the landownership of modern England.

Nor is even this all. Wars in the Middle Ages were fought by the nobility. Gradually the barons grew impoverished and needed money. The development of the Flemish wool market gave them an opportunity. Claiming to own the land, they began to enclose the commons, to evict the peasantry, and turn the land into sheepwalks.

Eden, in his "History of the Poor," gives a quotation from "A Compendious or Brief Examination of Certayne Complaints," published in 1581, which says, "these sheep is the cause of all these mischiefs, for they have driven husbandry out of the country, by the which was increased before all kinds of victuals, and now altogether sheep, sheep, sheep."

The landless class was also swollen by the evicted monks and nuns from the monasteries suppress by Henry VIII. How many of these there were can be seen when it is remembered that good authority estimates one third of the whole of England at this time to have been Church land.

Nor is the enclosure of commons by any means a practise of the past alone. It ended in that form, but later took the form of reclaiming waste land. Under the Georges, enclosure became a settled policy. Some 2,000 enclosure bills were passed before the General Enclosure Act of 1801, and about 2,000 more before the Act of 1845. Lawrence's "New System of Agriculture," published in 1726, states that "it is believed that one half part of the kingdom are commons, and a third of all of the kingdom is what we call common fields." In 1879 only 264,000 acres were common out of 32,597,398 acres.

Says S. W. Thackeray ("The Land and the Community," p. 47):

The annual report of the Enclosure Commissioners for 1867 shows that during the 150 years previous no less than 7,660,413 acres were added to the cultivated area; that is, about one third of the total of 25,451,626 acres in cultivation in that year. The commissioners remark that such enclosures, being often made without any compensation to the smaller commoners, have deprived agricultural laborers of ancient rights over the waste, and disabled the occupants of new cottages from acquiring new rights.

Nor must it be supposed that the number of landed proprietors was in any way increased by this process of enclosure. The area enclosed was divided among those, and those only, who already posset common rights by virtue of their holding freeholds or copyholds, and the very idea of recognizing in law any public interest in open wastes or forests is entirely modern. The lion's share was always reserved for the lord of the manor, and immense accessions of territory were thus secured by powerful landowners in days when the landed interest was paramount in the legislature no less than in local administration. The chief sufferers at the time were poor laborers, holding cottages at will of their landlords, who lost the privilege of turning out pigs, geese, and fowls on the common, and for whom, of course, no compensation was provided, or even thought of.

Such is the way that English land property has been developed by encroachments on the rights of the people. Not even yet does the *law* recognize full private property in English land, but in practise it is only too real.

Sir Frederick Pollock says in "English Land Laws":

It is commonly supposed that land belongs to its owner in the same sense as money or a watch; this is not the theory of English law since the Norman Conquest, nor has it been so in its full significance at any time. No absolute ownership of land is recognized by our law books, except in the crown. All lands are supposed to be held immediately or mediately of the crown, tho no rent or services may be payable and no grant from the crown on record.

Williams says ("Real Property"):

The first thing the student has to do is to get rid of the idea of absolute ownership (of land). Such an idea is quite unknown to the English law. No man is in law the absolute owner of lands (p. 16).

All landowners are merely tenants in the eye of the law (p. 55).

Says Mr. Thackeray:

The first sign of an awakening of the public mind to a consciousness of the true meaning of what was going on was in 1836, when in an enclosure act of that year it was stipulated that no enclosures should be made within ten miles of London or within corresponding distances of smaller towns. Next, in 1845, when the General Enclosure Act was passed, which applied to all "common lands," it was enacted that manorial wastes must not be enclosed without the previous sanction of Parliament. In 1852 a later act made the consent of Parliament necessary in *all* cases under the Enclosure Act.

The development of land property in other countries, so far as it differs from the English development, we consider in speaking of each country. The English theory has been copied in the main in the United States and Australasia. Wherever Englishmen have discovered land they have claimed it for the crown, and the crown has assigned it for the most part in fee simple to companies or to individual proprietors. In English colonies all land is held from the crown. Titles in the older states of the U. S. originated in this way. William Penn purchased land from the Indians, but it was assigned to proprietors by the crown, and Pennsylvania became a proprietary colony. In most of the colonies charters were given to companies, and these companies gave land to individuals. Since the Revolution the federal government has been the owner of all land not already owned by individuals, but has sold it to settlers, under the Homestead Act, for a song, or has given it to towns, states, or railroads.

II. Existing Conditions of Landownership

In the U. S., according to the census of 1900, only 64.4 per cent of the families owned homes, and only 31.8 per cent or less than one third of the families owned unmortgaged homes. In the great cities conditions are much worse. The following tables from the census give the facts:

OWNERSHIP OF HOMES

STATE OR TERRITORY	PER CENT OF FAMILIES HAVING HOMES				PER CENT OF FARM FAMILIES HAVING HOMES			
	Owned				Owned			
	Total	Free	Mortgaged	Hired	Total	Free	Mortgaged	Hired
United States	46.5	31.8	14.7	53.5	64.4	44.4	20.0	35.6
N. Atlantic div. . .	38.0	22.3	15.7	62.0	78.2	48.2	30.0	21.8
S. Atlantic div. . .	40.7	33.2	7.5	59.3	55.2	45.9	9.3	44.8
N. Central div. . .	55.7	35.3	20.4	44.3	72.3	42.2	30.1	27.7
S. Central div. . .	43.4	36.1	7.3	56.6	51.2	42.3	8.9	48.8
Western div. . . .	53.4	42.7	10.7	46.6	81.0	63.4	17.6	19.0

OWNERSHIP OF HOMES, 1890 AND 1900

KIND OF FAMILY	Number of families	PER CENT OF FAMILIES HAVING HOMES—			
		Owned			Hired
		Total	Free	Mort-gaged	
1900					
All families.....	16,187,715	46.5	31.8	14.7	53.5
Farm families.....	5,698,901	64.4	44.4	20.0	35.6
Other families.....	10,488,814	36.3	23.4	12.9	63.7
1890					
All families.....	12,690,152	47.8	34.4	13.4	52.2
Farm families.....	4,767,179	65.9	47.3	18.6	34.1
Other families.....	7,922,973	36.9	26.7	10.2	63.1

Thus from 1880 to 1900 the percentage of farms operated by owners fell from 74.5 per cent to 64.7 per cent; farms operated by cash tenants increased from 8 per cent to 13.1 per cent, and farms operated by share tenants from 17.5 per cent to 22.2 per cent.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF ACRES PER FARM

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860	1850
The United States	146.6	136.5	133.7	153.3	199.2	202.6
North Atlantic.....	96.5	95.3	97.7	104.3	108.1	112.6
South Atlantic.....	108.4	133.6	157.4	241.1	352.8	376.4
North Central.....	144.5	133.4	121.9	123.7	139.7	143.3
South Central.....	155.4	144.0	150.6	194.4	321.3	291.0
Western.....	386.1	324.1	312.9	336.4	366.9	694.9
Alaska and Hawaii..	1,142.1					

¹ No report prior to 1900.

Of this table the Census says:

For the U. S. the average size of farms decreased from 1850 until 1880, since which year it has steadily increased. . . . The increase or decrease in the average size of farms, therefore, is due to the changes incident to the adjustment of the agricultural operations of each locality to those branches of husbandry to which it is best adapted (dairy, vegetable farms, etc.). It may be said that the average area of farms tends to approximate the area from which the farmer possessing average capital can secure the largest returns

PER CENT OF FARMS BY AREAS

Census Year	Under 10	10 and under 20	20 and under 50	50 and under 100	100 and under 500	500 and under 1,000	1,000 and over
1900..	4.7	7.1	21.9	23.8	39.9	1.8	0.8
1890..	3.3	5.8	19.8	24.6	44.0	1.8	0.7
1880..	3.5	6.3	19.5	25.8	42.3	1.9	0.7

The Census says:

During the twenty years from 1880 to 1900, the number of farms for the entire country increased in every group. The greatest absolute increase was in the group of farms containing 100 and less than 500 acres, which was from 1,695,983 to 2,290,424, a gain of 594,441, or 35.0 per cent. The next largest gain was in the group containing over 20 and less than 50 acres, which showed an increase from 781,574 to 1,257,785, a gain of 476,211, or 60.9 per cent. In the group with 50 to 100 acres the increase was from 1,032,810 to 1,366,167, a gain of 333,357, or 32.3 per cent.

The number of farms containing between 20 and 50 acres decreased in the North Atlantic Division, but increased in all the others, the greatest gains being in the South Atlantic and South Central States. . . .

The Western States showed the greatest increase of any division in the number of farms containing from ten to twenty acres, which, like that in the next larger group, is incidental to the growth of irrigation. No other division reported any noteworthy change in the relative number of farms of this area.

All of the geographic divisions recorded an increased number of farms containing less than ten acres, due in part to the inclusion of small dairy farms, poultry farms, florists' establishments, and similar farms of small size not included in previous census reports, and in part to an actual increase in the number of small farms.

Very large holdings of land certainly exist in the U. S. The number of large "gentlemen's estates" is notoriously on the increase. Foreigners own large sections of land. The Texas Land Syndicate, in which the Duke of Rutland and Lord Beresford are largely interested, is said to own 3,000,000 acres in Texas. The British Land Company owns 300,000 acres in Kansas. Sir Edward Reed is said to own 1,000,000 acres in Florida, and Lady Gordon and the Marquis of Dalhousie 2,000,000 acres. It is estimated that at least 150,000,000 acres of the public domain have been stolen by large land syndicates,

RACE OR AGE OF HEAD	PER CENT OF PRIVATE FARM FAMILIES HAVING HOMES				PER CENT OF OTHER PRIVATE FAMILIES HAVING HOMES			
	Owned			Hired	Owned			Hired
	Total	Free	Mort-gaged		Total	Free	Mort-gaged	
Total.....	64.4	44.4	20.0	35.6	36.5	24.8	11.7	63.5
White.....	70.3	48.2	22.1	29.7	38.3	25.8	12.5	61.7
Negro.....	25.3	18.3	7.0	74.7	19.0	14.5	4.5	81.0
Indian.....	95.6	90.2	5.4	4.4	86.6	86.0	0.6	13.4
Mongolian.....	8.8	6.3	2.5	91.2	8.5	8.0	0.5	91.5
White—								
Native.....	68.2	48.1	20.1	31.8	39.1	27.0	12.1	60.9
Foreign-b'n.....	81.2	48.4	32.8	18.8	36.7	23.5	13.2	63.3
Total.....	64.4	44.4	20.0	35.6	36.5	24.8	11.7	63.5

In 1900 only 46.7 per cent of "private families," or less than one half of the families of our country, owned their own homes; only 32 per cent, less than one third, owned unmortgaged homes. From 1890 to 1900 the number of families owning their own homes fell from 47.8 to 46.5 per cent; mortgaged homes increased from 13.4 to 14.7 per cent. Of farm families, in 1900, 64.4 per cent owned a home and only 44 per cent an un-mortgaged home. (For cities, see CITIES.) From 1890 to 1900 the number of farm tenants increased from 34.1 per cent to 35.6 per cent.

STATE OR TERRITORY	PER CENT OF FARMS OPERATED BY—					
	Owners		Cash tenants		Share tenants	
	1900	1880	1900	1880	1900	1880
United States.....	64.7	74.5	13.1	8.0	22.2	17.5
Continental U. S.....	64.7	74.5	13.1	8.0	22.2	17.5
North Atlantic Division.....	79.2	84.0	9.8	7.0	11.0	9.0
South Atlantic Division.....	55.8	63.9	17.9	11.6	26.3	24.5
North Central Division.....	72.1	79.5	9.5	5.2	18.4	15.3
South Central Division.....	51.4	63.8	17.3	11.8	31.3	24.4
Western Division.....	83.4	86.0	7.7	5.5	8.9	8.5

or thirty states of the size of Massachusetts. Yet towards 50,000,000 people own no home at all.

GREAT BRITAIN

Land in Great Britain is probably in fewer hands than in any other country. It has been said that 710 men own one quarter of England, that seventy men own one half of Scotland, and that 13,000 men, or little more than one thirtieth of 1 per cent of the population, own two thirds of the whole United Kingdom. It was also stated that during the Victorian reign 1,225,000 persons died of starvation, 3,668,000 persons were evicted by landlords, and that from 1870-90, 1,000,000 acres of land had gone out of cultivation. In 1688 England was a nation of small properties, three fifths of the agriculturists owning land. Three centuries later scarcely one fifth own any land. In 1895 over 84 per cent of the 520,106 holdings in Great Britain were rented by the occupiers, less than 12 per cent were owned by the occupiers, and the balance were partly rented and partly owned. The following tables give the facts for 1895:

NUMBER OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS

Classification	Eng-land	Wales	Scot-land	Great Britain	Per cent of holdings Great Britain	Per cent of acreage Great Britain
Not Above 1 acre 5 acres	87,055	10,763	20,150	117,968	22.68	1.13
5 20	108,115	18,569	23,104	149,818	28.80	5.12
20 50	62,446	12,400	10,817	85,663	16.47	8.79
50 100	46,574	10,217	9,834	66,625	12.81	15.00
100 300	60,381	7,896	12,968	81,245	15.62	42.59
300 500	11,112	386	2,070	13,568	2.61	15.70
500 1,000	3,942	54	620	4,616	0.89	9.21
1,000	524	3	76	603	0.12	2.46
	380,179	60,288	79,630	520,106	100.00	100.00

PERCENTAGE

Classification	Rented	Owned by occupiers
Above 1 acre Not above 5 acres	1.12	1.16
5 20	5.15	4.93
20 50	9.00	7.57
50 100	15.57	11.52
100 300	43.99	34.17
300 500	15.38	17.65
500 1,000	8.06	16.16
1,000	1.73	6.84
	100.00	100.00

Of modern landlordism in Great Britain Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the eminent scientist, writes ("Land Nationalization," ch. v.):

In England pure landlordism is seen at its best. Its characteristics have been determined by the great and popular class of country squires and by numerous wealthy peers owning large ancestral estates, who have usually lived among their tenants, have been accustomed to treat them liberally, and have had sympathy with their pursuits and a desire for their prosperity.

Yet here landlords have been known to evict a whole village, to evict all who did not belong to the State Church, to house their tenants in damp, decaying, neglected cottages, without repairs, and to act as no government would dare, while Mr.

Wallace quotes from G. C. Brodrick in his "English Land and English Landlords," where he says:

"The landed interest of England is estimated to have received a sum exceeding the national revenue from railway companies alone *over and above the market price of the land thus sold.*" The italics are mine, to call attention to the fact that this sum of £70,000,000 or £80,000,000 paid to the landlords is a permanent injury to the community, by increasing to that extent the unproductive capital expenditure of the railway companies of the kingdom; while no class has received so much benefit from railways as the landlords, in the enormous increase given thereby to the value of their estates, so that if they had freely given the land required to construct the lines, they would still have been gainers.

Landlordism in Ireland has not been worse, tho its worst developments have been till recently more common. To-day in Ireland (*q. v.*) the tenant is better defended than in England, Scotland, or the U. S. Of the past Mr. Wallace says (ch. xiii.):

Mr. T. P. O'Connor tells us that in the four years 1849-52 there were 221,845 evictions, whole townlands being depopulated and their human inhabitants driven out to make room for cattle and sheep, as being more profitable to the landlords. . . . A report to the Poor Law Commissioners states that many occupiers were forced out of their homes at night in winter, even sick women and children not being allowed to stay in the houses till morning!

And the power to do all this, be it remembered, is a necessary consequence of unrestricted private property in land. The following account of an eye-witness is taken from a published pastoral letter of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath: "The horrid scenes that I then witnessed I must remember all my life long. The wailing of women; the screams, the terror, the consternation of children; the speechless agony of

Ireland honest, industrious men, wrung tears of grief from all who saw them. I saw the officers and men of a large police force, who were obliged to attend on the occasion, cry like children at beholding the cruel sufferings of the very people whom they would be obliged to butcher, had they offered the least resistance. . . . The landed proprietors in a circle all round—and for many miles in every direction—warned their tenantry, with threats of direct vengeance, against the humanity of extending to any of them the hospitality of a single night's shelter. Many of these poor people were unable to emigrate with their families; while at home the hand of every man was thus raised against them."

Perhaps the worst landlordism has been in Scotland. Says Mr. Wallace (ch. iv.):

Under the old system the Highland chief was a petty sovereign, who retained civil and criminal jurisdiction over his clansmen and the power of making war on other chiefs and clans. But these clansmen were never either serfs or vassals, but free men; and the clan was really a great family, all the members of which were supposed to be, and often actually were, of one blood. It was a true patriarchal system, totally distinct from the feudal system of Europe; and tho every clansman owed fealty and military service, as well as certain dues or payments, to his chief, these were given through love and duty rather than through fear, and every petty clansman held his land and his rights to pasture and wood and turf, and to hunt and fish over the mountains and lakes, by the same title as the chieftain held his more extensive lands and privileges. As well expressed by an able writer in the *Westminster Review*—"No error could be

grosser than that of viewing the chiefs as unlimited proprietors, not only of the arable land, but of the whole territory of the mountain, lake, river, and seashore, held and won during hundreds of years by the broadsword

Scotland of the clansmen. Could any MacLean admit, even in a dream, that his chief could clear Mull of all the MacLeans and replace them with Campbells; or the MacIntosh people his lands with MacDonalds, and drive away his own race, any more than Louis Napoleon could evict all the population of France and supply their place with English and German colonists!"

Yet this very power and right the English Government, in its aristocratic selfishness, bestowed upon the chiefs, when, after the great rebellion of 1745, it took away their privileges of war and criminal jurisdiction, and endeavored to assimilate them to the nobles and great landowners of England. The rights of the clansmen were entirely left out of consideration. . . . By hundreds and thousands at a time the occupiers of the soil were driven from their homes, and were many of them forced to leave the country which they had so bravely defended on many a hard-won battle-field. . . .

As to the nature and extent of this extermination Dr. Macdonald says:

"The extermination of the Highlanders has been carried on for many years as systematically and relentlessly as of the

North American Indians. . . . They were forced away from that which was near and dear to their hearts, and their patriotism was treated with contemptuous mockery."

Again: "I know a glen, now inhabited by two shepherds and two gamekeepers, which at one time sent out its thousand fighting men. And this is but one out of many that might be cited to show how the Highlands have been depopulated. Loyal, peaceable, and high-spirited peasantry have been driven from their native land—as the Jews were expelled from Spain, or the Huguenots from France—to make room for grouse, sheep, and deer. . . ."

OTHER COUNTRIES

For statistics of landownership, see each country. See also AGRICULTURE. France is the typical land of peasant proprietorship, but here only 9 per cent of her population hold agricultural land. In Austria 14 per cent hold such land, and in Russia 11 per cent, but many of these holdings are so minute as not to furnish a living to the owner. In Russia 1 per cent of the families are said to own 40 per cent of the land. In Prussia, in 1859, 22,000 nobles are said to have owned 37,900,000 acres, or nearly half the cultivated land, while the crown held 11,200,000 acres more, or five eighths of the land in the hands of 1 per cent of the people. But in the next ten years 16,700,000 acres of the lands of the nobility were broken up into farms for the peasantry. Professor Parsons, who gives these facts, presents the following table of concentration of wealth ("The Story of New Zealand," p. 737):

CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH

COUNTRY	Average area of estates (farming land), acres.	Per cent of population holding agricultural land.
United States.....	134	8
Australia.....	380	5
New Zealand.....	150	15
United Kingdom.....	390	5
France.....	32	9
Germany.....	37	5
Denmark.....	115	3
Holland.....	45	3.05
Belgium.....	18	5
Sweden.....	300	4
Norway.....	200	3.75
Austria.....	20	14
Spain.....	95	4.25
Italy.....	36	4
Russia.....	31	11

III. The Meaning of Landownership

Man is "a land animal." He cannot produce; he cannot propagate his kind; he cannot live, without land. This is patent to all. Yet it is frequently forgotten in economic discussions. Men interest themselves in this and that so-called "practical question," and overlook the fundamental fact and necessity of human life. Yet no man ever denied or can deny the absolute necessity of land to human life. John Stuart Mill begins his "Principles of Political Economy" with the words: "The requisites of production are two, labor and appropriate natural objects—i. e., land. Says Cardinal Manning:

The land question means hunger, thirst, nakedness, notice to quit, labor spent in vain, the toil of years seized upon, the breaking up of homes, the misery, sicknesses, death of parents, children, wives, the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor when legal force, like a sharp harrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital right of mankind. All this is contained in the land question.

The only misunderstanding on this point can come from a failure to realize what is meant in economic discussion by the word *land*. It means not only the earth surface of the world; it means the surface of the whole world, earth and water, all that is in the earth and in the water except man and the

Economic Value of Land

labor of man. Says Jevons ("Political Economy Primer," p. 26): "When we speak of land we really mean any source of materials, any natural agent." Economists thus use the word *land* because among all natural agents land is so far the most important that it can be used to represent all the rest. Air is equally necessary to life, but under ordinary circumstances air cannot be appropriated, and hence has no exchange or commercial value. Under those few circumstances, as in a crowded city, where air cannot be freely obtained, it has a commercial value, but it for the most part goes with the land, and may be economically considered as a part of land. Remembering, then, what is meant by land, there can be no question of the fundamental importance of land to human life, and what results must be involved in its monopolization. But before we analyze this, notice one other point. We stand to-day on the land question at a crisis in the world's history. For the first time in the history of the world all the land in the northern temperate, and, indeed, almost all in the lower temperate zone, has been appropriated. Now the northern temperate zone has been thus far the only zone which has produced the great controlling civilizations of the world. Down to the present time any persons or companies of persons desiring more land could move somewhere in the north temperate zone and find good land wholly or very nearly wholly unappropriated. From the fields and vales of Asia, early in the history of the world, gigantic nomadic tribes and hordes poured westward, to find new grazing fields in eastern Europe; later they overran Europe, founding the Greek and Roman civilizations, the early Celtic races. Still later, in the migration of the Goths, were planted the civilizations we know to-day. When this migration was substantially completed, Columbus discovered a new world, and Europe overflowed to the Atlantic coast of the American continent. Since then civilization has spread across the continent, till at last, in our day, population has reached the Pacific coast, filled all spaces, and completed the belt of the world. By irrigation and other processes some land now worthless may be reclaimed; here and there small tracts of land may yet be had almost for the asking; population in many sections is scarce; but, roughly speaking, all the land is appropriated; the U. S. public domain nearly all sold; the best land all occupied. What is left is either inferior soil or to be made useful only at unusual cost. The modern movement of the Goths is filling up our cities. The significance of this condition in the world's history cannot be overestimated.

Let us, then, now examine some of the chief results of land monopolization. Among the first results must be the dependence in all civilized countries of those who have not land upon those who have. If, as we have seen, land is necessary to production and to life, the masses in all countries must be dependent on those who own the soil. Alike under the Czar and in "free" America, plutocracy reigns and must reign, while the people are dependent on the few for the first neces-

sities of existence. Says an old Saxon proverb: "The landless man is an unfree man." Henry George says ("Social Problems," ch. xv.):

That a people can be enslaved just as effectually by making property of their lands as by making property of their bodies is a truth that conquerors in all ages have recognized, and that as society developed the strong and unscrupulous who desired to live off the labor of others have been prompt to see. The coarser form of slavery, in which each particular slave is the property of a particular owner, is only fitted for a rude state of society, and with social development entails more and more care, trouble, and expense upon the owner. But by making property of the land instead of the person, much care, supervision, and expense are saved the proprietors; and tho no particular slave is owned by a particular master, yet the one class still appropriates the labor of the other class as before.

We have abolished negro slavery in the United States. But how small is the real benefit to the slave!

But what comes of this land slavery? First, the horrors of the overcrowded city. Unable to obtain land in the country on which they can get a living, the landless, or the peasants, as in Russia, from allotments too small to support life, crowd into the great cities and produce the slums. What that means is well known. (See SLUMS.) But it has its effects on the country also. Says Mr. George (idem, ch. xxi.):

As the cities grow, unwholesomely crowding people together till they are packed in tiers, family above family, so are they unwholesomely separated in the country. The tendency, everywhere that this process of urban concentration is going on, is to make the life of the country poor and hard, and to rob it of the social stimulus and social gratifications that are so necessary to human beings. The old healthy social life of village and townland is everywhere disappearing. In England, Scotland, and Ireland the thinning out of population in the agricultural districts is as marked as is its concentration in cities and large towns.

Poverty

In Ireland, as you ride along the roads, your car-driver, if he be an old man, will point out to you spot after spot which, when he was a boy, were the sites of populous hamlets, echoing in the summer evenings with the laughter of children and the joyous sports of young people; but now utterly desolate, showing, as the only evidences of human occupation, the isolated cabins of miserable herds. In Scotland, where in such cities as Glasgow human beings are so crowded together that two thirds of the families live in a single room, where if you go through the streets of a Saturday night you will think, if you have ever seen the Terra del Fuegos, that these poor creatures might envy them; there are wide tracts once populous now given up to cattle, to grouse, and to deer—glens that once sent out their thousand fighting men now tenanted by a couple of gamekeepers. So across the Tweed, while London, Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, and Nottingham have grown, the village life of "merrie England" is all but extinct. . . .

So in the agricultural districts of our older states the same tendency may be beheld; but it is in the newest states that its fullest expression is to be found—in ranches measured by square miles, where half-savage cowboys, whose social life is confined to the excitement of the "round up" or a periodical "drunk" in a railroad town, are the only diversions; and in bonanza farms, where in the spring the eye wearies of seas of waving grain before resting on a single home—farms where the cultivators are lodged in barracks, and only the superintendent enjoys the luxury of a wife.

But out of this condition spring not only the horrors of the slums, but low wages for all wage-workers. The wage of the man at work is lowered by the competition of the man out of work. Trade-unions force up and keep up wages for a few; but a crisis comes, and in the majority of trades the workman, having no land to live on to tide himself over a hard day, is unable to keep up his dues, and the trade-union is broken up. In many unskilled trades, organization is all but impossible, because of the unemployed, who will and must compete at any price. In the U. S. organized labor includes only some 7 per cent of the persons in the U. S. engaged in gainful occupations. The main occasion of competition is the lack of opportunity upon the soil.

But the monopolization of land produces not only the extremely poor but the extremely rich.

The Unearned Increment

Men acquire a little money by work; but the great fortunes are made by investment, and often by speculation. The great sphere for investment and speculation is land. Men invest in Western mortgages, in mines, above all in city and suburban real estate. They do nothing, but their money grows. The result is *unearned increment*. Land in cities is valuable simply because it is in the midst of population. A store in New York City is worth more than a store in the country, because it has more purchasers; more people pass its windows. As the city grows in size the land rises in value. The owner of the land does nothing. He may sleep, live in luxury, gamble, idle, be an angel or a voluptuary; it matters not what he is or what he does; so long as he is a landowner his land may rise in value. Such rise in rent is *unearned increment*. It is produced, not by him, but by the community which gives the land its value. . . . On the present site of Chicago in 1816 there was not a white person, and the land was practically valueless; the census of 1890 estimates the real estate value of the city at \$1,330,000,000.

The Illinois Labor Bureau in 1895 ("Eighth Annual Report," pp. 104-253) made a careful investigation of land values in the city of Chicago. The most valuable section is known as the "South Side," and its boundaries are the Chicago River on the north and west, Twelfth Street on the south, and Lake Michigan on the east. Exclusive of streets it contains 351.42 acres. All the great stores, wholesale and retail, the high office buildings, and the great banking institutions are found within this area. Deducting 30 acres of public land owned by the nation, state, county, and cities, and 55.13 acres owned and used by the railroads, there remain 266.29 acres belonging to individuals and private corporations. This the bureau estimates to be worth \$319,000,000 for the land alone, without reckoning the improvements, worth as much more. Of this the largest holder, Marshall Field, owns \$11,000,000, and the next largest holder, Levi Z. Leiter, \$10,500,000. There are in all 1,198 owners of this \$319,000,000, of whom 18, or 1½ per cent, own \$65,000,000, or over 20 per cent of the total. Eighty-eight persons own \$136,000,000, which is nearly one half of the business center of the city of Chicago ("Report," p. 247).

According to this same report (p. 370), one quarter acre in Chicago in 1830 was worth \$20; in 1840, \$1,500; in 1850, \$17,500; in 1860, \$28,000; in 1870, \$120,000; in 1880, \$130,000; in 1890, \$900,000; in 1894, \$1,250,000.

It is by such leaps that those who bought land fifty, thirty, twenty, even ten years ago, have made fortunes without doing themselves any economically productive work.

Present conditions as to land, too, are the potent cause of innumerable moral ills. People are

Moral Evils

shocked to-day at the growing tide of social immorality, licentiousness among the wealthy, laxity among the poor. When the poor cannot get work, when they are crowded into rotting tenements, where privacy is impossible, where modesty can scarcely be, where children are compelled to grow up amid ribaldry, drunkenness and prostitution are all but inevitable. They become still more inevitable when thousands of idle young men from the luxurious classes set the example of profligacy to still more thousands of young men of the lower and middle classes. Other moral evils arise. The opportunities to make wealth by land investment develop the love of speculation, and in unexpected circles, even among women. Honest labor becomes despised. Life in the great cities becomes among the poor a desperate scramble for existence; among the wealthy a debasing struggle to grow more wealthy without work.

From these moral evils result political evils. When the many are poor and the few are rich; when the corporations need votes and the professional politicians need money, political purity becomes scarce. The greatest steals, too, from the national government have been land steals on the part of railroads through land grants on conditions never fulfilled; land steals on the part of great syndicates under the cover of homestead laws. Great estates and great fortunes are slaying democracy in America. Such are some of the results of the present conditions of land monopoly among all civilized peoples.

IV. Land Reforms

1. Some would seek reform by increasing the number who own small land holdings. The classic argument for this view is John Stuart Mill's. In his "Principles of Political Economy" he devotes many pages to collecting testimony to show the advantages of peasant proprietorship. Among many other workers, he quotes Sismondi as saying ("Studies in Political Economy," Essay iii.):

Wherever we find peasant proprietors, we also find the comfort, security, confidence in the future, and independence which assure at once happiness and virtue. The peasant who with his children does all the work of his little inheritance, who pays no rent to any one above him, nor wages to any one below, who regulates his production by his consumption, who eats his own corn, drinks his own wine, is clothed in his own hemp and wool, cares little for the prices of the market; for he has little to sell and little to buy, and is never ruined by revulsions of trade. Of all cultivators he is the happiest, and at the same time the land nowhere occupies, and feeds amply without becoming exhausted, so many inhabitants as where they are proprietors. Finally, of all cultivators the peasant proprietor is the one who gives most encouragement to commerce and manufactures, because he is the richest.

Arthur Young is quoted as saying ("Travels in France, 1787-89," vol. i., p. 88, and vol. ii., p. 51):

"The magic of *property* turns sand to gold." And again, "Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert."

Considerations such as these have induced many European economists, except perhaps in England, to believe that in peasant proprietorship or the owning of the land in small holdings lies the solution of the land question.

Those who would meet the land problem in this way look for reform to the abolition of all laws or customs, as in England, of entail, or any expedient for keeping large estates in one family. They seek laws facilitating land transfer; they hope for cooperative agriculture (*q. v.*). In the cities and industrial communities their main reliance is building associations, enabling the workman to buy a home.

The objections to this view are very great. No one who knows the present condition of the peasant proprietors in continental Europe believes them much if any more prosperous than the agricultural classes of England under a system of landlordism. In Russia, the peasant proprietors cannot live. (For France, see AGRICULTURE.)

The majority of English economists therefore have preferred:

2. The system of the ownership of the soil in large properties and the renting of it to tenants, protected, however, by laws of tenant-right, etc. The small owner cannot apply capital to land. Small farming is uneconomic farming. If this

was so in the past, it is particularly so to-day. Marshall says ("Economics of Industry," Book I., ch. ix.):

Recent events (1885) have again increased the difficulties against which peasant proprietors have had to contend. Great importations of grain and meat from new countries have lowered prices, but the burden of the fall has been borne in England chiefly by the landlords and farmers. The laborers have on the average at least as much of the necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life as at any previous time; and this in spite of the fact that many of the ablest and strongest of them have migrated to the towns or to new countries. But the peasant proprietors, particularly of arable land, have nothing to shield them from the full effects of the fall in prices. Many of them have lost nearly all their little margin of savings and not a few are in debt. Even those who are in outward appearance prosperous frequently work harder and live more sparsely than the English laborers.

Mr. D. A. Wells says ("Recent Economic Changes," p. 461) "that the only possible future for agriculture, prosecuted for the sake of producing the great staples of food, is to be found in large farms, worked with ample capital, especially in the form of machinery, and with labor organized somewhat after the factory system, is coming to be the opinion of many of the best authorities both in the United States and Europe."

The day of the small farmer under the present industrial system seems over. He cannot compete with bonanza farms tilled and worked with expensive machinery, well stocked, etc. Under the present system of landownership the future means large farms owned by capitalists, with the mass of the people as their tenants. This is the ideal of the second class of those who look for reform without radical change. They say, let the world copy England. Let there be large estates owned by rich capitalists, perhaps by syndicates; let them be worked by tenants, protected by the law, well paid, and prosperous.

But this view will not endure. For better or for worse, democracy has the future. Even in England to-day, where this system has been carried farthest, where the landed aristocracy furnishes undoubtedly the best landlords of the world—even in England, step by step, democracy is replacing the landlord's power. Above all, as we shall in a moment see, is the sense of justice demanding to-day that the land be for all, and not be monopolized by the few. We come, therefore, to consider radical proposals for land reform.

3. Undoubtedly most distinctively land reformers advocate the plan of the *single tax*, prominently advocated in Mr. Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." For a full consideration

The Single Tax

of this proposition, see SINGLE TAX; we simply outline it here. It proposes that an annual tax should be put on all land equal to the full rental value of the land *apart from improvements*. This would leave in the landowner's hand, untaxed, all the improvements or labor he has put on the land, but tax away from him into the hands of the State for the equitable good of the community all natural land value. No titles need be changed in this way; no labor would be discouraged; the results of no labor would be taken, but the value of the land itself, which no individual has created, and which equity demands should belong to all, would be taken for all. Especially in cities, where enormous values have been created by the presence of the community, would the value of the land be taken for the community which created it. The results of this plan would be to kill landlordism without discouraging honest labor. This would be the case because land, being taxed its full rental value, only those would hold land who got something out of it more than its rental value, and

this could only be done by putting value into it. The landlord would be taxed out of existence; those who by useful labor put value into the land could alone be its owners.

It is one of the best features of the system, that it could be brought in gradually by simply raising the rate of land taxes every few years, till finally they equal the whole rental value. This process is now actually going on in Australasia.

Nor would the system bring hardship on small farmers and the holders of small lots, because it would bring so much money into the State that there would need to be no other tax; it would be a *single tax*. It would abolish all the direct and indirect taxes which to-day press upon the consumers of the land. In free-trade countries it would make unnecessary all other direct taxes, and in protective countries it would do away with all those protective tariffs which raise the price of all the commodities the poor have to buy. (For a full discussion of this, see *SINGLE TAX*.)

Nor would it, too, necessitate the socialistic expansion of the State. Placing one tax, and that the easiest to collect, in place of all, and opening up land so that every man could have opportunity to work, it could largely reduce the machinery of the State, giving democratic freedom and opportunity to all.

The supreme argument, however, for the proposition is that it would conform to the strictest justice by placing all on an exact natural equality in all but their own abilities. Those who held the best land would have to pay for it the exact amount of its superiority to other land, because all would pay the whole rental value. Each man would then get exactly according to his ability. Such is the argument.

4. We come next to consider a proposition akin to this and yet very different—that of the anarchists, or extreme individualists, who would do away with all government and all taxation, establishing a so-called system of "free land," or land to belong to those who can use it and defend it, either by personal defense or by cooperating to defend each other's land.

5. At the opposite extremes from this lie the various proposals of communists, nationalists,

Socialist View

Socialists, land nationalizers, who would vest all title in the community and have the land owned and operated by cooperative commonwealths.

This would mean, of course, socialism with all that that entails. It is utterly different from the proposition of the single tax. The single tax would diminish the sphere of the State; socialism would exalt the State. We here only state the various propositions, leaving them to be discusst under their various heads.

V. Argument For and Against Private Property in Land

The argument for private ownership of the land may be divided into two: the argument from expediency and the argument from justice.

Arguments for Private Ownership

Most economists to-day argue from expediency. They maintain that the argument from justice is so uncertain and the theory of natural rights so open to debate that it can settle nothing. One man declares

this to be just, another that; the argument from expediency they consider the only one we can appeal to, and this the opponents of land

nationalization, or of the single tax, declare to be strongly in favor of the private ownership of land. John Stuart Mill, who later converted to a theory of land nationalization coupled with a scheme for compensating landlords, and still later (see *MILL*) converted to the belief that the single tax was the best way in which to realize the equal right in the value of his soil, in his earlier works made a strong plea from expediency for individual ownership of the soil. He says ("Dissertations and Discussions," vol. v.):

The great majority of mankind will work much harder and make much greater pecuniary sacrifices for themselves and their immediate descendants than for the public. In order, therefore, to give the greatest encouragement to production, it has been thought right that individuals should have an exclusive property in land, so that they may have the most possible to gain by making the land as productive as they can, and may be in no danger of being hindered from doing so by the interference of any one else. This is the reason usually assigned for allowing the land to be private property, and it is the best reason that can be given.

Later economists dwell on the claim that any radical change in land tenures could not safely, if it could justly, be enacted without compensation, and that with compensation the change would be of doubtful worth to the community.

Professor Hadley ("Economics," 1896, p. 472) may be quoted as representative of this view. He says:

The principle that private property must not be taken without compensation is no mere accidental phrase let fall by courts or constitution makers. It is an axiom of political science. If the progress of society renders the abolition of an institution necessary, compensation follows as a matter of course. . . . This is the critical weakness in land nationalization plans, like that with which John Stuart Mill's name was identified. The advocates of this plan proposed that England should buy out the landowners and appropriate the future gain in value. No fault could be found with the equity of this proposal. But as a fiscal measure it was radically defective. Leaving out of account the inevitable losses due to a scheme of quasi-compulsory purchase, the scheme must have ended in disaster, because the lands which it was proposed to buy have fallen in value instead of rising. . . . These arguments do not militate against reforms in taxation, which shall carry us in the general direction indicated by the single-tax theory. Wagner, after an investigation of the subject whose thoroughness is worthy of the highest praise whether we can accept his conclusions or not, is inclined to look with favor on public appropriation of future increments in the value of city real estate as distinct from agricultural land. Without going so far as Wagner, most economists would be willing to agree that more taxes should be assessed upon economic rent and less upon improvements.

Professor Sidgwick, writing from the standpoint of "utilitarian individualism," puts substantially the same view in other words when he says ("Elements of Politics," chap. v.):

If it is granted, as I should grant, that the landless members of the community have a legitimate claim to the compensation for the opportunities of applying labor to land from which they are excluded by its appropriation, then the question as to the manner in which this compensation is to be taken can only be decided, I conceive, by a careful balance of expediences. On the one hand, it is for the general good that the individual cultivator's energy and enterprise should be encouraged as much as possible, and complete ownership is the most simple and effective way of encouraging it; on the other hand, it seems probable that the prospective increase of value, accruing independently of the owner's energy and enterprise, will not be adequately represented in the sum received for the land, so that the compensation thus directly secured to future generations for the opportunities from which they are excluded is not likely to be adequate. In practically deciding the question we have to take into account considerations that do not fall within the scope of the present discussion, since we cannot but be partly influenced by the moral and intellectual qualities likely to be possessed by the government that, if the system of leases be adopted, would have the delicate task of artificially providing for the lessee that encouragement of industry and thrift which the system of private ownership gives him naturally.

This is the view probably held by most professorial economists to-day. The more popular

argument from expediency claims that the whole history of the world shows that civilization, prosperity, and progress have gone with private property in land, and that to subvert this institution would be to revert to barbarism and discourage thrift and industry. This argument is undoubtedly the main popular argument on this side. It is repeated by its supporters over and over again, and in a thousand forms. Mr. J. C. Spence, in a tract on "Property in Land," published by the Liberty and Property Defense League, says:

The whole history of agriculture might be claimed as evidence that land held in common by a tribe or a people can never be put to its best uses; that fixity of tenure is essential to improvement, and that no tenure is so perfect as absolute ownership. The fact that manufactures and commerce prosper best where least hampered by State interference indicates that the proper treatment of the land question is the abolition of all artificial restrictions on its absolute ownership.

But the supporters of private property in land do not only argue from expediency, they also argue from justice. Mr. Herbert Spencer, who, in his "Social Statics," written in 1851, declared that equity "does not permit property in land," in his "Justice" (1891) says that tho this be true, nevertheless, the State having long allowed the claims of the landowners, to tax away or to legislate away the value of their lands would be unjust, while to compensate them would cost more than it is worth; and that even if titles to land do ultimately rest on robbery and injustice in the original ownership, the landless to-day cannot be shown to represent those from whom the land was originally taken.

Another form of the argument that land nationalization or even the system of the single tax would be unjust is the claim that the value of land to-day, even in the cities, does not come from the mere natural sources or even from the mere growth of the community, but to a very large extent at least from the labor, the industry, the wit and invention of landowners, and that hence to legislate or tax away land values would rob the landowners of the results of their labors and their fathers', and hence both be unjust and inexpedient in discouraging industry and progress. In the *Political Science Quarterly* (vol. vi., pp. 625-634) Mr. C. B. Spahr argues that land in New York City is worth *per family* \$4,000; in Ohio, \$2,000; and in Mississippi, \$400; and that therefore the value of the land cannot be measured merely by the number of people on it, but does depend very largely on the improvement of the land. The pouring of Hungarians and Italians into certain portions of New York City does not raise, but lowers the value of land in that vicinity. Therefore land values come not merely from population or economic rent, but from the use made of the soil, from the activities of the city; to tax land values to the full would therefore tax and discourage those whose energy and improvements have largely, tho it is admitted not wholly, made land valuable to-day. Mr. Edward Atkinson follows the same line of argument (Single Tax discussion before the American Social Association, Sept. 5, 1890) when he says:

Put two men of different capacity on land of the same quality, and on the same crop one will get a large rent, the other will barely get a subsistence. Deal with two lots of land in the same city; put a good building on one and a poor building on the other; one will yield a large rent, the other no rent at all. It is neither the quality of the land nor the possession of the land which governs the income; it is the labor and capital applied to the land, and, more than all, the mental

capacity (i. e., the mental faculty), which is the prime factor in all production. Land itself possesses no value. The price paid for it is paid for the choice of lots.

Economic rent is a mere hypothesis based on the supposed action of an economic man, like whom no man ever existed. It is not a working theory, and may be safely disregarded in the consideration of the subject with which we are now attempting to deal.

This argument thus claims that the value of the land of old countries like England, great centers like New York City, rich farming communities like Ohio, depends not primarily on growth of population or fertility of soil, but on what the owners of the soil have done and are doing, so that to take the value would be unjust and unwise. Such are the main arguments against all forms of land nationalization or a single tax.

To this it must be answered, first, that few if any radical land reformers propose to-day to compensate taxed landowners. They argue that if it be true that equity does not permit property in land, injustice does not become justice by lapse of time, and that therefore the landowners have no equity in the land. They ask with Mr. Spencer himself, against his own later views: "How long does it take for what was originally a wrong to grow into a right?" Land reformers, however, do not propose suddenly to tax or legislate away landed property. They propose to do it gradually and with full warning by gradually raising the tax slightly every few years, so giving present proprietors full warning to prepare for the new conditions. This does away with the whole argument that land nationalization with compensation would not pay. Even the economists quoted above favor increased taxation of land values.

As for the argument from expediency, land reformers quote all the evils we have shown above to prove the inexpediency of private property in land. A single tax would preserve all the good points in the present system and do away only with its wrongs. The real user of the soil, so long as he used it productively, would, under the single tax—and the Socialists claim under socialism—have security of tenure. It would give all the spur to honest labor now given by private capital. It is rent only that would be destroyed.

The main argument against private landownership is its absolute injustice, as declared by Mr. Spencer himself, and by an overwhelming consensus of the deepest thinkers of all ages. Granted that the owners of the soil have contributed to human advance, they have had vastly more opportunity to do so. Put the children of the slums, *from their birth*, under the conditions of the land aristocracy of England, and who will say whether they might not have done at least as much. (See HEREDITY; ENVIRONMENT.) As it is, the poor, the landless, have at least equaled the land class in making the inventions and progress of the world. All that justice asks is equal opportunity for all and it is absolutely certain that this cannot possibly be where millions are deferred from access to the land.

7. We close this article by quoting the opinions of some thinkers whose weight and honesty of utterance are beyond question:

Herbert Spencer (in 1851; for his later view, see above): "Equity does not permit property in land. For if one portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual, held for his sole use and benefit, as a thing to which he has an exclusive right, then other portions of its

surface may be so held, and our planet must then lapse into private hands. It follows that if the landowners have a valid right to its surface, all who are not landowners have no right at all to its surface" ("Social Statics").

"Briefly reviewing the argument, we see that the right of each man to the use of the earth, limited only by the like rights of his fellow men, is immediately deducible from the law of equal freedom. We see that the maintenance of this right necessarily forbids private property in land. On examination all existing titles to such property turn out to be invalid; those founded on reclamation inclusive. It appears that not even an equal apportionment of the earth among its present inhabitants could generate a legitimate proprietorship. We find that if pushed to its ultimate consequences a claim to exclusive possession of the soil involves a landowning despotism. We further find that such a claim is constantly denied by the enactments of our legislature. And we find, lastly, that the theory of the coheirship of all men to the soil is consistent with the highest civilization; and that, however difficult it may be to embody that theory in fact, equity sternly commands it to be done" ("Social Statics").

There is reason to suspect that the inhabited area, which cannot be produced by labor, will eventually be distinguished as something which may not be privately possessed" ("Letter to the *Times*," Nov., 1889).

Emile de Laveleye ("Primitive Property"): "The general principles of jurists commend the universal custom of primitive nations, which reserved to the tribe the collective ownership of the soil."

Bishop Nulty: "The land of every country is the common property of the people of that country."

Richard Cobden: "I warn ministers, and I warn landowners and the aristocracy of this country, against forcing upon the attention of the middle and industrial classes the subject of taxation. For great as I believe the grievance of the protective system, mighty as I consider the fraud and injustice of the corn laws, I verily believe, if you were to bring forward the history of taxation in this country for the last one hundred and fifty years, you will find as black a record against the landowners as even in the corn law itself. I warn them against ripping up the subject of taxation. If they want another league at the death of this one, if they want another organization and a motive, then let them force the middle and industrial classes to understand how they have been cheated, robbed, and bamboozled."

Grant Allen (*Contemporary Review*, May, 1889): "Not one solitary square inch of English soil remains unclaimed on which the landless citizen can legally lay his head, without paying tax and toll to somebody; in other words, without giving a part of his own labor, or the product of his labor, to one of the squatting and tabooing class (the landlords), in exchange for their permission (which they can withhold if they choose) merely to go on existing upon the ground which was originally common to all alike, and has been unjustly seized upon (through what particular process matters little) by the ancestors or predecessors of the present monopolists."

Opinions

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Mr. Gladstone ("Speech at West Calder," Nov. 27, 1879): "Those persons who possess large portions of the earth's space are not altogether in the same position as the possessors of mere personality. Personality does not impose limitations on the action and industry of man and the well-being of the community as possession of land does, and therefore I freely own that compulsory expropriation is a thing which is admissible, and even sound in principle."

("Speech at Hawarden," Oct., 1889): "I fully admit this—I stated it long ago in Midlothian, and I say it now without the slightest doubt—that if the time came when the British nation found that the land should be nationalized, and it would be wise to do it, they have a perfect right to do it."

Thomas Carlyle: "The notion of selling for certain bits of metal the Iliad of Homer, how much more, the land of the world Creator, is a ridiculous impossibility."

J. A. Froude: "Under the feudal system the proprietor was the crown, as representing the nation; while the subordinate tenures were held with duties attached to them, and were liable, on non-fulfilment, to forfeiture."

"Land never was private property in that personal sense in which we speak of a thing as our own, with which we may do as we please."

"Land, properly speaking, cannot be owned by any man. It belongs to all the human race."

Frederic Harrison ("Lecture to the Edinburgh Philosophic Institution," Jan., 1884): "They must be ready to act on the ancient principle of the English law, that the nation was the ultimate owner of the soil."

Rousseau ("Discours sur l'Origine de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes," 1753): "The first man who, having enclosed a plot of ground, took upon himself to say, 'This is mine,' and found people silly enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. How many crimes, how many wars, how many murders, how much misery and horror, would have been spared the human race if some one, tearing up the fence and filling in the ditch, had cried out to his fellows: 'Give no heed to this impostor; you are lost if you forget that the produce belongs to all, the land to none!'"

Prof. F. W. Newman: "The history of the gradual, stealthy, but really nefarious revolution, in which landlords, by their own legislative power and their influence over lawyers, changed themselves into landowners needs to be popularized."

Sir Henry Maine ("Village Communities"): "The terrible problem of pauperism began to press on English statesmen as soon as the old English cultivating groups (in which land was collectively, and not privately, owned) began distinctly to fall to pieces."

John Ruskin ("Time and Tide"): "Bodies of men, land, water, and air are the principle of those things which are not, and which it is criminal to consider as, personal or exchangeable property."

The Right Hon. John Morley ("Interview at Newcastle," Nov., 1889): "I have always thought our forefathers made a great mistake when they did not reserve the minerals to the nation."

("Speech in the House of Commons," May 6, 1890): "The question of the unearned increment will have to be faced. It is unendurable that great increments which have been formed by the industry of others should be absorbed by people who have contributed nothing to that increase."

Sir William Blackstone ("Commentaries"): "Accurately and strictly speaking, there is no foundation in nature or in natural law why a set of words on parchment should convey the dominion of land."

Ralph Waldo Emerson: "While another man has no land, my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once vitiated."

Judge Hughes ("Speech at Church Congress," 1888): "The first thing which the democracy will write upon the slate will be the nationalization of the land."

Alfred Russel Wallace ("Malay Archipelago," 1868): "We permit absolute possession of the soil of our country with no legal rights of existence on the soil to the vast majority who do not possess it. A great landholder may legally convert his whole property into a forest or hunting ground, and expel every human being who has hitherto lived upon it. In a thickly populated country like England, where almost every acre has its owner and occupier, this is a power of legally destroying his fellow creatures; and that such a power should exist, and be exercised by individuals, in however small a degree, indicates that as regards true social science we are still in a state of barbarism."

Adam Smith ("Wealth of Nations"): "The rent of land, therefore, considered as the price paid for the use of the land, is naturally a monopoly price. It is not at all proportional to what the landlord may have laid out upon the improvement of the land, or to what he can afford to take; but to what the farmer can afford to give."

John Stuart Mill ("Principles of Political Economy"): "The essential principle of property being to assure to persons what they have produced by their labor and accumulated by their abstinence, this principle cannot apply to what is not the produce of labor, the raw material of the earth." "No man made the land; it is the original inheritance of the whole species." "The land of every country belongs to the people of that country."

General Francis Walker ("First Lessons in Political Economy"): "It certainly is true that any increase in the rental value or selling value of land is due not to the exertions and sacrifices of the owners of the land, but to the exertions and sacrifices of the community. It is certainly true that economic rent tends to increase with the growth of wealth and population, and that thus a larger and larger share of the product of industry tends to pass into the hands of the owners of land, not because they have done more for society, but because society has greater need of that which they control."

Prof. Alfred Marshall ("Principles of Economics"): "All writers on economics are compelled to make a distinction between land and other things."

REFERENCES: For the history of land tenures, see De Laveleye's *Primitive Property*; Maine's *Early History of Institutions*; Fustel de Coulange's *Origin of Property in Land* (tr.); S. W. Thackeray's *The Land and the Community*; J. S. Mill's *Political Economy* (chaps. on land). For the various views to-day as to land, see F. A. Walker's *Land and Its Rent*, 1883; Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* and other writings; A. R. Wallace's *Land Nationalization*; Henry George, Jr., *The Menace of Privilege* (1905); W. H. Dawson, *The Unearned Increment* (1890); T. G. Shearman, *Natural Taxation* (1895); W. H. Malloch, *Progress from Property*; John Rae, *Contemporary Socialism* (3d ed., chap. xii.); G. L. Bolen, *Getting a Living* (chap. i.); *Political Science Quarterly*, vi., 625; *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (v., 357 and 494, and vii., 433).

LAND BANKS. See BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS; COOPERATIVE BANKS.

LAND LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION: This society is the successor of the Land Tenure Reform Association, founded more than thirty years ago, of which John Stuart Mill was president. It comprises two associations: The Leasehold

Enfranchisement Association, founded in 1883, and the Free Land League, founded in 1885. An amalgamation of these two bodies took place in 1896. In 1897 an investigation was undertaken into the condition of the cottages in the villages of England and Wales. The association holds conferences and issues tracts. *President*, Sir Walter Foster, M.P.; *Organizing Secretary*, C. E. Hecht, 21 John Street, Adelphi, London, W. C.

LAND NATIONALIZATION: The substitution of national for private ownership of land is a scheme of general economic and social reform. It is not merely a sectional change or remedy for a particular grievance, but is claimed as a measure of wide, even universal, significance. It is primarily an economic reform, securing a more equitable distribution and an increased production of wealth. Attainment of this end implies solution of the chief modern social problems.

According to the land nationalization theory, the evils popularly attributed to competition are really due to competition in connection with a faulty system of land tenure. Private ownership, the basis of the land systems of the countries otherwise most advanced, is unsuited to modern conditions. It is inconsistent with the best use of land, as it imposes public burdens upon those who carry on the work of the world, while exempting those who merely charge for the use of natural opportunities; and it especially favors those who keep land wholly or partially idle, impeding present production for possible future gain to themselves. This system is regarded as the chief cause of difficulty in obtaining remunerative employment. That there should be a floating body of unemployed, tending to become unemployable, is unnatural and perplexing in the present stage of knowledge and mechanical efficiency. Private ownership of land, thus directly injurious to labor, is also obstructive to the most profitable employment of capital—using the term in its proper significance as an aid to production.

Advocates of land nationalization hold that the only satisfactory course is to abolish private ownership, all land becoming vested in the community, as represented by the State. (The character of the State will be materially altered in consequence, in the direction of conformity with the common welfare.)

All persons occupying land would do so as state tenants, with security of possession subject to payment of the annual value. This, like all values, would still depend upon competition, the business of officials being to estimate its amount.

The character of competition for land would alter; no person would have any inducement to take more than he required for use, to hold for a possible rise in value. The tendency would be to take the least quantity convenient, instead of, as now, the most he can get. (The advantage in a "new" settlement is easily realized.) The objection of a possible "corner" in land has been suggested; but any combination to render it scarce would raise values against itself as much as against others.

The change proposed is obviously a great movement toward equality of opportunity, though its full significance is only grasped by study and examination.

It appears late in the history of civilization to devise a land system upon scientific principles; this is probably because of the complex and elusive nature of economic problems. So the reforms advocated have hitherto been chiefly based upon private ownership—itsself the cause of the need for reform.

The ideal of reformers was long that of widely diffused private ownership, which naturally appeals to an energetic people suffering through "great estates." It is advisable to slightly compare land nationalization proposals with the ideals which they are displacing; but a thorough comparison would occupy much space.

At its best, small ownership has a tendency to render a nation non-progressive. Even regarded as a system it lacks stability. The small owner is tempted to mortgage, to obtain more working capital, and even, with the same object, to sell his property and continue in occupation as tenant. This is rendered possible because land fetches a higher price than other investments yielding the same income. It is for many reasons a favorite investment. It confers power and social distinction (particularly in Great Britain); its owners form an influential class, successful in obtaining privileges, including exemption from taxation; and there is always hope of increase in value. It becomes preeminently an investment for the rich; the relationship of landlord and tenant is assured, and its persistent development leads its advocates to claim it as the natural order, while its opponents are driven to artificial means of promoting subdivision.

Systems based upon private ownership, however subdivided, of land, have the evident defect that the idle or improvident may sell their interest and live temporarily on the proceeds. Thus there is a reversion to inequality, a tendency to establish an idle wealthy and an idle pauper class, both supported by others. Legislation restricting sale or mortgage, or guaranteeing possession of the homestead, creates new difficulties and frauds.

Under land nationalization these difficulties simply do not arise; the occupier has no salable interest other than in improvements, yet is placed in a better position, where it becomes easier to do right and less tempting to do wrong.

Land nationalization cannot properly be defined as either Socialist or individualist. With the ideal expressed by "the utmost freedom for every one, consistent with not infringing the equal freedom of others," land nationalization is completely in accord. Although liberalism, the political expression of the idea of equal freedom, long favored private ownership, tempered by diffusion, it was rather as an expedient than an ideal, no better plan being recognized as practical. Failure of this system in working is responsible for most of the attacks upon liberalism and individualism, with special reference to what has been called the "Manchester School of Political Economy."

Through the influence of Henry George and others, the subject is now better understood; the liberal attitude with regard to land has become modified, and is still progressing. "Free Trade in Land" (freedom to buy and sell) has declined, and land nationalization principles, expounded by the great individualist philosopher, Herbert

Peasant
Proprietor-
ship

Scope
and Aims

Socialist
or Individ-
ualist?

Spencer, in "Social Statics," have gained acceptance.¹

Though land nationalization is not essentially socialistic, Socialists advocate it as part of their program, it being fully recognized that their other proposals would be useless without it. Yet many Socialists could hardly be called land nationalizers, they having little idea of the probable working of the system, or belief in social improvement short of complete state organization of industry.

Land nationalization leaves untouched the question of competitive *versus* state industry. It permits the best working of both systems, and facilitates such changes between the two as may be found expedient, thus favoring the evolution of a "mixed" organization, such as will probably best suit human needs.

GEO. CROSOER.

LAND NATIONALIZATION SOCIETY, THE:

The society was founded in 1881, as a result of the book "Land Nationalisation: its Necessity and Its Aims," by Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, well known as contemporary with Darwin in connection with the doctrine of natural selection, and author of several popular works. By a coincidence he was also contemporary with Henry George in important work in social science. He showed that private ownership of land was contrary to justice and expediency. He advocated compulsory State purchase, with preference for payment by terminable annuities, thus striking at the custom of perpetual bequest, which he had long regarded as mischievous.

The influence of Henry George's views caused a division in the movement, some persons favoring taxation of land values but opposing direct compensation.

For many years the society did much to popularize the idea of public ownership, at first without much support from practical politicians. They regarded its policy with timidity. The value of the land of Great Britain is an unknown quantity; there is no annual taxation of land values, and no separate valuation. Unoccupied land is not assessed, and occupied land chiefly in proportion to improvements. There was a fear of purchase at inflated prices, leading to increased taxation. The enormous prices obtained for public purchases of land under compulsion acted as a warning against larger operations; though one merit of land nationalization proposals is that they can be effected by instalments. But attention began to be given to the principle of imposing moderate taxation upon the value of land as *declared by owners*, such value being taken as the price at which the State might purchase if it desired; this tending to secure correct returns. A bill embodying this principle was introduced into Parliament by Mr. J. W. Logan in 1904, and by Dr. MacNamara in 1905 and 1906; but, with the drawback of not being a government measure, it has not become law, though well supported. Whereas, a few years ago, it was difficult to get members of Parliament to support the principle of public ownership, there are now seventy who are vice-presidents of the society, and many others who favor its proposals. A "Public Land-ownership Committee" has just been formed (June, 1906) in the House of Commons in support

of the movement and to watch other legislation in its interest. There are already 120 members. It is not intended to exaggerate the progress of the movement, and it must be admitted that many of its supporters do not realize the indirect benefits involved in it, and do not necessarily give it the first place as regards its importance. Further, the Land Nationalization Society's income has seldom reached £1,000, a very small amount for what has been done, and especially for what needs doing. In these matters, however, improvement may reasonably be expected.

The principle of national ownership of land is embodied in an important (government) measure, the Small Holdings Bill, now (July, 1907) before Parliament. This proposes to give local authorities power to purchase land by compulsion, to retain the ownership of such land, to expend capital in improvements, and to let as small holdings, i. e., farms of five to fifty acres. Tho the measure is of limited application, it contrasts most favorably with the plan under which the land of Ireland is being converted into small freeholds, at great cost to the British taxpayer, and with considerable economic disturbance.

There is also a bill for the separate valuation of land in Scotland, which should be followed by a similar measure relating to the rest of the United Kingdom, and, later, by a reform of the system of local taxation and other important changes.

The *secretary* of the society is Mr. Joseph Hyder, and the office at 432 Strand, London, W. C.

GEO. CROSOER.

LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE, THE ENGLISH (since 1902 The English League for Taxation of Land Values): Formed in 1883, as the Land Reform Union, to advocate the principles of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." Among the earliest members were Miss Helen Taylor, the Rev. Stewart Headlam, William Saunders, J. L. Joynes (late one of the masters in Eton College), Professor Symes (Nottingham), Minor-Canon Shuttleworth, G. B. Shaw, S. Olivier, Rev. P. H. Wicksteed, etc. From the first the new society entered on its campaign with marked vigor and success. A number of leaflets were issued, including a summary of the argument of Herbert Spencer's famous ninth chapter of "Social Statics," the accuracy of which, after more than ten years of uninterrupted publication, was later violently impugned by Mr. Spencer and vigorously and successfully defended by the league in the public press. A monthly paper, *The Christian Socialist*, was founded by members of the committee of the new society, and a guaranty fund raised for an extended "Henry George campaign." Mr. George visited England and addressed large meetings in London and the principal provincial towns. At the first annual meeting (May, 1884) the name of the society was changed to "English Land Restoration League." A manifesto drafted by Henry George was issued and the league settled down to its long siege of the citadel of landlordism. The history of the next few years is an unbroken record of great activity—lectures without number in the London clubs, meetings in town halls, open-air meetings in the parks and open spaces, conferences on the land question, newspaper correspondence, a voluminous output of leaflets and pamphlets, an occasional "Henry George campaign," Mr. Frederick Verender being its active secretary. The league has taken an active part in all the parliamentary

¹ It may be remarked that Herbert Spencer never withdrew his advocacy of the *principle*, though he later wrote against what he regarded as a danger of prematurely forcing its adoption.

and municipal elections. In 1891 a special fund was raised for village propaganda. A "red van" was fitted out, and a successful campaign was carried on and continued each year. In 1902, however, the league adopted its present name. (See LEAGUE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, THE ENGLISH.)

LAND TRANSFER REFORM: Under the ordinary forms of proving title to land great expense is always involved, especially if the land has been transferred a number of times. Indeed, this expense of securing an abstract in such cases and having the title properly examined by a competent lawyer reduces by a heavy percentage the amount received by the seller.

Again, there is frequently great difficulty in securing any clear title to land. An abstract cannot show a clear title; even the careful opinion of a well-trained real estate lawyer is only a ground for a presumptive opinion. If the land has been sold and bought several times, especially if some years have elapsed since such transfer, no one can be sure of his title. Court records show many an instance of innocent purchasers losing land fairly paid for through the defects of the present system of proving titles.

The Torrens system of land transfer, originating in Australia and applied in Manitoba, British Columbia, and Ontario, where the system has been in use for many years and with universal success, has been invented to meet this evil.

The system provides that any landowner may take his evidence of title to the land transfer office provided by law, and upon proving his title to the satisfaction of the registrar, who acts in behalf of the State, may have his land registered to him as owner, and may receive from the office a certificate to this effect. This registration gives him an indefeasible title; and if he wishes to sell, it is not necessary for him to trace his title beyond the one registration in the land transfer office. The government guarantees that title. In case of sale, he fills out a simple memorandum of the transfer; this, with his certificate, is taken to the registrar. The transfer is then entered upon the registrar's book and upon the certificate, and the transfer is accomplished. The purchaser has now the indefeasible title with the government guaranty. It is the *registration* that transfers the title—not the filling out of the memorandum of transfer, nor signing any certificate.

LANGE, FRIEDRICH ALBERT: German philosopher and economist, best known as the author of "The History of Materialism." He was born at Wald, near Solingen, Württemberg, in 1828; studied in Zurich and Bonn; was instructor at the gymnasium in Cologne, 1852-55; privat-docent at Bonn, 1856-58; professor of philosophy at Zurich, 1870-73, and at Marburg, 1873-75.

His political career began in 1862 at Duisburg when the school authorities warned instructors in the gymnasium from taking any active or even passive part in politics. Lange called a meeting of his colleagues and declared that this "admonition need not be heeded." He had to leave Duisburg, but continued his opposition to Bismarck both by word and pen. In 1864 he was elected a committee, with Bebel and Hirsch, to represent the Labor-Union. In 1865 he warned the working men against the teachings of Lassalle and his confrères.

Having for years waged an unsuccessful war against the government party and denounced their craze for annexation and changes of mind, he became disgusted with German politics and went to Winterthur, Switzerland, where he established the *Winterthurer Landbote*, teaching at the same time in the gymnasium. He joined the Democratic Party and fought untiringly for a revision of the cantonal constitution. Owing to the partiality of the Swiss people for France during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870-71, he became embittered, and abandoned politics forever. He was author of "Die Arbeiterfrage in ihrer Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft," 1865; "J. St. Mill's Ansichten über die Sociale Frage," 1866; "History of Materialism," 1862. "Logische Studien" appeared posthumously in 1877. His "History of Materialism" was begun and published in one year. He died in 1875.

LANGUAGES: The spread of a common language is one of the most important of social factors. Latin was once invariably the universal language and is to-day in Latin countries and in the Roman Catholic Church. Later, French became to some extent the language of international diplomacy. To-day English is much the most widely spoken of existing languages.

NUMBER AND PER CENT SPEAKING

	1801 ¹	1900	1801	1900
English.....	20,520,000	136,000,000	12.7	30.2
French.....	31,450,000	53,000,000	19.4	11.6
German.....	30,320,000	83,000,000	18.7	18.4
Italian.....	15,070,000	38,000,000	9.3	8.4
Spanish.....	26,190,000	45,000,000	16.2	10.0
Portuguese.....	7,480,000	14,000,000	4.7	3.1
Russian.....	30,770,000	80,000,000	19.0	17.8

¹ Mulhall's estimate.

Many attempts have been made at developing or creating a new international language. By far the most successful of these is now *Esperanto*, the invention of Dr. Zamenhof, of Warsaw, who in 1887 published a brochure, "An International Language, by Dr. Esperanto." At first little success rewarded him, but since 1897 its progress has been rapid and uninterrupted. There are now about three hundred groups, situated in all parts of the world, forming centers of active propaganda.

It has over twenty journals and magazines which circulate in every civilized country.

The distinguishing feature of *Esperanto* is its simplicity. The grammar is free from irregularities, and the number of grammatical forms has been reduced to a minimum. The vocabulary consists of some 3,000 international roots, but from each root a large number of additional words can be formed by means of prefixes and suffixes. The alphabet consists of 28 letters which have an invariable sound. The language is thus easy to learn and has been used at International congresses, notably at the Congress of Christian Endeavorers in 1906. A World *Esperanto* Congress was held at Cambridge, England, in 1907.

LANSBURY, GEORGE: Member of the British Poor Law Commission; born 1859 at Haleworth, Suffolk. Passed most of his life in East London in the coal trade, later in vaneer

works, where he is now a partner. He was a member and honorary secretary of the Bow and Bromley Liberal and Radical Association for a short time, and joined the Social Democratic Federation in 1892. He was elected Guardian in Poplar, and borough councillor in 1903. He has contested Walworth, Bow, and Bromley, and Middlesbrough for Parliament, as a candidate of the Social Democratic Federation, the Independent Labor Party. He is a member of the Royal Commission on Poor-Laws, also of the Central Unemployment Body, and chairman of the Working Colonies Committee. He established the first labor colony at Hollesley Bay, Suffolk, and was largely instrumental in the establishment of the first poor-law colony at Laindon, Essex. His interest in all kinds of philanthropic endeavors is manifested through membership in Independent Labor Party, Christian Social Union, and by being treasurer of the Poplar Labor Representation Committee. Address: 103 St. Stephen's Road, Bow, E. London.

LASSALLE, FERDINAND: German Socialist leader; born in 1825 at Breslau, Germany, of wealthy Jewish parentage. He studied at Breslau and Berlin, devoting himself to philosophy. Humboldt called him "Das Wunderkind." Savigny called his "Das System der erworbenen Rechte" (1861) "the ablest legal book since the sixteenth century." At Berlin, Lassalle, becoming a great favorite, in 1845 met the Countess Hatzfeldt, and for some eight years defended her cause before thirty-six tribunals on a question of property. In the Revolution of 1848, as an ardent republican, he was indicted for treason at Düsseldorf, and imprisoned six months. On coming out of prison, he devoted himself to literary and philosophical work, living, however, completely as a man of the world. In 1854 the Hatzfeldt affair was settled, and Lassalle gave himself to the completion of his "Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunkeln von Ephesus," which he published in 1858. He was now to enter on his Socialist career. Having lectured on constitutional themes, Lassalle was invited to lecture, on April 12, 1862, before an Artizans' Association in Berlin. It has been called the birthday of German socialism. He traced philosophically and historically the development of the State and of society, and argued that as the French Revolution freed the third estate, so the Revolution of '48 meant the freedom of the fourth estate. When the lecture was printed, the whole edition of 3,000 copies was seized, and Lassalle prosecuted for incendiary utterances. He defended himself, appealing to science, but was condemned to pay a fine. Lassalle then threw himself into social agitation of every kind. He corresponded with Rodbertus (*q. v.*), but could not draw that philosopher from his books. In 1863 the Leipzig Workingman's Association was undecided whether to follow the cooperative movement of Schulze-Delitzsch (see COOPERATIVE BANKS) or a more radical social policy. It now wrote Lassalle, calling on him to outline a policy; and he did so in an "Open Letter," which has been called the charter of German socialism. Lassalle advocated the formation of cooperative societies with state aid. He was invited to appear, together with Schulze-Delitzsch, before the Leipzig workmen, to advocate their respective plans. Schulze-Delitzsch did not appear,

but Lassalle did; 1,300 delegates were present. Lassalle delivered two addresses, and after forty delegates had left the hall cheering for Schulze-Delitzsch, the rest voted for Lassalle, 400 to 1. This led to the organization, May 23, 1863, in Leipzig, of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein (Universal German Workingman's Association), which was destined to grow into the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Into this movement Lassalle put all his energy. The apathy of the working men was his chief obstacle, but he succeeded in rousing them. He made speech after speech, wrote tract after tract, held meeting after meeting. All the time he was fighting in the courts prosecution after prosecution, defending himself, and usually winning. Berlin, Leipzig, Frankfurt, and the industrial centers on the Rhine were the chief scenes of his activity. His greatest success was on the Rhine, where, in the summer of 1863 and 1864, his travels as missionary of the new gospel resembled a triumphal procession. He claimed that he had converted the king, Bismarck, and Bishop von Ketteler, of Mayence (*q. v.*). Bismarck certainly received this remarkable man into his friendship, a friendship which may be regarded as historic because of its political results. (See BISMARCK; GERMANY.)

The task of winning Berlin over seemed an impossible one; but Lassalle loved difficulties. "Berlin *must* be mine," he wrote, "before six months are passed. I will invest it. Let me only have 200 working men and I shall have 2,000, and soon the whole of them." Already he had prepared the way for operations by the circulation of 16,000 copies of an "Address to the Working Men of Berlin," in which he endeavored to show that the Progressists were unmanaging the artisan; he also sought support for his Productive Associations. Two principal factors played against Lassalle's prospects of success in Berlin. The one was the predominance of the Progressist Party, which controlled the press, and the other was the hostility of the police. It is not a little singular that Lassalle was perpetually being denounced as a tool of the reaction, while at the same time the emissaries of the law were ever dogging his steps and serving him with indictments for high treason.

At the end of June Lassalle was compelled to recruit his strength in Switzerland, and he remained absent from the scene of agitation until September.

The association did not make the progress which Lassalle had expected. In August, when it had existed a quarter of a year, the members only numbered between 900 and 1,000, Hamburg and Harburg having together 230; Elberfeld, 223; and Leipzig, 150, while Berlin had only 20. Lassalle had already shown that he was discouraged, but he urged his followers to fresh energy. During the winter of 1863-64 Lassalle's time was divided between the work of his association and an extensive series of disputes with law courts and official bodies. In Jan., 1864, he produced a volume of nearly 300 pages against Schulze-Delitzsch, in tone undignified, sometimes coarse, yet always strong. But Lassalle's main work was for the association. In Aug., 1864, however, he went for a vacation to Switzerland, and found there a Fräulein von Donnegis, whom he had met previously; they became betrothed. As she was induced by her parents to reject him, he fought

Socialistic
Activity

before the Leipzig workmen, to advocate their respective plans. Schulze-Delitzsch did not appear,

a duel over her and was wounded, and died the night of Aug. 30-31. He was buried, amid the universal lamentations of the working men, in the Jewish cemetery at Breslau. The Countess Hatzfeldt was at his side when he died, and continued to aid the association after his death. There was some division, but the association grew till it joined the movement organized by Marx, and with it formed the Social Democratic Party of modern Germany.

But his death in itself worked for socialism. It created the greatest interest. Heine called him the Messiah of the nineteenth century. The people called him the Father of Social Democracy. Until Lassalle entered public life the working classes had been without organization, and had wandered about like sheep without a shepherd. Thus the more advanced organizations which followed the Universal Association owe their existence and success largely to his almost unaided exertions.

Lassalle did not lay claim to any special originality as a socialistic thinker, nor did he publish any systematic statement of his views.

His Views

His aim was not scientific or theoretic completeness, but the practical one of organizing and emancipating the working classes; and his plans were promulgated in occasional speeches and pamphlets, as the crises of his agitation seemed to demand. Yet his leading ideas are sufficiently clear and simple. Like a true Hegelian, he saw three stages in the development of labor: the ancient and feudal period, which, through the subjection of the laborer, sought solidarity without freedom; the reign of capital and the middle classes, established in 1789, which sought freedom by destroying solidarity; and the new era, beginning in 1848, which would reconcile solidarity with freedom by introducing the principle of association.

His chief insistence was on what he called and has since been called (*q. v.*) "the iron law of wages," a simple development of Ricardo's teaching. He argues:

The simple workingman who has only his two hands possesses nothing unless he is able to sell his labor to others. He may sell it cheap or dear, but the price, more or less high, does not depend on himself alone; it is the result of the bargain he makes with his employer. This latter pays as little as he possibly can, and since he can choose from among a vast number of laborers, he prefers the one who will work at the lowest rate. The laborers are thus obliged to lower their prices in competition with one another. In every kind of labor it must therefore result—and such is actually the case—that the wages of the laborer are limited to the exact amount necessary to keep him alive.

He was not a force revolutionist, and hence his immunity in the courts.

REFERENCES: W. H. Dawson's *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle* (1888).

LATIN AMERICA (For statistics, see POPULATION; AGRICULTURE; FINANCES; RAILROADS; POSTAL SERVICE, etc.): Latin America may be said to include the vast majority of Central and of South America. From the standpoint of social reform in the past and present, the countries of this vast region, perhaps, scarcely merit individual notice in a compact work; yet from the standpoint of the future they give promise of being of great significance. Those who have most studied the subject believe that Latin America is on the verge of a forward movement which will astonish the world.

I. Central America

Few people have a correct impression of the size of Central America. If Central America were lifted up bodily and laid down on our Atlantic Coast it would hide all New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. In short, it has a combined area of approximately 167,000 sq. m. Individually, aside from Salvador, already mentioned, the states could be compared as follows: Honduras to Pennsylvania, 45,000 sq. m.; Guatemala to Mississippi, 47,000; Nicaragua to New York, 49,000; Costa Rica to Vermont and New Hampshire, 18,000. As to population, Salvador, with only 7,000 sq. m., has more than 1,000,000 inhabitants; a density of population far greater than that of New Hampshire or Vermont. Guatemala has probably now nearly 1,500,000, a density of population greater than that of Louisiana. Honduras has the largest area of unused country, with Nicaragua next, but the development of the banana industry and the demand for valuable timber grown in the low interior sections are destined to make every unknown part accessible and open to exploitation.

Too strong emphasis cannot be placed on the varied riches and possibilities of these five republics. Taken as a whole, they possess more agricultural and timber wealth than mining potentialities, but they are developing rapidly along all three lines.

The number of recent disturbances in Central America has given the impression abroad that these nations are always in a state of strife, and hence that commerce and material progress have little to encourage them. A consideration, however, of the figures of their foreign trade with the world at large, and with the United States in particular, demonstrates that despite warlike struggles at frequent intervals they have time and money to do a very fair business with the outside world.

Concerning climate, large sections are located either at such an altitude or in such relation to prevailing winds that the temperature seldom becomes too hot for ordinary comfort, and never too cold. Even in the lower and so-called fever, malarial, and mosquito districts, it is wonderful what a change can be wrought by clearing away the jungle, providing good sewerage, pure water, and general sanitary conditions.

If one assumes that because there are occasional revolutions in Central America and the climate is somewhat tropical, there is not a considerable element of highly educated and refined men and women in the chief cities and towns, he labors under great error. A large proportion of the well-to-do people have traveled abroad and send their sons or daughters to the U. S. and Europe for educational advantages in addition to their home schools. Each country has produced writers, historians, poets, novelists, jurists, doctors and surgeons, as well as statesmen.

Guatemala City, for instance, is a remarkable capital, with nearly 100,000 people, which will become a popular point for travelers and tourists from the U. S. when the Pan-American Railroad or the new line from the Caribbean shore is completed. In fact, Guatemala has a splendid future before it, but the world has only recently begun to appreciate its resources and possibilities. Much might also be said of the conditions and attractions of the other Central American capitals like San José, Managua, Tegucigalpa, and San

Salvador, but there is not space in this brief article.

The total foreign commerce, exports and imports, of the five republics amounted last year to the considerable total of \$56,133,000. Of this, exports were \$32,170,000 and imports \$23,963,000, or a favorable balance of nearly \$10,000,000. The share of the U. S. in the above trade is interesting to note, because it averaged about half. The total was \$26,376,000, of which exports to the U. S. were \$14,992,000, and imports from the U. S. \$11,384,000.

Some of the principal articles which are exported and imported: Central Americans sell abroad coffee, bananas, rubber, cacao, dyewoods, valuable lumber, like mahogany and other cabinet woods, hides and skins, rice, sugar, indigo, balsam, tobacco, and minerals. They buy cotton and woolen cloth, machinery, railway, electric, and mining outfits, wheat flour, drugs, and medicines, iron and steel manufactures, sacks for export of coffee and fruit, canned provisions, and a host of lesser articles.

Industrial conditions are yet largely undeveloped. Wages are low; labor ineffective, and general education backward; yet the characteristic fact on all these lines is the making to a new life.

II. South America

South America is distinctly the land of tomorrow. It is a continent of vast and varied possibilities. The traveler and the scholar or the merchant and the promoter will find its peoples, problems, and potentialities of impelling interest. And yet the ignorance prevailing generally throughout the United States in regard to this great southern continent is almost appalling. More attention is given by the press of Europe to South America in a week than by all the papers of the U. S. in a year.

How many people realize that Brazil could completely cover the U. S. proper and still have room for another New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia combined? That out of the Amazon River flows every day three times the volume of water that flows from the Mississippi, and out of the Parana twice that of the North American queen of waters. These great South American streams afford incomparable opportunities for interior navigation and the development of commerce.

In Argentina, located in the south temperate zone, with a climate like that of the U. S., could be placed all that part of our country east of the Mississippi River plus the first tier of states west of it.

Bolivia is comfortably half a dozen times larger than the combined areas of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware.

Peru would obscure, if placed over them on the map, California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and Idaho.

Paraguay is four times bigger than Indiana, while little Uruguay could wrap within its limits North Dakota.

Texas could be lost twice in Venezuela and still leave room for Kentucky and Tennessee.

Buenos Ayres, the capital of Argentina, is the largest city in the world south of the equator; it is the second Latin city, ranking after Paris, in all the world; it now has a population of 1,100,000 and is growing faster than any city in the U. S. excepting New York or Chicago.

A mistake is frequently made in considering the climate of our neighboring continent. Because it is called *South America*, the general supposition seems to be that it is all hot.

It is not remembered that vast sections of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil possess wide-reaching high plateaus where, on account of the elevation above the sea, the temperature is so equable and favorable that there can be grown all the products of the temperate zone. Altitude effects a very remarkable physical phenomenon in climate. If a man standing on the equator, at sea-level, mounts a mule and rides straight up into the mountains for 5,280 feet, or one mile, he will experience as great a change of temperature and vegetation as if he traveled 1,500 miles due north by land or sea.

The foreign commerce of South America tells a convincing story. The total foreign trade—exports and imports—of the ten independent South American republics—Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela—and of the British, French, and Dutch Guianas, exceeded in 1905 the sum of \$1,200,000,000.

When one speaks or writes of Brazil, he has difficulty in finding adjectives which will describe truthfully the opportunities in that country. The simple facts—that Brazil covers a greater area than the U. S. proper; that out of the Amazon River every day flows three or four times more water than out of the Mississippi; that this gigantic stream is navigable for thousands of miles; that the city of Rio de Janeiro, its capital, has now a population of 800,000 and spent more money last year for public improvements than any city of the U. S., excepting New York; and that to-day the central government and the different states are expending larger sums for harbor and river improvements than the government or states of the U. S.—indicate its resources.

All over Brazil new towns and cities are springing up. Back in the interior, which has heretofore been described as a jungle, are being found mountains of iron and coal and forests of valuable timber, upon which the world must largely draw for its supply in the future.

Argentina is, however, the wonderland of South America. In the year 1906 it carried on a foreign trade, exports and imports, amounting, in all, to \$562,000,000. This, tho true, seems almost incredible when we realize that the country has yet only about 6,000,000 people. The Argentine Republic, with a comparatively small population, carries on a larger foreign commerce than Japan with 40,000,000 or China with 300,000,000 of people. Her trade with the rest of the world is nearly \$100 per head, or proportionately greater than any other country.

The railway systems of the republic rival, in proportion to population, the railroad systems of the U. S. and European countries. The cities of the interior are growing rapidly, and the vast agricultural possibilities of her plains and the mineral wealth of her mountains seem almost limitless.

South America is undoubtedly entering upon a new industrial and material movement. Its development during the next ten years will arrest the attention of the world. Its mining wealth and resources alone, especially those of gold, copper, silver, tin, platinum, and nitrate in the Andean states of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, are of immeasurable value.

A recent issue of a Berlin financial paper estimated that \$2,000,000,000 would be invested during the next decade in South American railways.

All over South America elaborate programs for new roads are being worked out. Argentina is already gridironed with excellent systems. Chile is pushing lines in all directions. Brazil is preparing to penetrate her vast jungles and connect distant points with Rio de Janeiro. Bolivia is spending more than \$50,000,000 in new work, while Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Venezuela are considering various practical and needed plans for new construction.

There is no limit to the demands upon capital for legitimate railway-building, electric tramways, electric lights, water-works, factories, sewerage works, telephone and telegraph systems, agricultural extension, stock-raising, and kindred undertakings.

Immigration is pouring into Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile.

While the Spanish language is the common tongue of all South America except Brazil, it must be remembered that the latter has a population of nearly 20,000,000 and occupies nearly half the area of the continent. Portuguese is spoken throughout its limits, and Spanish is seldom heard among its people.

Industrial conditions are more advanced than in Central America, and yet leave much to be desired.

Mr. John V. Noel, late chief of the Latin-American press section at the Pan-American Exposition, writes of the social conditions in *Social Progress* (1905):

Generally speaking, there are in the Latin-American countries two classes: the governing and the governed. The former are not inclined to grant reforms unless compelled to. The latter have not reached, as a rule, that condition of intelligence or freedom to demand or force legislation for their betterment and protection. The lower classes, especially the majority of those millions of Indians who constitute the numerical force in Mexico, Central and South America, are victims of the peon system and slaves to all purposes, according to our standards. Opprest from the days of Spanish conquerors, they have been stoical and happy in their fashion, careless of the morrow. Climatic conditions have thereon a direct bearing. The stern realities of life do not influence them in lands where starvation is impossible and where a few palm-leaves furnish shelter. Occasional outbreaks from this passive and contented attitude take place, such as the dock strikes at Valparaiso, Chile, or the cigarmakers at Havana. It may be stated in a general way that the people, meaning the masses, have not come to realize the necessity for improvement in their methods of living, sanitation, customs, and general surroundings, or have never broached the question as to whether they are receiving a fair share of the general purse in return for their contribution of labor.

There is a constantly growing tendency, however, among those whom the accident of birth and blood or of political fortune has placed in a commanding position to adopt modern ideas and champion measures which experience in older countries has suggested—a tedious and thankless task, which the apathy of the people in general and Spanish-inherited procrastinating tendency emphasizes. In the matter of sanitation, great improvements, however, have been made. The severe pure food laws rigidly enforced in the Argentine and other Latin-American countries may well serve as an example to other nations. In Chile the standard of education is very high, and an educational congress and school exhibit, held in the early part of the year, reflected great credit upon that progressive nation. In all countries there are, however, earnest men and women working courageously and trying to give light and educate their people in many reformatory efforts, such as sanitation, prevention of cruelty to children and animals, moral customs, and in general for a higher standard of living and thinking.

See article INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS; which bureau can supply further information.

LAUGHLIN, JAMES LAURENCE: Economist; born Deerfield, Ohio, 1850. Was educated at Harvard University, and appointed instructor in political economy in that university in 1878, becoming assistant professor in 1883; 1888-90 was president of the Philadelphia Manufacturers' Fire Insurance Company. In 1890 became professor of political economy and finance at Cornell, and in 1892 head professor of political economy at the University of Chicago. Member of the Monetary Commission, 1898. He is known as an advocate of gold monometalism, and as a leader among the more conservative economists of the United States. He is author of "Anglo-Saxon Legal Procedure"; "The Study of Political Economy"; "The History of Bimetallism in the U. S."; "The Elements of Political Economy"; "Principles of Money" (1903); "Reciprocity" (1903); "Industrial America" (1905). Address: 5747 Lexington Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

LAVATORIES in economic and hygienic science are the euphemism for the public convenience of water-closets and urinals provided in most European cities, altho, strictly speaking, the lavatory is that part of the convenience provided with set bowls, soap, and towels. They are usually free, but in some cases a small fee is charged for the use of these conveniences, and frequently those charging the fee are self-supporting. Paris and other continental cities provide urinals on the sidewalk or in small buildings.

Many of the conveniences in London are underground. An ornamental iron railing, an inscription tablet, and a lamp are the indications of the convenience. That in Piccadilly Circus, in front of the "Criterion," is one of the largest. The estimated number of people using this convenience in one year is 5,000,000. The initial cost was about £3,500. The fee is generally a penny.

To avoid any hesitancy in visiting a public convenience London has *ladies' châteaux*. These are built in open sites in the parks or at the junctions of streets. It is also a part of the scheme that they shall be self-supporting.

This kind of a convenience is divided into two parts—a shop for the sale of millinery or small notions and the lavatory, the entrance to which is through the shop. It was found that the accommodations for men were much more ample than for the women, hence it was hoped that the châteaux would obviate that difficulty. The expense of these conveniences is about £400, and it is calculated that each will yield a rental of £12, which amount defrays the interest on the cost, while the income from the lavatory meets the operating expenses with a possible margin of profit, dependent on the location. A parcel room is often an additional adjunct of this system.

LAVELEYE, ÉMILE LOUIS VICTOR DE: Professor; writer; born Bruges, 1822. Studied at Bruges, the Collège Stanislas in Paris, and the University of Ghent. In 1865 became professor of political economy at Liège University. In politics a Liberal, in religion a liberal Roman Catholic. He was a constant contributor to the *Revue de deux mondes*, and a voluminous writer. Among his best-known books are his works on agricultural economics and on bimetallism—e. g., "La Question d'or"; "De la propriété et de ses formes primitives," translated into English by G. S. Mar; "Socialisme contemporaine." Died

Jan. 3, 1892. Laveye was considered a liberal academic Socialist.

LAWRENCE, FREDERICK WILLIAM PETHICK: English barrister-at-law, journalist, Socialist; born 1817; educated Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. Fellow of Trinity, 1897; visited India, Australia, New Zealand, China, Japan, and United States of America; lived in the Mansfield House, University Settlement. Went to South Africa, 1900; on return became honorary secretary of South African Women's and Children's Redress Fund; obtained a controlling interest in the *Echo*, and edited the paper 1902-5; editor of the *Labor Record and Review* and "The Reformers' Year Book." He is author of "Local Variations in Wages" (joint); "The Heart of the Empire." Address: 87 Clement's Inn, Strand, W. C., London, England.

LAWSON, SIR WILFRID: Temperance reformer; born 1829, son of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, of Aspatria, Cumberland, and succeeded to the title and estates of his father, who died in 1867. A lifelong advocate and supporter of the temperance movement, he became its chief representative in Parliament, being elected for Carlisle in 1859. In March, 1864, he first moved for leave to introduce the measure known as the Permissive Bill, the main principle of which is the giving to two thirds of the inhabitants of any parish or township an absolute veto upon all licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors granted within their districts. The bill was supported by forty members. At the general election of 1865 he was defeated, but was successful as a supporter of Gladstone in 1868 and represented Carlisle until 1885. He succeeded, in 1880, in carrying his "Local Option" resolution by a majority of twenty-six. In 1885 he stood for the new Cocker-mouth division of Cumberland, but was defeated. In 1886, as a Gladstonian Liberal, he gained the seat by a large majority, and again in 1892 and 1895, but was defeated in 1900.

He was president of the United Kingdom Temperance Alliance, and active in all temperance work. He died in 1906.

LEAGUE OF AMERICAN MUNICIPALITIES: Organized Oct. 28-30, 1907. The objects of the League of American Municipalities are: The general improvement and facilitation of every branch of municipal administration by the following means: First. The perpetuation of the organization as an agency for the cooperation of American cities in the practical study of all questions pertaining to municipal administration. Second. The holding of annual conventions for the discussion of contemporaneous municipal affairs. Third. The establishment and maintenance of a central bureau of information for the collection, compilation, and dissemination of statistics, reports, and all kinds of information relative to municipal government. The membership of the League includes nearly all of the important cities in this country and Canada. Secretary, John MacVicar, 18 Broadway, New York.

LEAGUE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, THE ENGLISH AND THE SCOTCH: The English League for the taxation of land values is the name adopted in 1902 by the Land Restoration League (which see). The league was at that time reorganized. The object of the league is explained in its title. At the general

election, Jan., 1906, sixty members of the league stood as candidates, of whom forty-five were successful. The president of the league has promoted a Sessional Committee for the advocacy of the taxation of land values, which has been joined by about 280 members. Draft clauses for the valuation of land have been prepared, and submitted to the government. At the suggestion of the committee, the government has issued as a White paper a translation of Prussian State documents as to the introduction of the Assessment Real Estate on the basis of its market value for local purposes. The league has an organ, *Land Values* (id.), published monthly in connection with the Scotch. Its President is J. H. Whitley, M. P.; General Secretary, Frederick Verinder, 376 and 377, Strand, London, W. C.

The Scotch League for the taxation of land values was until 1904 carried on under the name of the Scottish Single Tax League. There is also a league in Edinburgh. Hon. secretary, G. D. Valentine, 13, Pitt Street. During the general election the league published half a million copies of "Land Taxation" leaflets and questions to candidates. It uses the paper *Land Values*, with the English league. Its President is James Fairlie (Falkirk). Secretary, John Paul, 13 Dundas Street, Glasgow.

LEASE, MARY E.: Lecturer and writer; born Ridgway, Pa., 1853; removed to Kansas and was admitted to the bar 1885. Entering politics in the interests of the UNION LABOR PARTY and the Farmers' Alliance, she made 161 speeches in the campaign of 1900, resulting in the election of William A. Peffer as United States senator and defeating Senator Ingalls. She was appointed President of the State Board of Charities. In 1903 she was strongly supported for the position of United States senator. She has since that date mainly given her attention to magazine articles on economic and political themes. She is author of "The Problem of Civilization Solved" and numerous articles. Address: 80 East 121st Street, New York.

LECLAIRE, EDMÉ JEAN: Introducer of profit-sharing; born 1801; at the age of seventeen he arrived penniless in Paris; became a journeyman house painter; 1827 set up on his own account, and was successful; 1834 was chosen to paint the Bank of France and other large buildings. By a series of experiments he learned how to avoid the use of poisonous white lead. Feb. 15, 1842, Leclaire announced his intention of introducing a system of profit-sharing among his men. He was laughed at and suspected by his men; but when he divided 12,266 francs among them—\$50 on an average to a man—they ceased to laugh; 1842-47 an average of \$3,750 was divided among about eighty men; 1838 he established a mutual aid society among his men; 1853 he organized a complete system of profit-sharing; in 1860 established a system of old-age pensions; 1864 the society became incorporated as the Mutual Aid Society. In 1865 Leclaire retired and became *maire* of Herblay, where he died July 10, 1872. The month before his death the Maison Leclaire divided \$10,000 between about 600 men. The society still lives. (See PROFIT-SHARING.)

As with many who have applied genius to philanthropy, the fountain of Leclaire's enthusiasm was essentially religious, tho of a kind un-

connected with the special dogmas of any particular Christian body. How intensely he held the "great commandment" of Christian morality appears from the following words written in sight of death, when he felt "sincerity" to be "more than ever a duty":

I believe in the God who has written in our hearts the law of duty, the law of progress, the law of the sacrifice of one's self for others. I submit myself to His will, I bow before the mysteries of His power and of our destiny. I am the humble disciple of Him who has told us to do to others what we would have others do to us, and to love our neighbor as ourselves; it is in this sense that I desire to remain a Christian until my last breath.

LECLAIRE, ILL.: A cooperative village at Edwardsville, Ill., near St. Louis, Mo., founded in 1890 by Mr. N. O. Nelson (*q. v.*), the millionaire cooperator of St. Louis, for the employees in his factory (for making plumbers' supplies).

Leclaire differs from almost all "model villages" in the extent to which Mr. Nelson has induced his employees to develop their own homes, rather than to depend on him to create a village for them. As a true Tolstoyan, Mr. Nelson would have no compulsion, and not much leading. He has simply himself lived among his employees, conducted his own business firmly, built his own attractive and practical house, developed his own garden; and has shown his employees how they could go and do the same, out of their wages. Leclaire differs, too, from most other model villages in that it sells lots outright, on the instalment plan, to the employees, and then allows the employee landowner, subject to a very few restrictions, to do what he will with his own. Tho the houses are not all, and the place is not all, quite so artistic as it might be otherwise, it is free, and has the grace of freedom and variety, and lack of artificiality and stiffness. There are some 100 houses in all (only 12 rented, the rest belonging to the employees). The houses average 26 by 33 feet, on about one third of an acre. They are mainly wood, and usually of one story. The rented houses rent for \$10 to \$13 per month, and the land is sold for from \$2 to \$2.50 per front foot. It shows what well-treated American workmen will do for themselves with homes and gardens, when given the opportunity. Cooperation has developed a club-house, bowling-alleys, billiard-rooms, tennis courts, school, kindergarten, industrial school, library, and public hall.

LEDNICKI, ALEXANDER: Russian-Polish journalist and politician; born in 1866. He is a graduate of the college of Minsk and of the Demidoff Law Lyceum (1889); was admitted to the Moscow bar, and became a member of the Lawyers' Council (1904). He represented Minsk in the first Duma where he joined the Constitutional Democrats, and soon became the most prominent and radical member of this party from Poland. He is chairman of the Moscow Society for Popular Amendments, of the Polish Benevolent Society, and a contributor to the newspapers, notably to *Russkaya Mysl* (Russian Thought), *Russkiya Viededmosti* (Russian News), and others.

LEE, ALGERNON: Editor of *The Worker*; born Dubuque, Iowa, 1873; educated in public schools, Fishkill, N. Y., Minneapolis, Minn., and University of Minnesota; has been actively connected with the Socialist movement since 1895; delegate to National Convention of Socialist Party at Chicago, 1904, and to International Socialist

Congresses at Amsterdam, 1904, and Stuttgart, 1906. Mr. Lee is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Party for 1906; he is a Socialist of the strict party type; has been editor of *The Worker*, Socialist weekly paper, since 1899. Address: 15 Spruce Street, New York.

LEE, H. W.: General secretary of the Social Democratic Federation; born 1865 in London. In 1883 he attended a meeting of Bradlaugh's and read "Socialism Made Plain"; both events were causes for joining the Social Democratic Federation. He gave up his employment to become assistant secretary of the Federation in Aug., 1885, under Champion, and was elected general secretary a few months later. He has completed twenty-one years in that office, and has declined municipal or parliamentary honors, since he enjoys his present work and gives it his whole attention. Address: 21a Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, W. C., London, England.

LEIPZIGER, HENRY M.: Supervisor of Lectures, New York City Board of Education; born Manchester, England, 1854; attended Manchester Grammar School, but coming to America in 1865, was educated in the public schools and the College of the City of New York; studied law at Columbia Law School, graduating LL.B. in 1875. Early took a deep interest in associations of a philanthropic and cultural character, especially public libraries and young men's associations. Devoted much study to industrial education; in 1884 selected to organize the Hebrew Technical Institute, one of the pioneer schools for instruction in the manual arts in the United States. Received in 1888 the degree Ph.D. from Columbia University. In 1890 was commissioned to organize the public lecture system of New York, a work which has expanded until it is now become practically a thoroughly organized system for the education of adults. The system is being adopted in other cities. Chairman, 1887-1903, of the Aguilar Public Library. Dr. Leipziger believes that true social reform comes best through the diffusion of education, and that the schoolhouse should therefore become a social and civic center for the adults as well as the children of the community. He believes also that social reform will be largely advanced by adapting the school to the "all round" training of the child by the State maintaining technical and trade schools as well as the so-called English and classical schools. Address: Board of Education, New York.

LEO, VICTOR: Imperial councilor and member of the Imperial Statistical Office in Berlin; also of the International Statistical Institute, and officer of the Legion of Honor. He was born Nov. 9, 1871, in London, England, but studied in the universities of Berlin, Freiburg, Rome, and also in Paris; received the degree of Ph.D., and after passing the civil service examinations from 1892 to 1897, became a member of the Imperial Commission to the Paris Exposition of 1900. In 1902 he entered upon his present position and became editor of the *Reichs Arbeitsblatt*. Politically he is a conservative and believes that the State should assist wherever men are not able to help themselves. He is the author of "Die Anklagen gegen die Goldwährung" (1901); "Entwicklungstendenzen des Welthandels" (1901); "Der Staat und die Kartelle" (1902);

"Deutschlands Welthandelsstellung im Bild" (1904); "Die Versicherung gegen die Folgen der Arbeitslosigkeit" (1906). Address: Grunewald, Berlin, Germany, Parkstrasse 26.

LE PLAY, PIERRE GUILLAUME FREDERIC: Sociologist; born at La Ravière, Saint Sauveur, in 1806. Deeply impressed with the sorrows of the poor around his early home, he came to Paris to study in the École Polytechnique. Graduating with honors, he started, in 1829, with Reynaud, and traveled for many years through all Europe studying social facts. In 1840 he was appointed to the chair of metallurgy in the School of Mines, and later was Inspector-General of Mines. Coming under notice of the emperor, he was repeatedly appointed head of various scientific expeditions, particularly that of 1867. In 1855 he published "Les ouvriers européens." In 1856 he founded "La société internationale des études pratiques d'économie sociale." In 1864 he published "La réforme sociale en France déduite de l'observation comparée des peuples européens"; in 1870, "L'organisation du travail." In 1872 founded "Les unions de la paix sociale," which, in 1890, had 3,000 members. In 1881 commenced "La réforme sociale," the organ of these unions. In its first number it declared that France, in the present century, had had eleven revolutions and nineteen successive constitutions, as the result of utter chaos in social ideas. Hence it argued the need for conclusions drawn from the patient study of facts. Le Play is often called a Liberal Christian Socialist; yet, tho a Roman Catholic, he does not emphasize religion, and is as opposed to socialism as to *laissez-faire*. He simply desired truth drawn from facts, and set himself and his followers to collecting these. His remedy for social ills is a rehabilitation of the powers once vested in the father of a family and in the conductor of a workshop. The family organization is not to be patriarchal, but what he calls the *famille souche*, with a restoration of the now limited freedom of bequest. H. Higgs has written the best English account of Le Play in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Boston, July, 1890.

LEROUY-BEAULIEU, PIERRE PAUL: Journalist; economist; born 1843, at Saumur; studying in Paris, Bonn, and Berlin, he traveled extensively in England and on the Continent, and held editorial positions upon the staff of several prominent journals and magazines; was professor of finance in the School of Political Science. In 1880 succeeded Michel Chevalier at the Collège de France. Leroy-Beaulieu is an adherent of the liberal school. His chief work is his "Traité des sciences des finances," the best French work on the subject, and full of learning and research. He is also well known for his "Le Collectivisme"; "La répartition des richesses"; "L'état moderne et ses fonctions". He is the editor of *L'économiste Française*. Address: Avenue Bois de Boulogne 27, Paris, France.

LESLIE, THOMAS EDWARD CLIFFE: Professor of jurisprudence; born in Ireland in 1837. He was called to the English bar, but turned his attention to literature, and contributed to the quarterly magazines. Professor of jurisprudence and political economy in Queen's College, Belfast, for twenty-five years. Died in 1882. Cossa says of him in "Introduction to Political Economy":

His learned and eminently readable tracts on applied economics all take up questions of reform, and he is especially pointed in his arguments against indirect taxation, and in favor of emancipating land tenure from the last remnants of feudal bondage. His schooling was partly under Sir Henry Maine and partly acquired by his own frequent and extended travels. By this means he acquired convictions regarding the historical development of economics which led him to take a position unique in Great Britain, where he was for a long time the solitary and always the most enthusiastic adherent of views which Roscher and Knies defended in Germany. The manuscript of his most extensive work was lost in 1872, so that all that we now have to represent him is scattered through various reviews in the shape of essays. He rejects in so many words the fundamental principle of the classical schools—their conception of the desire for wealth upon which all their deductions depend—because it is at one and the same time too vague and too one-sided.

LEVASSEUR, PIERRE ÉMILE: Political economist; born in 1828, at Paris, France; educated at Bourbon College, later known as Lycée Bonaparte; entered the Normal School in 1849; from 1852 to 1854 was assistant professor of the Lycée d'Alençon. After this was professor of rhetoric at Besançon. Appointed professor of history in the Lycée Napoléon at Paris in 1861. Member of various scientific societies and of the Committee on Historical Works, was elected in 1868 a member of the Academy of Moral and Political Science in place of M. Duchatel. Since 1876 has occupied the chair of history and economics and of geography in the Collège de France, and the chair of statistics and economic geography in School of Political Science, and has taken part in all international congresses of statistics held in Europe during recent years. Member of the Section of Agricultural Legislation, Société Centrale d'Agriculture, president of the Commission of Statistics and Primary Education, and an officer of the Legion of Honor. Dr. Levasseur has won consecutively three competitive prizes of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences for papers on historical and economic questions relating to the working classes in France. Author of a number of valuable contributions to economic magazines and reviews. He is best known by his almost encyclopedic work upon the "Condition of the Working Classes in France Before and Since the Revolution." Address: Collège de France, Paris.

LEVELERS, THE: A radical party in the army of the Long Parliament, formed when the army had overawed Parliament and sent Charles I. to Hampton Court in 1647. The reforms proposed by it included the leveling of all ranks and the equalization of all titles and estates in the whole kingdom. Some of the officers were cashiered in 1649, but the party continued its propaganda after Cromwell's departure for Ireland and raised mutinies in the army. Their organ, *The Leveler*, demanded in *politics*: (1) The impartial authority of the law; (2) the power of Parliament for legislation; (3) absolute equality before the law; (4) arming of the people for enforcing the law and protecting their liberty. In *religion*: (1) Absolute liberty of conscience; (2) freedom of interpretation and of action according to the dictates of conscience; (3) a distinction in religion between its aspects as revelation—which is a private affair—and as action, which is subject to the temporal authorities; (4) discontinuation of all strife about theological doctrines and forms of worship. The sect was short-lived, and disappeared at the time of the Restoration.

LEVIN, SHMARYA: Russian journalist and Zionistic preacher in the synagogue of Vilna; born

1867. He graduated from the College of Minsk in 1886 and from the University of Berlin in 1894 with the degree of Ph.D. Afterward he was a rabbi for a time, but interested himself in politics and represented Vilna at the first Duma, where he joined the Constitutional Democrats.

LIBERAL PARTY, THE (ENGLISH): The following statement by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is reprinted (in brief) by permission from the *World Work*, Chicago, March, 1905:

What is the Liberal policy? Our very name gives the answer. We stand for liberty. Our policy is the policy of freedom. It is the policy of freedom in all things that affect the life of the people, freedom of conscience, freedom of trade, internal and external; freedom of industry, of combination and cooperation; from class ascendancy, from injurious privileges and monopolies; freedom for each man to make the best use of the powers and faculties implanted in him; and with the view of securing and guarding these and other interests, freedom of Parliament, for all to elect to the governing body of the nation the representatives of their own choice.

That is the Liberal policy.

It may accurately be said that there is practically but one great impediment in the way of a sweeping improvement which would elevate the physical and moral welfare of the people. This is the interest, and the overdue regard to the interest, of the landowner, and the political and social influence that he and his class can exercise. Let the value of land be assessed independently of the buildings upon it, and upon such valuation let contributions be made to those public services which create the value.

What is our rating system? It is a tax upon industry and labor, upon enterprise, upon improvement; it is a tax which is the direct cause of much of the suffering and overcrowding in the towns. Overcrowding

Principles is not a symptom only, but a cause of poverty, because it demoralizes its victims and forces them to find relief in excesses. By throwing the taxes on site values, communities which have created these values will be set free, free in the sense that they can expand, free to direct their own destinies.

Foremost among our domestic duties is the succor of the masses who are in poverty. If it can be shown that poverty, whether it be material poverty or poverty of physique and of energy, is associated with economic conditions which, tho supported by the laws of the country, are nevertheless contrary to economic laws and considerations and to public policy, the State can intervene without fear of doing harm. Is there any lack of such conditions among us? I fear not. The country is still largely governed by castes, and it has to compete with nations which have shaken off feudal ways and privileges which we continue to tolerate.

First of all, the whole range of reforms which seem to be necessary in order to simplify and complete our electoral and legislative machinery is the simplification of registration. The abolition of the plural vote, the reduction of electoral expenses, the removal of every bar to the free choice of electors, and, above all, the adjustment of the relations between the two houses of Parliament, are changes which the workingman ought to claim as his birthright. It is these that will give him the power to obtain, with the consent

and cooperation of other classes of the community, changes which he especially desires and demands, without waiting upon the condescending benevolence or the grudging necessities of the hereditary House.

It cannot be too often repeated and enforced that the way to go to work to organize the home market is not the crude and unequal and exploded method of setting up tariffs. It is to raise the standard of living, abolishing those centers of stagnant misery which are a disgrace to our name, and when once the home market is so organized the demand for labor will be larger and more sustained, and more capable of insuring itself against fluctuation.

The wisest course is to attack these bad conditions boldly and fearlessly; to abolish them, or, if we cannot do that, to modify them; deal rigorously with vested interests and monopolies which cause public injury or stand in the way of improvement; enlarge the powers of local authorities, readjust our taxing system, and so alter our land laws as to increase the supply of houses and of available land in towns, and alike equalize burdens local as well as imperial; give—as far as laws and customs can give it—a chance to every man.

The condemnation of the Education Act, as ignoring popular rights, as excluding from their proper share of influence the parent and the taxpayer, the two classes most concerned, and as writing upon the door of entry to a great and honorable and beneficent profession a sectarian test—that is a standing condemnation which time can never wither. It must be put an end to as soon as possible, and the public, whose money is taken, and who as patriots and as parents are intensely interested in the character and quality and nature of the education given to children at the most receptive period of their lives, must have the command in this matter, and not any self-constituted body of managers, or any man, whether he be parson or layman.

Another great object will be to improve our land system and our agricultural conditions so as to keep more men on the soil and take others back to it. It is not in our colonies only, and our dependencies across the seas, that we have a great estate to develop; we have it here under our eyes. Let us try the experiment of getting the people on the soil and encouraging them to engage all their energies in its improvement. We must try to get rid of anything that hinders the development of agriculture, restrictions that we have outgrown, and habits that belong to a patriarchal state of things.

There is a general awakening and broadening of view on this subject. There is a growing belief in cooperative methods, both in purchase, transit, dairying, and in the application of scientific processes, in the adoption of what may be called a forward policy to meet the changes and surmount the difficulties which time has brought with it.

I hold that there are three main divisions of operation for the amelioration of the condition of the rural population. First of all, it is necessary to provide healthy, comfortable homes in the country. Secondly, there is the furnishing to the laborer in the country the opportunity of a career, so that by industry and intelligence he may raise himself. Third, there should be freedom in that career.

I stand by my ideal and I object to that of the

past government as to the armaments which we need. The difference between us is crucial and fundamental. I claim that we are not called upon to vie, and it would be the height of folly for us to attempt to vie, with our great military continental neighbors.

It is necessary for our position, for the nature and character of this empire, that we have a very strong navy having full command of the sea. But the increase of our navy estimates has been 90 per cent since 1895. Is this race forced upon us by the ambitions and actions of other powers, or is it in any degree our ambitions, our actions that are forcing it upon them? But there is another line of defense which comes before army and navy, and that is "friendly relations with other countries."

The insane race and rivalry of armament does not conduce to the strengthening of these friendly relations. The authoritative unanimous voice and opinion and direction of all the great powers of the world demanded at The Hague their limitation for the material and moral welfare of humanity. Overtures to this effect have been made and rejected. Let us make them again and again until we succeed. A great step was accomplished for civilization and humanity when a shrine was set up consecrated to the common interests, common conscience, and the common purposes of the human race.

The question of the better government of Ireland directly and imperatively concerns both parties. The principle of self-government, the principle that the elective element shall be the governing element in Ireland, remains, in my view, the only principle consonant with our constitutional habits and practise, and, above all, the only principle that will ever work. Freedom is our key-note. Freedom and equality.

HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

LIBERTY: Few words in the English language are more used in the literature of social reform than the word *liberty*, yet few words have been less carefully defined. What definitions have been given have been often contradictory and often utterly unphilosophical. Cicero says: "The essence of liberty is to live just as you choose" (*potestas vivendi ut velis*) ("De Officiis," Book I., chap. xx.). This is perhaps to-day both the popular and the abstract conception of liberty; but all science, philosophy, and experience agree to-day in declaring that no such liberty is possible to a finite being. The following quotations will show to what an extent modern science denies that there is any freedom of the will:

"I know of no writer not a theologian pure and simple that goes the length of claiming this for the will" (George Lacy, in "Liberty and Law," p. 53). "The terms have no application to the subject" (Bain's "Emotion and Will," chap. xi.). "Man's volitions are not self-caused, but determined by spiritual antecedents, in such sorts that when the antecedents are the same, the volitions will always be the same" (Mill on Hamilton, pp. 492-3). "There is nothing existing in the world which is absolutely alone—entirely free from inseparable relationship to some other thing or things. Freedom, therefore, is only intelligible as meaning the being free from some kind of restraint" (Argyle, "Reign of Law," chap. vi.). "The will of the animal, as well as that of man, is never free" (E. Haeckel, "History of Creation," vol. i., p. 237). "The feelings in my consciousness in the moment of voluntary choice have been preceded by facts out of my consciousness, which are related to them in a uniform manner, so that if the previous facts had been accurately known, the voluntary choice might have been predicted" (W. K. Clifford, "Right and Wrong," p. 162). "Psychical changes either conform to law or they do not. If they do not conform to law, no science of psychology is possible. If they do conform to law, there cannot be any such thing as free will" (H. Spencer, "Principles of Psychology," part. iv., § 20).

Many theologians and some philosophers assert the freedom of the will, but even they usually maintain that the will is only free within the limits of its own moral nature.

Says T. D. Woolsey:

For a finite being, moral excellence, united with the greatest perfection of intellect pertaining to human nature, will make the best course of action certain within his sphere of existence (Johnson's "Cyclopedia," article "Liberty").

It follows that moral deficiencies and lower grades of intellect make lower causes of action equally necessary. As for experience, from the child who cries for the moon to the absolute monarch or the beggar, who both have their wills continually crossed, all life shows that no man can do whatever he will. Scientifically, philosophically, experimentally, absolute freedom for finite beings is an impossibility.

Says F. J. Stephens ("Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," p. 13):

Freedom is only intelligible as meaning the being free from some particular kind of restraint; therefore, in political science, when one speaks of political, economic, or other liberty, one should explain from what kind of restraints freedom is meant.

"From excessive liberty tyranny springs as certainly as a tree from its roots" (Plato's "Republic.").

Economic freedom may not mean liberty, because one may still be the slave of social laws. Hence, in considerations of liberty, freedom must be balanced with freedom, and the greatest amount of freedom chosen. Thus, moved by various considerations and influenced by various social, political, and industrial environments, liberty has been very variously conceived, as the following definitions will show:

"Liberty consists in the safe and sacred possession of a man's property" (Fox, quoted by W. Roscher, vol. i., p. 236). "Political liberty consists in security or, at all events, in the opinion that we enjoy security," (Montesquieu, "Spirit of the Laws," book 12, chap. ii.). Liberty is the freedom to do what the law permits" (Montesquieu, "Spirit of the Laws," book 2, chap. iii.). Bentham makes liberty to consist in the freedom to follow fourteen specific sources of pleasure, which he names ("Principles of Morals," vol. i., chap. v.). Mill says that liberty "is the principle that the sole end for which mankind are warranted individually or collectively in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection" ("Liberty," on p. 6, People's Edition). According to Sheldon Amos, "Liberty on its positive side denotes the fulness of individual existence. On its negative side it denotes the necessary restraint on all which is needed to promote the greatest possible amount of liberty for each" ("Science of Law," p. 90).

For other conceptions of liberty and a discussion of the ways by which it is proposed to secure to-day the highest amount of liberty, see ANARCHISM; INDIVIDUALISM; SINGLE TAX; SOCIALISM; SPENCER.

LIBERTY PARTY: The abolitionists (*q. v.*) at Warsaw, N. Y., having informally nominated, in 1839, James G. Birney for president and Thomas Earle for vice-president, the nominations were confirmed by a convention, ostensibly national, that met at Albany, April 1, 1840, and adopted the name "Liberty Party." Its platform was the abolition of slavery. The candidates received 7,059 votes in spite of their having declined the nominations. On Aug. 30, 1844, the national convention of the party met. The topic of greatest interest at that time was the annexation of Texas, and the consequent increase in slave territory. Birney and Thomas Morris, of Ohio, were nominated. The total vote for Birney was 62,263. Had the electoral vote of

New York gone to Clay, it would have elected him. In that state the popular vote stood: Polk, 237,588; Clay, 232,482; Birney, 15,812. Had Birney not been nominated, it is probable that enough of his vote to elect Clay would have been so cast—certainly none of it would have gone to Polk. This lesson was not forgotten, and the party did not again name its own candidates. In 1848 and 1852 it supported the Free Soil Party, and thereafter the Republican Party (*q. v.*).

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY DEFENSE LEAGUE, THE: Founded for the purpose of maintaining freedom of contract, upholding proprietary rights, and resisting socialistic legislation, the Liberty and Property Defense League has from its inception in 1882 occupied a unique position in English politics. Associated with neither of the two great political parties in the state, it has consistently opposed the tendency toward socialism which, during each succeeding year of the last quarter of a century, has become more and more marked in the legislation of the British Parliament.

Federated with the league are 220 defense and protection societies, representing railways, shipping, tramways, water companies, manufactures, land and house property, liquor, mining, and the other industries, and the representatives of these bodies form a powerful committee for the purpose of watching the progress of bills through Parliament, and taking steps to oppose or amend such bills. Chairman, the Earl of Wemyss; offices, 25, Victoria Street, S. W.

LIBRARIES, PUBLIC: Probably the oldest libraries known are the Babylonish tablets, found in the mounds of Mesopotamia, and supposed to have been prepared for public instruction about 650 B.C. Pisiistratus is said to have founded a

library at Athens 537 B.C., but this is not clear. Strabo says that Aristotle was the first collector of a library, and that his library descended

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to the Romans. The story of the great Alexandrian library founded by Ptolemy Soter, with from 100,000 to 700,000 manuscripts (according to different authors), and burned by the Caliph Omar, is now considered to be a myth, at least as to its size. Many Romans collected libraries. Plutarch says the library of Lucullus was open to all. Pliny says the library of Pollio was the first public library in Rome. St. Jerome says that St. Pamphilus, of Cesarea, in 309, collected 30,000 volumes, chiefly religious, to be lent; if this be true, it was probably the first lending library. The libraries of the Middle Ages were small. The still existing library of the Swiss abbey of St. Gall was one of the first, and claims an antiquity of 1,000 years. The first library in England is said to have consisted of nine manuscripts brought by Augustine in 596. As late as Henry VIII. the royal library had only 329 volumes. Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, had, in 1490, 50,000 volumes, destroyed by the Turks in 1530. Lorenzo de' Medici, in Florence, established the great Laurentian Library. In 1556 the Royal Library of France, then containing 2,000 volumes, received by royal ordinance the privilege of obtaining a copy of every book printed in France. By 1789 it had 200,000 volumes, and is to-day the largest library in the world. Germany has the greatest number of im-

portant libraries of any country. The library of the British Museum was founded in 1753. The first library in the United States was that of Harvard College, begun in 1638.

Benjamin Franklin, after considerable effort, founded, in 1732, the Philadelphia Library Company, the "mother of all the subscription libraries in North America."

In Scotland, in 1816, Samuel Brown, of Haddington, following in part the methods of London booksellers, established a system of free itinerant libraries, loaning without cost packages of fifty books to villages and neighborhoods.

This system was copied in this country in the school district libraries which were started in the State of New York in 1835, and a few years afterward were in successful operation in several New England states, in Ohio, Michigan, and other states farther West.

Public libraries are seldom specialized, because they have to serve a mixed constituency. Local needs often determine, however, the choice of books to some extent. Owing to the rapid increase of these institutions a larger number of experts is needed for proper administration, and library schools have been established to supply trained men and women. Some of these schools, e. g., that of New York State, require since 1902 graduation from a registered college for admission. The Illinois State School since 1903 demands three years' college work for admission and grants a degree for two years additional and special library work.

Several organizations promote the special interests of librarians and their work, e. g., the American Library Association, with its organ *Public Libraries*. England has the Library Association of the United Kingdom; Australia a National Library Association; Germany a Verein Deutscher Bibliothekäre; France, Denmark, Italy, Switzerland, Japan, etc., have similar societies. The first international congress of librarians was held in London, 1877.

The support of the libraries is usually borne by the municipality or the State. New York State organized a library department in 1891, and grants towns and villages an amount equal to that raised in the commune up to \$200 per annum. Other states have committees.

The twelve largest libraries are: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, with 2,600,000 volumes, 250,-

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000 maps, 102,000 manuscripts in 1894; British Museum, London, with 2,000,000 volumes, 200,000 maps, 100,000 pieces of musical compositions, 50,000 manuscripts in 1900; Imperial Public Library, St. Petersburg, 1,330,000 volumes in 1902; Königliche Bibliothek, Berlin, 1,200,000 volumes in 1902; Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., 1,000,000 volumes in 1900; Königliche Hof und Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 1,000,000 volumes in 1902; K. and K. Hofbibliothek, Vienna, 900,000 in 1901; Universitätsbibliothek, Strassburg, 814,000 in 1902; Public Library, Boston, 812,000 in 1902; Public Museum, Moscow, 800,000 in 1900; Public Library, New York, 787,775 in 1902; Bodleian Library, Oxford, 600,000 in 1900.

The Library of Congress has a floor space of nearly eight acres with 45 miles of shelving and room for 2,200,000 octavo volumes, and capable of being extended to a capacity of 4,000,000. The number of public libraries in the U. S. was 6,869 in 1903 with 54,419,000 volumes,

LIEBKNECHT, WILHELM: Editor, legislator; born 1826, at Leipsic; he studied at Giessen, Berlin, and Marburg. In the Revolution of 1848 took part at Baden, and was imprisoned from September to May; fled to Switzerland and then to England, where he remained till 1862; was much with Marx, and earnestly espoused his views. In 1862 returned to Germany, and edited the *North German Gazette* till it became a Bismarckian organ, when Liebknecht joined Lassalle's agitation. Became the leader of the International Party in Germany, won Bebel to socialism, and with him worked for the amalgamation of the movements started by Lassalle and Marx, thus forming the Social Democratic Party, of which he and Bebel are still the main leaders. In 1865 was ordered to quit Prussia; went to Leipsic and edited a democratic journal till it was suppressed in 1866. Returning to Berlin, was imprisoned three months. In 1867 he was returned to the North German Diet by a Saxon constituency and thereafter served regularly in the legislature until his death. Imprisoned in 1870, and again for two years beginning in 1872. In 1881 he was expelled from Leipsic under the Socialist law. Liebknecht was not an original thinker, but of high intellectual attainments, and a good writer. He died in 1900. Author of a work on the land question, "Zur Grund und Bodenfrage," etc.

LIFE-SAVING SERVICE, THE UNITED STATES: This service commenced in a small way in 1849 with an appropriation of \$20,000 by Congress. Previous to this the only organized attempts in this direction were of humane societies like that of Massachusetts, established in 1789. In 1871 the present U. S. service was established. To-day the ocean and lake coasts of the U. S. are picketed with the stations of the life-saving service attached to the U. S. Treasury Department.

At the close of the last fiscal year the life-saving establishment embraced 278 stations, 200 being on the Atlantic coast, 60 on the lakes, 17 on the Pacific coast, and 1 at the falls of the Ohio, Louisville, Ky.

There is also a U. S. Volunteer Life-saving Service Corps with 1,900 stations and 22,000 enrolled members. It has saved 6,557 lives in twelve years and has awarded 1,705 honor medals.

The following table gives the results:

	Year ending June 30, 1906	Since intro- duction of life-saving system in 1871, to June 30, 1906
Disasters.....	357	16,479
Value property involved.....	\$14,736,350	\$242,683,699
Value property saved.....	\$11,972,280	\$192,024,612
Value property lost.....	\$2,764,070	\$50,659,087
Persons involved.....	4,699	116,442
Persons lost.....	19	1,127
Shipwrecked persons succored at stations.....	811	19,741
Days' succor afforded.....	1,727	47,555
Vessels totally lost on U. S. coasts.....	49	.....

In addition to the foregoing there were 491 casualties to smaller craft, such as sailboats, rowboats, etc., on which there were 1,221 persons, of whom 1,211 were saved and 10 lost. The cost of the maintenance of the service during the year was \$1,832,465.93.

In Great Britain the Royal National Lifeboat Institution was organized in 1824 and has now over 300 stations.

In France, a private society, the Société Centrale de Sauvetage des Naufragés, founded in 1865, is subsidized by the government.

Germany has a similar society, the German Society for the Rescue of the Shipwrecked, founded 1865.

Belgium had a small society as early as 1838, and Denmark in 1858. Most other civilized countries have followed suit. Japan in 1890. China is said to have had such a society for centuries.

LIGHTING, ELECTRIC AND GAS, PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF (for a discussion of the general principles of, pro and con, see **PUBLIC OWNERSHIP**): In this article we present briefly the facts in the United States; as to Great Britain and Europe, see **MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP**.

I. Electricity

According to the twelfth census (Bulletin 5) there were in the U. S. in 1902 3,620 central electric-lighting and power stations, of which the census gives the following table:

CENTRAL ELECTRIC STATIONS, 1902, AND WAGES OF EMPLOYEES

ITEMS	Private stations	Municipal stations	No. em- ployees	Wages per day \$
Number of stations.....	2,805	815	133	Less than 0.75
Cost of construction and equipment.....	\$482,710,879	\$22,020,473	229	.075 to 0.99
Earnings from operation.....	\$77,349,749	\$6,836,856	990	1.00 to 1.24
Income from all other sources.....	\$1,385,751	\$128,249	1,613	1.25 to 1.49
Gross income.....	\$78,735,500	\$6,965,105	3,380	1.50 to 1.74
Total expenses.....	\$62,835,388	\$5,245,987	2,314	1.75 to 1.99
Salaried officials and clerks			1,807	2.00 to 2.24
Average number.....	6,046	954	1,899	2.25 to 2.49
Salaries.....	\$5,206,199	\$457,381	823	2.50 to 2.74
Wage-earners:			832	2.75 to 2.99
Average number.....	20,863	2,467	832	3.00 to 3.24
Wages.....	\$13,560,771	\$1,422,341	399	3.25 to 3.49
Output of stations:			191	3.50 to 3.74
Kilowatt hours—total for year.....	2,257,598,213	195,904,439	43	3.75 to 3.99
Total number of arc lamps.....	334,903	50,795	123	4.00 to 4.24
Total number of incandescent lamps.....	16,616,593	1,577,451	24	4.25 to 4.49
.....			16	4.50 to 4.74
.....			8	4.75 to 4.99
.....			55	5.00 and over
Total.....			18,878	.....

¹Includes estimated income from public service.

This table shows that of the total number of municipal plants, only 22 per cent were publicly owned and operated. It is also true that the kilowatt-hour output of these stations was only 7.8 per cent of the total energy and the capacity of all the dynamos in the municipal plants only 9.4 per cent of the total, which means that the municipal plants of the U. S. are yet but comparatively few, and in the smaller cities and towns.

They are nevertheless rapidly growing. Of the 574 municipal and private plants started prior to 1899 only 11.4 per cent were municipal, while of the 1,502 central lighting stations during the next seven years 21.2 per cent were municipal, and of the 1,544 stations started between 1896 and 1902, 27.8 per cent were municipal. It is probable that the reason for municipal ownership being more developed in smaller cities is because there is less profit for private companies in such cities and therefore less inducement to them to oppose municipal undertakings. What this means can be seen in the extent to which private companies are willing to spend money in large cities to mold opinion against public ownership. Professor Gray reports (Report of the Public Ownership Commission of the National Civic Federation, vol. ii., p. 135) that the New Haven Water Company, without apparently committing any illegal act, spent \$20,000 in molding public opinion and in lobbying through the city government and the state legislature a contract against public ownership.

Nevertheless, in spite of the opposition of private companies, municipal ownership is on the increase and wherever tried seems to have given satisfaction, as shown by the following quotations from the writer's report in the Public Ownership Report (see below).

There were investigated representative municipal and private plants, including the municipal plants of Chicago, Detroit, Allegheny, South Norwalk, and Jacksonville, Fla. The private plants which it was purposed to compare with these largely declined investigation. Nevertheless, what could be done was done (see Report) and some comparisons made.

Of South Norwalk, the expert, Professor Gray, reports: "The citizens seemed to take an enthusiastic and indeed admiring interest in the plant. In fact, the plant seems to be the one thing in South Norwalk in which the citizens take more pride and interest than in anything else in the city." The rates charged at South Norwalk of course cannot be as low as in a larger city or where fuel is cheaper; but in spite of these difficulties the rates are lower than are charged by many large private plants for a similar class of users.

Next to South Norwalk the most successful municipal electric-lighting plant is probably that of Detroit. If it were allowed to do a commercial business, its success would be undoubtedly greater than is possible with only the lighting of streets and public buildings. The city has, however, largely improved the service for the city over the former private system and has much reduced cost.

Of Chicago and Allegheny my report to the Civic Federation says:

The Chicago and Allegheny municipal lighting plants do not show as low operating expenses, the difference in the cost of coal being considered, as does Detroit, yet these plants are a remarkable confirmation of the wisdom of municipal ownership. They show that even in cities where political conditions are not of the best, and where good engineering is not fully observed in the construction of the plants, nevertheless municipal management may be justified. . . . Municipal ownership of electric light in Chicago started, as it did in the

case of water in that city and of many other municipal undertakings elsewhere, because of dissatisfaction with private ownership. The critics of municipal plants, when they detect faults in public management, must bear in mind that the private management which preceded it and led to public ownership was often worse than what has followed. . . . The spoils system has been singularly kept out of the Chicago plant, as is well brought out in Schedule L. With this condition, but with the serious handicaps already referred to, the question has been raised whether the municipal undertaking could stand comparison with the up-to-date and enormous private lighting company of Chicago in the cost of street lighting. Fortunately such a comparison is possible, because it has been made for our commission by Messrs. Marwick, Mitchell & Co. . . . In a study of the labor conditions of the public and private plants in Chicago in 1901, Prof. John R. Commons, our expert on labor in the present investigation, found that the wages of the city electric plants ranged from 8.1 per cent to 66.8 per cent higher per hour than those paid by the private company, while the average wages were probably 35 to 45 per cent higher, which meant that the total operating costs were 12 to 15 per cent more than they would have been had the wages been the same as in the private plants. ("Municipal Affairs," March, 1902, pp. 109-110.)

. . . It is encouraging that the plant, however, in face of these high wages for an eight-hour day, has yet been able to make several hundred thousand dollars profit during the past twenty years above depreciation, taxes, and interest, in comparison with what private companies would have charged. This is, of course, on the assumption that the private companies, as above pointed out, had continued, as they doubtless would have done, to charge more for lights supplied from expensive underground conduits than from cheaper overhead construction.

The Edison and Commonwealth companies of Chicago, which are practically one, offered in 1906 to sell electricity to the city for \$75 per year for each arc lamp supplied from overhead construction, but this was on condition that the city should grant important concessions in other directions. When these concessions were vetoed by Mayor Dunne, the best the city could get for arc lights supplied from overhead construction was \$90 each per year.

In view of the above and other facts, the conclusion arrived at by the writer in reviewing the reports of the expert of the reports of the Federation, and which he has embodied in his portion of the report, is as follows:

It appears to the writer to be conclusively demonstrated from the above facts that in both water, gas, and electricity the municipal plants have done far better for the taxpayer and consumer than the private plants in anything like a similar situation. Prices have been lowered and the plants have been largely or wholly paid for out of earnings, where there were any, or may be considered to have been mostly or entirely paid for out of the difference between the prices charged by private companies in the neighborhood and the construction and operating costs of the municipal plants. In this method of computation all questions of depreciation are met. It is thus established that even where the management is no better and the freedom from political entanglements is no greater than in private plants, nevertheless the municipality has gained. This has been due to one of the great inherent advantages of municipal management, namely, the fact that all earnings above interest charges at 4 per cent or thereabouts on the original cost of construction, are available for reducing the capital charges and relieving the ultimate burden of such charges upon future consumers or patrons, or the earnings may be in part devoted to free public service, as in the case of many water departments. It has been established beyond question that there is less typhoid in cities having municipal water-works, which is good evidence of the purity of the public water-supply. The scope of this investigation has not led to a full development of the far larger public use of municipal than of private services, but such data as have been gathered indicate that there are more arc lights per 100,000 of population and far more use of incandescent lighting in public schools and other city buildings than where such services are furnished by a private company. In Detroit and Allegheny it has been easier to get appropriations for lighting the schools from the municipal plant than in securing appropriations to pay the prices charged for similar service by the private company.

Enough has been said about the political and labor conditions in the report of Professor Commons, and in the references in the above chapters. It is believed, however, that the largest benefit of municipal management has come in the case of the majority of the municipal undertakings investigated through the freeing of the department from political evils, and in freeing the city from the desire of investors in the plant to secure a weak or corrupt city government. Where such good results have not followed, but where instead the spoils system has prevailed, it has appeared that the monopolies in private hands were equally enmeshed in politics. The general conclusions of the study of American conditions show that in our better governed cities there is greater superiority of municipal management over private management in neighboring places than is the case in Great Britain.

II. Gas

Brown's Directory of the American Gas Companies for 1907 gives the following list of municipal gas-works in the U. S. and Canada with their output during 1906:

UNITED STATES

CITIES	Feet output	CITIES	Feet output
Holyoke, Mass.	136,970,000	Gilroy, Cal. . . .	4,000,000
Middleboro, Mass.	1,874,600	Alexandria, Va. . .	44,000,000
Wakefield, Mass.	25,000,000	Charlottesville, Va.	19,000,000
Westfield, Mass.	18,150,500	Danville, Va. . . .	42,000,000
Norwich, Conn. . . .	40,000,000	Fredericksburg, Va. . .	8,834,000
Bellefontaine, Ohio	40,000,000	Richmond, Va. . . .	410,000,000
Hamilton, Ohio	73,000,000	Wheeling, W. Va.	116,000,000
Escanaba, Mich.	1,200,000	Cartersville, Ga.	6,300,000
Adams, Minn.	151,000,000	Dalton, Ga.	9,000,000
Duluth, Minn.	1,594,450	Talladega, Ala. . . .	5,000,000
West Minneapolis, Minn. . . .	1,838,000	Henderson, Ky. . . .	23,000,000
Dell Rapids, S. Dak.	2,000,000	Total.	1,182,761,550
De Smet, S. Dak.	3,000,000	Number of plants.	25
Rich Hill, Mo.		Average size of 24 plants. . . .	49,281,731

CANADA

CITIES	Feet output	CITIES	Feet output
Moncton, N. B.	4,500,000	Waterloo, Ont. . . . .	.....
Sorel, Que.	4,000,000	Total.	190,250,000
Belleville, Ont.	15,000,000	Number of plants.	10
Berlin, Ont.	25,000,000	Average size of 9 plants. . . .	21,138,889
Brockville, Ont.	26,750,000	Total sales of 33 plants in United States and Canada. . . .	1,373,011,550
Guelph, Ont.	30,000,000		
Kingston, Ont.	30,000,000		
Owen Sound, Ont.	16,000,000		
St. Thomas, Ont.	39,000,000		

The largest and oldest municipal gas-works in the U. S., or indeed in all North America, is that of Richmond, Va., with a population in 1906, as estimated by the U. S. Government, of 87,246. The city constructed the plant, in 1852. At the close of the war the plant, like all business in Richmond, was dilapidated and the records are not at hand for the earlier years. A report was made by an expert accountant, Mr. H. D. Boudar, April 15, 1897, and reprinted in subsequent annual reports. This shows that during the thirty years ending with 1896 the earnings of the plant had not only taken care of all the reconstruction since the war, but had paid back to the city its previous outlays, and had turned over in cash \$135,906.31. Since the plant had been paid for out of earnings it was not necessary to allow the city interest on the plant as had been done in the above computations. Taking this latter fact into consideration, the accountant reported: "This surplus (\$135,906.31) must be still further increased by the difference between the value of gas furnished the city for public consumption and the interest allowed the city on the cost of the works, etc., say \$358,074.23, making a total surplus of \$493,980.54 after repaying the city for its investment."

The accountant further asserted that the net revenue up to 1886 more than reimbursed the city for its outlay.

Since 1896 the gas-works, as appears from its

last annual report, has turned into the city treasury \$622,208.55 in cash, and \$40,000 a year, or \$400,000 in all, as a nominal interest charge on the assumed value of the plant. Since the plant, however, had been paid for out of earnings and there is no bonded debt, this \$400,000 is to be considered as part of the profits, making a total profit of \$1,022,208.55 less expenditures, amounting to less than half of this amount which has been put into extensions during this same ten-year period.

The city must also be credited with the value of the gas used in the streets and public buildings, and worth at \$1 a thousand feet over \$25,000 in 1906, and from \$20,000 to \$30,000 every year during the last ten years. The plant therefore has netted the city over and above the plant itself and its extensions about \$500,000 in cash and \$250,000 from the gas during the last ten years, and \$500,000 during the previous thirty years.

Richmond, also, was one of the first cities in the South to reduce the price of gas to \$1, which it did in 1893.

A committee of the city council was authorized in 1905 to hire a gas expert to suggest plans for enlargement and improvement of the works. To

the surprise of most of the people of Richmond he recommended the lease or sale of the works, and indulged in many criticisms of the management. The controversy that arose there-

after showed that many of his criticisms were mistaken and that the failure to make needed improvements in the works and distributing system previously had been due to the great need of the city for funds in other directions. It would have been, however, more profitable in the long run for the city to have been more liberal in its improvement of the gas-works, for operating expenses would thus have been reduced. This is one of the weaknesses of many municipal plants. The earnings go into the city treasury instead of being used for the improvement of the plant and the reduction in price. Richmond, however, is now seriously at work increasing the capacity of the plant and rendering it possible to have greater economies in the production of gas. Fortunately, there is every evidence of honest management. The labor force is well paid, contented, and efficient. Politics does not seem to have any place, and the council with only one dissenting vote decided to reject all propositions for either lease or sale.

The sale of gas to private consumers in 1906 was 318,661,000 feet, and for the street lamps 25,200,000 feet.

Another municipal plant of much age and reputation is that of Bellefontaine, Ohio, population 6,649 in 1900, which was built in 1873. Its last annual report for the year 1906 shows a profit for the year of \$2,724.70 after paying out \$11,096.16 for extensions and for the reduction of bonds issued for some recent extensions. Since the plant has been almost entirely paid for out of earnings, there is no interest charge of any importance. It may be remarked that neither in Bellefontaine nor Richmond is any allowance made for taxes that a private plant would pay, but these taxes are not large. At five cents per 1,000 feet, which is a common figure in private gas companies, they would amount to only about \$1,600 in Bellefontaine, and about \$16,000 in Richmond.

The city for some time has charged \$1.25 for gas for illuminating purposes, and seventy-five cents for fuel purposes, and sold in 1906 11,411,400 feet for lighting, and 22,636,200 feet for fuel

purposes, and also 1,674,320 feet for public uses. The leakage and condensation was 8 per cent. This was normal for such a plant. The leakage at Richmond, 15.2 per cent, was high, tho often found in private works. Bellefontaine on Jan 1, 1907, reduced the price of gas for fuel purposes to fifty cents per 1,000 feet.

While the oldest municipal gas-works is Richmond, yet Alexandria, Va., was started only one year later, namely, in 1853. In its report for the year ending May 31, 1907, it states that out of the profits there was transferred to the city for that year \$15,500, making a total amount transferred up to date \$235,590.75 in cash, while \$193,206.63 has been put into the plant out of earnings. All the plant had thus been paid for. The sales of 34,474,500 feet to private consumers in 1905-6 yielded \$39,964.65, or \$1.16 per 1,000 feet. In addition to this and to the cash already referred to as delivered to the city treasury, there was used by the city without charge 4,849,000 feet of gas, which at the prevailing rate would have been worth \$5,334, or over twice what the taxes would have been if the works had been in the hands of a private company. This publicly used gas was equal to over thirteen cents per 1,000 feet of all the gas sold to private consumers or used by the city.

Two municipal plants are generally recognized as failures: Philadelphia, Pa., and Hamilton, Ohio, but even they have justified their existence as municipal plants. Philadelphia was badly managed, the spoils system prevailed, strong engineers were not put in charge, and there was not sufficient money appropriated by the city councils for improvements. Nevertheless, the plant during the approximately fifty-six years of its existence prior to its lease in 1897 to the United Gas Improvement Company had paid for itself out of earnings, and during four fifths of the time had furnished gas at a lower price than the private companies in New York City. When the property was leased ten years ago, Philadelphia by virtue of its ownership was able to secure

Philadelphia much better terms than New York City was then enjoying, or is now enjoying, and in twenty more years the plant comes back to the city with large improvements. The lease seems to have been secured by bringing much pressure to bear on the city government in 1897. Even prior thereto the refusal of the city councils to make improvements in the management and character of the plant seems to have been partly due to outside influence. The city government at the time of the city lease voted down a proposition for a referendum vote, and the people only a week previous had approved the appropriation of \$1,000,000 for the improvement of the works. The private company has undoubtedly given excellent service, but showed the dangers of the situation when it participated in a movement for lengthening the lease from thirty years to seventy-five years in 1905, altho the city government had not been elected on that issue or with any public discussion of that question.

The city of Hamilton through its municipal plant secured a reduction in the price of gas from \$2 per 1,000 feet to 80 cents, but failed to take advantage of the opportunity it had to buy out the existing private company at a reasonable price. A fierce competition ensued. The city plant appears to have had neither non-partizan nor efficient management, and finally was sold in 1907 to a natural-gas company.

The lessons of these two plants point to the fact that any large and permanent success in municipal ownership can only be expected where a community has reached such a stage of political development as to have reasonable promise of responding to the stimulus which municipal ownership usually creates in the better developed of our cities. The great growth of municipal ownership, however, as shown by the table, indicates that the movement toward public management, which has been so very promising in water and in the smaller electric-light plants, is now beginning to affect the gas industry.

Wheeling, W. Va., whose population is estimated by the U. S. Government as 41,494 in 1906, has suffered seriously from the spoils system, and from the fact that the town became discouraged over the consequences of a very un-

Wheeling, W. Va. wise contract with a natural-gas company. The city should have bought the gas at wholesale at the city limits and supplied it to all desiring the same. Instead of that, the

city gave a contract to this company to pipe its streets, but to sell only for fuel uses except in streets where the city had no mains. Inasmuch, however, as this gas is sold for eighteen cents and can be used with Welsbach mantles for lighting, the city has had difficulty in preventing its use for that purpose, and has been discouraged in the improvement of its artificial-gas works. Had the proper policy been followed the city would have ceased to make artificial gas as long as natural gas lasts and have supplied the cheaper gas. Fortunately the city, despite all these handicaps, has had a brilliant success financially. It has supplied gas for seventy-five cents since 1887, and to-day has only three rivals for as low a price as seventy-five cents for general lighting purposes, one of these being the municipal plant of Duluth, Minn., and the other two being the large private plants of Cleveland and Cincinnati, but Wheeling started the seventy-five-cent rate long before any of the others.

The city, however, in spite of this low charge and of the fact that even prior to 1888 it took the lead in reduction of price, has paid for its entire plant out of earnings and turned into the city treasury for the construction of an electric-light plant and other purposes about \$400,000.

Although politics has greatly hampered the success of the plant, it is interesting to note that it has likewise largely entered into the relations of the street-railways and private electric-light and natural-gas companies to the city government.

Great efforts were made, 1897-1902, at Holyoke, Mass. (estimated population in 1906, 50,778), to secure an electric-light and gas plant for commercial and public uses. Under the Massachusetts law a city cannot construct and operate a lighting plant if there is a private enterprise already in the field unless the city first buys out the latter provided it desires to sell. In all cases the companies have decided to sell. The supreme court of the state has appointed a commission in each instance. These commissions have usually forced cities to pay not merely the structural value of the plant including a liberal allowance for property which had to be scrapped immediately after city purchase, but have also forced the cities to pay for the capitalization of the earnings at the time of purchase.

After a tedious litigation which cost the city

and private company about \$300,000, Holyoke began to operate both the gas and electric-light plants in Dec., 1902. Altho handicapped by a large purchase price and the costs of litigation, the city has reduced the price from \$1.34 to \$1.21, while during the previous seven years of private ownership there had been no decrease in price. The consumption has increased from 83,592,000 feet in 1901-2 to 121,570,000 feet in 1905-6. The cost of gas after paying interest and a very large depreciation and sinking-fund charge of five per cent on the cost of the plant was only \$1.10. On account of the price of coal and oil, all gas companies of Massachusetts have larger costs than in most other sections of the country east of the Missouri River.

Duluth has made the most striking success of any city with its municipal gas-works. When the city bought the gas-works in 1898 the price was \$1.90 for light and \$1 for fuel, but the city rapidly reduced the price (Oct. 1, 1905) to seventy-five cents for both light and fuel uses and

Duluth,
Minn.

fifty cents when the gas is used in gas-engines and furnaces. The consumption has increased from 25,309,363 feet in 1899 to 151,004,300 feet in 1906. In spite of these low

charges the earnings of the department are ample to pay the interest and keep up the repairs. It is somewhat doubtful whether a sufficient amount is being laid aside for depreciation, but with the rapid increase of business it is probable that henceforth depreciation charges will be covered by the earnings unless the price is still further reduced.

The city for a time after the purchase of the plant manufactured its gas, but in 1904 was able to make so good a contract for the purchase of its gas from a coke-oven plant, as do private companies in Boston, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, and elsewhere, that it has been no longer necessary for the city to run its own plant. It is kept in condition to operate whenever the necessity may arise.

It is remarkable that, following the lead of Alexandria and Richmond, two other Virginia cities, Danville and Charlottesville, began municipal gas-works in 1876, and Fredericksburg in 1893; Henderson, Ky., dates from 1866, but today the developments are mostly in the North and in Canada, where the higher standards of municipal government render a large measure of success more likely. EDWARD W. BEMIS.

REFERENCES: See PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

LINCOLN LEGION, THE: A temperance organization standing for Gospel temperance and pledge signing, organized at Oberlin, Ohio, in 1903, under the auspices of the Anti-Saloon League (*q. v.*). The name is derived from a pledge taken in his early days, worked for, and administered by Abraham Lincoln. The Lincoln pledge, which is made the pledge of the order, is as follows: "Whereas, the use of alcoholic liquors as a beverage is productive of pauperism, degradation, and crime, and believing it our duty to discourage that which produces more evil than good, we therefore pledge ourselves to abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage."

Enrolled signers are formed into a very simple order by hundreds, thousands, county divisions, and state divisions. It is expected that in each locality at least one annual reunion shall be held, preferably upon Lincoln's birthday. Several

hundred thousand persons are now enrolled. Superintendent, Howard H. Russell, D.D., 103 East 125th Street, New York City.

LINDERBERG, FERNANDO: Director Sociale Secretariate and Bibliotek; writer; Socialist; born 1854, Copenhagen, Denmark; educated in the country until sixteen years of age; learned gardening and lived as a gardener until his twenty-fifth year. In 1880 began the publication of *Folkebladet*, a weekly paper for the working people; later published various historical writings for the people; in 1895 wrote a larger work on socialism and competition, and other writings on social questions and the labor movement. His latest and most important work treats of the relation of Christianity to social evolution. Mr. Linderberg had a *privat stipendium* from 1896-98 to enable him to study the social questions and movements in Germany, Switzerland, and England. On his return to Copenhagen he organized in 1898 a committee for promoting the knowledge of social conditions and problems; in 1900 the Social Secretariate and Library whose aim is to follow and further the enlightenment of social conditions and movements abroad and at home partly as the Fabian Society and partly as the Christian Social Union in England and the American Institute of Social Service.¹ He is the author of "Frikonkurrencen og Socialismen"; "Werner Sombart and the Socialistic Working Movement"; "Henry George"; "Karl Marx"; "Kristendommen og den sociale Udvikling." Address: Sagasvej 14, Copenhagen, Denmark.

LINDSAY, SAMUEL McCUNE: Professor of social legislation in Columbia University, and director of the New York School of Philanthropy; born in Pittsburg, Pa., 1869; educated in public and private schools in Philadelphia; graduated from the University of Pennsylvania (1889). In 1894 he was appointed instructor in sociology in the University of Pennsylvania, and later professor. Expert for the Senate Finance Committee at the time of the Brussels Monetary Conference, 1892; special agent for the United States Industrial Commission, 1900 to 1902; 1902 to 1904 Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico; secretary of the National Child Labor Committee; 1904 a member of the Board of Public Education of the city of Philadelphia, 1906-7; is first vice-president and for several years was president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. His chief interest is in the problems of public education and child labor, upon which he has written extensively. Among the more important contributions are: "Die Preisbewegung der Edelmetalle (Jena, 1893); "Social Aspects of Philadelphia Relief Work" (Philadelphia, 1895); "Railway Labor in the U. S." (Washington, 1902); "History of the Establishment of the Public School System in Porto Rico" (Washington, 1905); "Child Labor." Edited three Annual Reports of the National Child Labor Committee (New York, 1905-7).

LINDSEY, BEN. B.: Judge of the Juvenile Court; born in Jackson, Tenn., 1869; educated in public schools. On Jan. 8, 1901, he was appointed judge in the Denver County Court, where he sat over a number of children's cases. He soon found that sending minors to jail served mainly to get boys into contact with hardened criminals.

¹ Mr. Linderberg is a Fabian Socialist.

His principle was that institutions should serve man, and not man become a slave to institutions. So he had a law passed authorizing a Juvenile Court with large discretionary powers. In order to attack juvenile crime as a whole he formed the "Kids' Citizens League," which put boys on their honor. He interested adults in the children through his "Juvenile Association for the Betterment and Protection of Children," and had sand piles, playgrounds, swimming-pools, etc., provided for them. To prevent temptation of young girls he succeeded in getting the wineroms closed, and had the law concerning child labor made stricter and properly enforced. He found that adults were often partly responsible for juvenile crimes, and so he had the "Contributory

Delinquency Law Against Adults" passed, which held negligent parents, employers, etc., accountable. He freed Denver from the tyranny of the corporations by having the election law revised. The boys sentenced to the industrial school at Golden are put on their honor, and go unattended; only three out of several hundred have betrayed his trust. He travels and lectures on children's problems during vacation. Author: "Problems of the Children." Address: Denver, Col.

LIQUOR CONSUMPTION (see also LIQUOR TRAFFIC; INTEMPERANCE, for the evils of drinking; and TEMPERANCE, for what is done for their reform): In this article simple facts and statistics of liquor consumption are given.

THE UNITED STATES

Compiled from the Statistical Abstract of the U. S., 1906

PER CAPITA					AMOUNT				
	Wines, consump- tion per capita	Malt liquors, consump- tion per capita	Spirits, consump- tion per capita	Consump- tion per capita of all wines and liquors	Year ended June 30—	DISTILLED SPIRITS CONSUMED			
						Domestic ¹		Import- ed for con- sumption	Total ²
	Gallons	Gallons	Proof Gallons	Gallons					
1840.....	0.29	1.36	2.52	4.17	1884....	1,137,056	78,479,845	1,511,680	81,128,581
1850.....	.27	1.58	2.23	4.08	1889....	1,294,858	77,802,483	1,515,817	80,613,158
1851.....					1894....	1,430,553	88,046,771	1,003,885	90,541,209
1852.....					1900....	1,386,361	94,265,035	1,705,998	97,357,394
1853.....					1905....	1,595,021	110,544,802	2,730,425	120,870,248
1854.....					1906....	1,781,643	122,961,612	3,011,289	127,754,544
1855.....									
1856.....									
1857.....									
1858.....									
1859.....									
1860.....	.35	3.22	2.86	6.43					
1861.....									
1862.....									
1863.....		1.87	.52						
1864.....		2.87	2.55						
1865.....		3.27	.50						
1866.....		4.49	.44						
1867.....		5.33	.44						
1868.....		5.17	.23						
1869.....		5.23	1.68						
1870.....	.32	5.31	2.07	7.70					
1871.....	.40	6.10	1.62	8.12					
1872.....	.41	6.66	1.68	8.75					
1873.....	.45	7.21	1.63	9.30					
1874.....	.48	7.00	1.51	8.99					
1875.....	.45	6.71	1.50	8.67					
1876.....	.45	6.83	1.33	8.61					
1877.....	.47	6.58	1.28	8.33					
1878.....	.47	6.68	1.09	8.24					
1879.....	.50	7.05	1.11	8.66					
1880.....	.56	8.26	1.27	10.08					
1881.....	.47	8.65	1.38	10.50					
1882.....	.49	10.03	1.40	11.92					
1883.....	.48	10.27	1.46	12.21					
1884.....	.37	10.74	1.48	12.60					
1885.....	.39	10.62	1.27	12.28					
1886.....	.45	11.20	1.28	12.92					
1887.....	.55	12.23	1.21	13.99					
1888.....	.61	12.80	1.26	14.67					
1889.....	.56	12.72	1.32	14.60					
1890.....	.46	13.66	1.40	15.53					
1891.....	.46	15.31	1.43	17.19					
1892.....	.43	15.17	1.49	17.10					
1893.....	.48	16.20	1.52	18.20					
1894.....	.32	15.32	1.34	16.96					
1895.....	.30	15.13	1.14	16.57					
1896.....	.27	15.84	1.01	17.12					
1897.....	.53	14.94	1.02	16.49					
1898.....	.28	15.96	1.12	17.36					
1899.....	.35	15.28	1.18	16.81					
1900.....	.39	16.01	1.25	17.68					
1901.....	.37	16.20	1.31	17.90					
1902.....	.63	17.49	1.36	19.49					
1903.....	.48	18.04	1.46	19.98					
1904.....	.53	18.28	1.48	20.35					
1905.....	.42	18.50	1.45	20.38					
1906.....	.55	20.20	1.51	22.27					

Year ended June 30—	WINES CONSUMED			Total ²
	Domestic ³		Import- ed for con- sumption	
	Gallons	Gallons		
1884.....	17,402,938	3,078,989	20,481,927	
1889.....	29,610,104	4,535,606	34,145,710	
1894.....	18,040,385	3,842,455	21,882,840	
1900.....	26,242,492	3,745,975	29,988,467	
1905.....	29,369,408	5,690,309	35,059,717	
1906.....	39,847,044	6,638,179	46,485,223	

Year ended June 30—	MALT LIQUORS CONSUMED			Total consump- tion of wines and liquors ²
	Domestic ³		Import- ed for con- sumption	
	Gallons	Gallons		
1884....	588,005,609	2,010,908	590,016,517	691,627,025
1889....	777,420,207	2,477,219	779,897,426	894,656,294
1894....	1,033,378,273	2,940,949	1,036,319,222	1,148,743,271
1900....	1,218,123,252	3,316,908	1,221,440,160	1,348,786,021
1905....	1,532,949,602	5,201,168	1,538,150,770	1,694,080,735
1906....	1,694,021,375	5,964,267	1,699,985,642	1,874,225,409

¹ Since 1885 includes domestic spirits exported and returned.
² Does not include data with respect to commerce between the U. S. and insular possessions from 1901 to date.
³ Product less domestic exports.

NOTES.—(1) The production of domestic wines was estimated by the Department of Agriculture, by Mr. Charles McK. Loeser, president of the Wine and Spirit Traders' Society of New York, and other well-informed persons, except that the production for 1889 is that officially reported by the Bureau of the Census Department of Commerce and Labor. (2) The consumption of domestic spirituous and malt liquors is de-

¹ Since 1885 includes domestic spirits exported and returned.

² Does not include data with respect to commerce between the U. S. and insular possessions from 1901 to date.

³ Product less domestic exports.

NOTES.—(1) The production of domestic wines was estimated by the Department of Agriculture, by Mr. Charles McK. Loeser, president of the Wine and Spirit Traders' Society of New York, and other well-informed persons, except that the production for 1889 is that officially reported by the Bureau of the Census Department of Commerce and Labor. (2) The consumption of domestic spirituous and malt liquors is derived from reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

GREAT BRITAIN

From statistics published annually in *The Times*, by Dr. Dawson Burns

LIQUORS CONSUMED IN 1905		Quantities	Cost, 1905	Total annual cost
British spirits, 26s. 6d. per gallon.....		32,598,932	£43,193,585	1905... £164,167,941
Other spirits, 26s. 6d. per gallon.....		6,770,334	8,971,355	1904... 168,987,165
Total spirits (gallons).....		39,369,766	52,164,940	1903... 174,445,271
Beer, 60s. per barrel (barrels).....		33,250,654	99,751,962	1902... 179,499,817
Wine, 18s. per gallon (gallons).....		11,945,599	10,751,039	1901... 181,738,243
British wines, cider, etc., estimated 2s. per gallon (gallons).....		15,000,000	1,500,000	1900... 184,881,196
				1899... 185,927,227
			£164,167,941	

This decreased annual expenditure on drink is notwithstanding an increasing population.

Dr. Burns figures the consumption per head as follows:

ENGLAND				
LIQUORS	Quantities consumed	Per head	Expenditure	Per head
		Gals.	£	£ s. d.
British spirits.....	22,305,046		29,554,186	
Other spirits.....	5,496,567		7,282,951	
Total spirits (gals.)	27,801,613	.8	36,837,137	1 1 6
Beer (barrels).....	29,670,987	31.3	89,012,961	2 12 2
Wine (gals.).....	10,153,759	.3	9,138,383	0 5 4
Other liquors (gals.)	14,000,000	.4	1,400,000	0 0 10
			136,388,481	3 19 10

SCOTLAND				
British spirits.....	6,667,156		8,833,982	
Other spirits.....	689,143		913,115	
Total spirits (gals.)	7,356,299	1.6	9,747,097	2 1 8
Beer (barrels).....	1,188,920	9.0	3,566,787	0 15 3
Wine (gals.).....	1,194,560	.3	1,075,104	0 4 7
Other liquors (gals.)	500,000	.01	50,000	0 0 3
			14,438,988	3 1 9

IRELAND

LIQUORS	Quantities consumed	Per head	Expenditure	Per head
		Gals.	£	£ s. d.
British spirits.....	3,626,730		4,805,417	
Other spirits.....	585,124		775,289	
Total spirits (gals.)	4,211,854	1.0	5,580,706	1 5 5
Beer (barrels).....	2,390,738	2.0	7,172,214	1 12 8
Wine (gals.).....	597,280	.1	537,552	0 2 6
Other liquors (gals.)	500,000	.1	50,000	0 0 3
			13,340,472	3 0 10

It should be noted that the official returns do not specify the quantities of beer and wine consumed in each kingdom. It is estimated, however, that 25 per cent of the beer paying duty in Scotland and Ireland is consumed in England; and that of the wine consumed 85 per cent is used in England, 10 per cent in Scotland, and 5 per cent in Ireland.

It would thus seem that of the United Kingdom England is consuming by far the largest amount of wine.

OTHER COUNTRIES

PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES¹

	WINE				BEER				SPIRITS 50 PER CENT ALCOHOL				ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL
	1885-89	1890-94	1895-98	1900	1885-89	1890-94	1895-98	1900	1885-89	1890-94	1895-98	1900	
Austria.....	3.87	3.83	3.44	.....	11.5	13.2	15.16	.....	1.8	2.2	2.4	.....	2.08
Belgium.....	.72	.82	.91	.....	36.9	39.7	43.92	.....	1.96	2.14	2.00	.....	2.83
Canada.....	.117	.09 ⁸	.09	.....	3.67	3.5 ¹⁰	3.56	.....	.78 ¹²	.75 ⁸	.66	.....	.52
Denmark.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18.4 ⁹	19.70	.....	3.2	3.3	3.3	.....	2.43
France.....	20.2	23.9	24.30	25.4	4.7	4.9	5.25	6.2	1.68	1.90	1.89	2.02	3.56
German Empire.....	1.14 ²	1.28	1.38	1.45	20.6	23.5	25.40	27.5 ¹¹	1.78 ¹³	1.97	1.90	1.94	2.08
Holland.....	.46	.44	.42	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.97	1.96	1.87	.....	1.00
Hungary.....	5.01	1.89	2.31	.....	.....	.15	2.13	.....	2.4	2.3	2.33	.....	1.50
Italy.....	21.2	21.5	17.92	.....	.18	.15	.11	.....	.33	.29	.24	.....	2.30
New Zealand.....	.187	.14 ⁸	.14	.....	7.67	7.4 ¹⁰	7.97	.....	.71 ¹²	.65 ⁷	.65	.....	.73
Norway.....	.19 ³	.25 ⁵	.37	.....	3.3	4.5	4.12	.....	.69	.76	.67	.....	.52
Portugal.....	.....	.....	20.33	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.11	.09	.....	2.07
Russia.....	.....	.....	.60	.....	.74	.69	.92	.....	1.43	1.09	1.05	.....	.61
Spain.....	16.2	17.9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.90 ⁴	.76	.....	.....	2.33
Sweden.....	.....	.05 ⁶	.13	.....	5.3	6.8	8.6	.....	1.6	1.5	1.6	.....	1.16
Switzerland.....	.....	.....	15.32	.....	8.2	10.9	14.12	.....	.....	1.38	1.32	.....	2.76
United Kingdom.....	.37	.38	.39	.39	27.5	29.8	30.60	31.7	.93	1.01	1.00	1.12	2.08
United States.....	.43	.36	.28	.33	9.7	12.6	12.6	13.3 ¹¹	1.05	1.19	.93	1.06	1.00

¹ The figures for 1899-1900 are from statistics published by the Board of Trade of Great Britain and Ireland. All others from Rowntree and Sherwell's "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform." ² 1889. ³ 1886-90. ⁴ 1887-89. ⁵ 1891-94. ⁶ 1893-94. ⁷ 1888-92. ⁸ 1894. ⁹ 1892-94. ¹⁰ 1893. ¹¹ 1899. ¹² 1888-92. ¹³ 1888-89. Alcohol strength of beer taken at 5 per cent for the United Kingdom and 4 per cent elsewhere. Wine taken at 15 per cent in the United Kingdom and United States, 12 per cent in Italy, 10 per cent elsewhere, except that in Norway it has been taken at 15 per cent since 1896. For the English colonies beer has been taken at 5 per cent and wine at 12 per cent.

CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES (1902)

COUNTRY	WINE		BEER		SPIRITS	
	Gallons consumed	Gallons per head	Gallons consumed	Gallons per head	Gallons consumed	Gallons per head
Australian Commonwealth	4,296,000	1.11	47,976,000	12.4	3,297,000	.85
Austria	119,218,000	4.4	409,772,000	15.4	68,728,000	2.64
Belgium	6,952,000	1.01	320,738,000	47.1	12,694,000	1.87
Bulgaria	27,038,000	4.0	946,000	.25	770,000	.20
Cape (no figures available)						
Denmark			51,529,000	20.8	8,085,000	3.25
Dominion of Canada	496,000	.09	28,038,000	5.1	4,346,000	.8
France	930,138,000	24.0	184,888,000	4.8	55,396,000	1.43
German Empire	66,198,000	1.14	1,484,692,000	25.5	105,556,000	1.85
Holland	1,980,000	.37			9,328,000	1.76
Hungary	69,410,000	3.5	29,700,000	1.5	39,972,000	1.98
Italy	884,114,000	27.0	5,126,000	.16	8,932,000	1.27
Natal			312,000	.33	304,000	.38
Newfoundland	7,200	.03	72,000	.34	67,000	.3
New Zealand	126,000	.10	7,381,000	9.2	602,000	.75
Norway			8,756,000	3.9	1,672,000	.75
Portugal	87,142,000	17.1				
Rumania	22,990,000	2.2	1,320,000	.21	6,996,000	1.12
Russian Empire			125,304,000	.89	144,655,000	1.03
Servia	5,830,000	7.0	1,408,000	.54		
Spain	321,810,000	17.2				
Sweden			64,724,000	12.5	8,932,000	1.72
Switzerland	51,854,000	15.0	45,452,000	13.6		
United Kingdom	15,281,000	.36	1,270,828,000	30.3	44,078,000	1.05
United States	32,253,000	4.0	1,207,750,000	15.0	96,672,000	1.22

THE DRINK EXPENDITURE IN TWELVE PRINCIPAL TOWNS
IN 1905

London	£18,779,996	Sheffield	£1,748,828
Liverpool	2,994,144	Bristol	1,386,356
Glasgow	2,489,062	Bradford	1,151,612
Manchester	2,253,520	Dublin	1,148,379
Birmingham	2,173,100	Belfast	1,086,837
Leeds	1,818,324	Edinburgh	1,035,038

Of the progress since 1881, Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell say ("The Taxation of the Liquor Trade"): Taking the whole of the United Kingdom, they point out that "the number of public-houses has fallen from 96,727 in 1881 to 91,502 in 1904, a decrease of 5,225, or 5.4 per cent. Mean-time the population has increased from less than 35,000,000 to nearly 43,000,000, an increase of 23 per cent. The estimated national expenditure upon alcoholic beverages has also increased during the same period by at least £23,000,000, or 16 per cent."

LIQUOR TRAFFIC, THE: The total cost, direct and indirect, of the liquor traffic of any country, no man knows or can know. Various estimates have been made at different times of

the "drink bill" of various nations, but the amount of these depends very largely on the extent to which the costs of the administration of justice, crime, and pauperism are attributed to drink. On this point authorities differ. (See POVERTY, CAUSES OF.) All are agreed only that the contribution of drink to such cost is enormous and that the annual drink bill of each principal nation runs into hundreds of millions of dollars. Only actual figures can be given as to portions of the cost of the liquor traffic. The problems of drink, poverty, and unemployment are, moreover, so interwoven that it is practically impossible to separate them. They should always be treated as a whole, if one would like to get a picture of their dire influence. They must, nevertheless, be treated separately, in order to become intelligible.

I. The United States

(For the consumption of liquor in the United States, see LIQUOR, CONSUMPTION OF.) The following are the statistics of production:

FERMENTED LIQUORS AND DISTILLED SPIRITS PRODUCED, AND DISTILLED SPIRITS TAX PAID FOR CONSUMPTION

[From reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue]

YEAR (ended June 30)	Production of fermented liquors	PRODUCTION OF DISTILLED SPIRITS, EXCLUSIVE OF BRANDY DISTILLED FROM FRUIT									
		Bourbon whisky	Rye whisky	Alcohol	Rum	Gin	High wines	Pure neutral or cologne spirits	Miscella- neous	Total	
	Barrels ¹	Tax. gall.	Tax. gall.	Tax. gall.	Tax. gall.	Tax. gall.	Tax. gall.	Tax. gall.	Tax. gall.	Tax. gall.	
1881	14,311,028	33,632,615	9,931,609	22,988,969	2,118,506	549,596	14,363,581	23,556,608	10,586,666	117,728,150	
1886	20,710,933	19,318,819	7,842,540	11,247,877	1,799,952	650,607	2,390,248	26,538,581	10,543,756	80,344,380	
1891	30,497,209	29,931,415	14,345,389	12,260,821	1,784,312	1,293,874	1,007,070	35,350,126	19,983,382	115,962,389	
1896	35,859,250	16,935,862	9,153,066	9,960,301	1,490,228	1,098,376	198,299	25,564,738	22,187,833	86,588,703	
1901	² 40,614,258	26,209,804	18,263,709	10,775,117	1,724,582	1,636,299	454,627	30,228,804	35,227,657	124,520,599	
1906	² 54,724,553	24,968,943	21,469,720	11,173,614	1,730,102	2,323,289	179,313	59,626,733	24,194,411	145,666,125	

¹ Of not more than 31 gallons.

² Includes fermented liquors removed from breweries for export free of tax.

FERMENTED LIQUORS AND DISTILLED SPIRITS PRODUCED,
AND DISTILLED SPIRITS TAX PAID FOR CONSUMPTION—Continued

[From reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue]

YEAR (ended June 30)	Production of fruit brandy, including apple, peach, and grape	Total production of distilled spirits	Distilled spirits other than fruit brandy [tax paid for consumption]
	<i>Tax, gall.</i>	<i>Tax, gall.</i>	<i>Tax, gall.</i>
1881.....	1,799,861	119,528,011	67,426,000
1886.....	1,504,880	81,849,260	69,295,361
1891.....	1,804,712	117,707,101	87,254,001
1896.....	3,403,852	89,992,555	67,039,910
1901.....	4,047,602	128,568,201	99,267,732
1906.....	4,444,072	150,110,197	122,732,822

U. S. INTERNAL REVENUE RECEIPTS, 1906	
<i>Spirits</i>	
Spirits distilled from apples, peaches, grapes, pears, pineapples, oranges, apricots, berries, prunes, figs, and cherries.....	\$1,959,807.28
Spirits distilled from materials other than apples, peaches, grapes, pears, pineapples, oranges, apricots, berries, prunes, figs, and cherries.....	135,006,104.21
Rectifiers (special tax).....	314,362.91
Wine made in imitation of champagne, and liquors produced by being rectified, etc....	7.20
Retail liquor dealers (special tax).....	5,407,981.31
Wholesale liquor dealers (special tax).....	600,326.63
Manufacturers of stills (special tax).....	1,391.66
Stills and worms manufactured (special tax)	3,456.67
Stamps for distilled spirits intended for export.....	2,345.25
Case stamps for distilled spirits bottled in bond.....	98,272.00
Total.....	\$143,394,055.12

IMPORTS INTO UNITED STATES

	1897	1900	1903	1906
Malt liquors:				
Duty, gallons.....	2,964,644	3,310,320	4,258,818	5,977,651
Duty, dollars.....	1,580,293	1,727,256	2,087,741	2,738,855
Spirits distilled:				
Duty, gallons.....	3,021,465	2,482,020	3,229,526	3,287,612
Duty, dollars.....	3,850,114	3,609,831	4,834,580	5,524,767
Wines:				
Champagne and other sparkling, duty, dozen bottles.....	228,628	310,149	407,944	415,394
Still wines:				
In casks, duty, gallons.....	2,997,952	2,533,828	3,753,211	4,482,499
In other coverings, duty, dozen bottles.....	309,281	35,920	440,869	546,688
Total wines, duty, dollars.....	6,862,405	7,421,495	10,249,296	10,993,968
Total spirits, wines, and malt liquors, dollars.....	12,272,872	12,758,582	17,171,617	19,257,590

The census of 1900 gives the following statistics of persons engaged in the U. S. in the liquor traffic:

OCCUPATION	Male	Female	Total
Saloon-keepers.....	81,789	2,086	83,875
Bartenders.....	88,497	440	88,937
Retail dealers in liquors and wines.....	12,928	191	13,119
Bottlers (not soda- and mineral-water).....	8,942	776	9,718
Brewers and maltsters.....	20,709	275	20,984
Distillers and rectifiers.....	3,115	30	3,145
Hotel-keepers.....	46,386	8,545	54,931
	262,366	12,343	274,709

Besides these must be included a large number of druggists, grocers, restaurant- and café-keepers, waiters, and employees in transportation, etc.

The *National Temperance Almanac* for 1907 gives the statistics, taken from government sources, presented in tabular form on p. 720.

As to the total amount of money invested in the liquor traffic, we have only estimates. The *National Temperance Almanac* (1907) estimates the direct cost at \$1,500,000,000, and compares this with \$273,000,000 spent for public schools, \$25,000,000 for clergymen's salaries, and \$689,592,000, the net earnings of railroads. An estimate was made by an American delegate to the International Congress against Alcoholism at Stockholm (Aug., 1907), putting the total capital in the U. S. invested in the liquor traffic, in 1907, at \$415,000,000. One should remember, tho, that figures vary, and that even under the most favorable circumstances they do not give a true idea of the actual state of affairs. For instance, one can never state exactly what percentage is used in the trades; 20, 25, or 30.

<i>Fermented and Malt Liquors</i>	
Ale, beer, lager-beer, porter, and other similar fermented liquors.....	\$54,651,636.63
Brewers (special tax).....	102,637.57
Retail dealers in malt liquors (special tax).....	311,698.04
Wholesale dealers in malt liquors (special tax).....	515,886.32
Total.....	\$55,641,858.56

CITIES

In New York City the number of liquor-tax certificates in force (1906) were, for hotels, 2,459, and saloons, clubs, etc., 8,317. The net revenue from licenses was \$11,470,142 (of which \$5,735,223 went to the state).

For Chicago, Mr. G. K. Turner (in *McClure's Magazine*, April, 1907) gives the following suggestive figures which may serve to show the extent and methods of the liquor trade in other cities. He says (in brief):

In 1906 the receipts in the retail liquor trade in Chicago were over \$100,000,000; they were probably about \$115,000,000. There are 7,300 licensed liquor sellers in Chicago, and in addition about a thousand places where liquor is sold illegally. The only business which approaches this in number of establishments, according to the Chicago directory, is the grocery trade, which has about 5,200. The city spends at least half as much for what it drinks as for what it eats—not counting the cost of the cooking and serving of food.

The great central power in the liquor business in America is the brewery. In the past thirty-five years the per-capita consumption of spirituous liquor in the U. S. has increased not at all. The per-capita consumption of malt liquor has trebled. This increase has come, partly because of the demand for a milder drink, but largely also because of another fact: because the breweries own or control the great majority of the saloons of American cities. They have a distinct policy:

If there are not as many saloons as there can be, supply them. This is what has been done in Chicago. Fully 90 per cent of the Chicago saloons are under some obligation to the brewery; with at least 80 per cent this obligation is a serious one. Almost every saloon-keeper sells the beer of one brewer only. There is now one retail liquor dealer to every 285 people,

Liquor
Traffic
Methods

1906

STATES AND TERRITORIES	Rectifiers	Retail liquor dealers	Wholesale liquor dealers	Manufac- turers of stills	Brewers	Retail dealers in malt liquors	Wholesale dealers in malt liquors
Alabama.....	10	1,779	90	.....	5	365	70
Alaska.....	1	580	12	.....	9	3	12
Arizona.....	6	1,275	23	.....	3	14	40
Arkansas.....	4	1,495	60	.....	1	95	73
California.....	161	15,561	596	3	112	345	306
Colorado.....	11	3,011	96	.....	11	187	215
Connecticut.....	31	3,524	66	1	25	114	209
Delaware.....	7	435	7	.....	6	13	12
District of Columbia.....	19	992	31	.....	5	81	25
Florida.....	4	881	32	.....	2	126	52
Georgia.....	19	1,551	78	1	5	267	53
Hawaii.....	3	307	48	.....	1	5	5
Idaho.....	27	1,335	25	.....	15	39	62
Illinois.....	194	23,058	408	4	124	1,530	919
Indiana.....	31	9,330	88	.....	46	796	514
Indian Territory.....	.....	130	.....	.....	.....	346	45
Iowa.....	17	4,353	78	.....	22	591	513
Kansas.....	1	3,425	28	.....	2	594	119
Kentucky.....	74	4,050	253	3	22	395	116
Louisiana.....	30	4,707	120	.....	10	150	90
Maine.....	.....	128	2	.....	4	471	24
Maryland.....	84	4,801	192	1	20	102	127
Massachusetts.....	160	4,931	206	.....	37	142	418
Michigan.....	9	9,101	91	.....	96	499	335
Minnesota.....	66	6,558	120	.....	84	1,036	528
Mississippi.....	2	575	28	.....	.....	32	21
Missouri.....	107	8,953	206	1	60	718	492
Montana.....	24	2,098	59	.....	23	124	143
Nebraska.....	10	2,605	45	.....	18	204	515
Nevada.....	.....	1,481	36	.....	6	11	56
New Hampshire.....	2	912	21	.....	5	60	73
New Jersey.....	78	10,900	180	2	46	280	402
New Mexico.....	5	986	25	.....	2	12	40
New York.....	420	34,264	1,191	8	238	460	597
North Carolina.....	18	774	39	1	.....	227	25
North Dakota.....	2	977	7	.....	.....	605	67
Ohio.....	156	18,633	433	12	128	360	657
Oklahoma.....	2	1,155	16	.....	3	123	144
Oregon.....	25	2,357	63	.....	28	44	72
Pennsylvania.....	338	18,591	589	4	244	699	1,083
Rhode Island.....	17	1,922	46	.....	6	29	56
South Carolina.....	1	498	5	.....	1	58	13
South Dakota.....	3	1,293	22	.....	4	104	107
Tennessee.....	41	2,192	93	.....	4	142	115
Texas.....	19	3,249	58	.....	17	2,666	343
Utah.....	14	956	24	.....	5	55	43
Vermont.....	1	228	2	.....	.....	77	18
Virginia.....	32	2,502	56	.....	7	151	76
Washington.....	33	3,780	78	.....	42	103	151
West Virginia.....	12	1,734	36	.....	31	447	224
Wisconsin.....	71	11,777	118	.....	159	810	445
Wyoming.....	3	650	75	.....	3	187	11
Total for year ended June 30, 1906..	2,405	243,400	6,311	41	1,747	17,094	10,871

disregarding, of course, the 1,000 unlicensed dealers. In the laboring wards the licensed saloons run as many as one to every 150.

Chicago expended not less than \$55,000,000 for beer in 1906.

II. Other Countries

Dr. Dawson Burns, who is considered the best authority on the subject in the United Kingdom, says (*Daily Mail Year Book*, 1907):

The total expenditure in the United Kingdom on distilled and fermented liquors in 1905 may be taken at £164,167,941, which amount, compared with the expenditure in 1904, shows a decrease of £4,819,224. On spirits there was a decrease of £1,857,160; on beer, of £2,922,093; on wine, of £39,962.

As this is the sixth year showing a consecutive annual decreased expenditure on alcoholic liquors, it will be interesting to enumerate each annual decrease since 1899, when the estimated expenditure was £185,927,227—1900 showed a decrease of £1,046,031; 1901, £3,142,953; 1902, £2,238,426; 1903, £5,054,546; 1904, £5,458,106; 1905, £4,819,224; decrease in six years, £21,759,286.

But it should be further observed that the population of the United Kingdom has increased since 1899 to the extent of 2,659,834, or about 6½ per cent; and, if the expenditure had proportionately increased, it would have amounted in 1905 to £198,012,495. But it not only failed to rise to that amount,

but fell to £164,167,941, thus giving an actual and proportional decrease of £33,844,554.

Dr. Burns estimates the drink expenditure for 1905 of London at £18,779,906; Liverpool, £2,799,144; Glasgow, £2,449,062; Manchester, £2,253,520; Birmingham, £2,173,100. The capital value of breweries, distilleries, and their licensed property, and of all licensed houses and the trade in all forms in the United Kingdom, was estimated in 1898 to be £230,000,000. The number of breweries licensed 1905-6 was 5,142, compared with 9,050 in 1894-95, there being a strong tendency to combination of the trade in a few large firms.

The German Empire spent (1905-6) 2,826,000,000 marks for alcoholic drinks, compared with 419,000,000 mk. for public schools, according to Dr. Waldschmidt. (*Der Alkoholismus*, March, 1906.) For other countries the extent of the traffic can only be estimated from the amount of their liquor consumption. (See LIQUOR, CONSUMPTION OF.)

REFERENCE: See TEMPERANCE.

LIST, FRIEDRICH: German Nationalist; born at Reutlingen, Württemberg, in 1789. Professor of political economy at Tübingen in 1817, he resigned in 1819 to devote himself to the development of German industry. Elected to the Diet of Württemberg, he exposed the vices of the administration, and was condemned in 1822 to ten months' imprisonment. Fled to Switzerland, but returning in 1824, was imprisoned at Asperg, later was pardoned and allowed to emigrate to the United States. He settled in Pennsylvania, published here his "Outlines of a New System of Political Economy" (1827), in which he attacked the ideas of Adam Smith, and outlined an economy on a national basis. Having discovered a deposit of anthracite on his grounds, he was able to return to Europe in 1833 with an independent fortune. Settled at Augsburg and devoted himself to an agitation for a suitable system of railway lines and to economic writing. In a fit of despondency he shot himself, Nov. 30, 1846.

Ingram says of him:

Another element of opposition [to the *laissez-faire* school in Germany] was represented by Friedrich List, (1798-1846), a man of great intellectual vigor as well as practical energy, and notable as having powerfully contributed by his writings to the formation of the German Zollverein. His principal work is entitled "Das Nationale System der Politischen Oekonomie" (1841; 6th ed., 1877; Eng. trans., 1885). . . . It was particularly against the cosmopolitan principle in the modern economical system that he protested, and against the absolute doctrine of free trade, which was in harmony with that principle. He gave prominence to the national idea, and insisted on the special requirements of each nation according to its circumstances and especially to the degree of its development. . . . The nation having a continuous life, its true wealth consists—and this is List's fundamental doctrine—not in the quantity of exchange-values which it possesses, but in the full and many-sided development of its productive powers.

LIVERMORE, MARY ASHTON (née RICE): Temperance advocate, woman suffragist, lecturer; born in Boston, 1821. Was a pupil and for some time a teacher in the female seminary in Charlestown, Mass. Left this to teach a family school in Virginia, and remained there three years, to return North a radical abolitionist. While teaching at Duxbury, Mass., she met Daniel P. Livermore, a Universalist clergyman, whom she married, devoting herself to aiding his temperance labors. In 1862 she became one of the agents of the northwestern branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, and during that year traveled throughout the Northwest, everywhere organizing sanitary aid societies. In the spring of 1863 she made a tour of the hospitals and military posts on the Mississippi.

After the war she labored in the woman's suffrage and temperance movements. In 1869 she established the *Agitator*, a woman's suffrage paper, but in 1870 became editor of the *Woman's Journal* of Boston. In 1872 she resigned to devote herself to the platform, and for years spoke five nights in the week for five months in the year.

Mrs. Livermore was much interested in politics; was twice sent by the Republicans of her town as delegate to the Massachusetts State Republican Convention, charged with the presentation of woman suffrage resolutions, which were accepted and incorporated into the party platform. She was for ten years president of the Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union. President of the Woman's Congress during the first two years of its organization, she also served as president of the American Woman Suffrage Association. She died in 1905.

LIVERPOOL: An English city of considerable antiquity. It has been identified as the British port called *Portus Segantiorum* by Ptolemy, the geographer of Alexandria, and dates therefore from the Roman occupation of Britain. The origin of the modern name is doubtful, but the most probable derivation is from the Teutonic *hlith* = a slope; thus Liverpool or Litherpool, as it was sometimes written, may mean the "pool on the slope." The topography of the city gives some support to this theory. The earliest charter of Liverpool was granted by Henry II. in 1173. King John granted a charter in 1207, and the history of Liverpool as a borough may be said to date from the latter year. The growth of the population was slow until the end of the eighteenth century. In 1700 the population was but 5,700 persons. Gradually the maritime and commercial business of the port assumed important dimensions. Beginning with Ireland and the coastwise trade, the merchants rapidly extended their operations to the Virginian tobacco trade, the West Indies, North America, and the west coast of Africa, the latter eventually becoming the most important market. Many of the ships were "privateers," adding the spoils of warfare to the profits of commerce, and quite a large number were engaged in the slave trade between the Guinea coast and the West Indies.

From a return made in the year 1771 it appears that 105 ships sailed from Liverpool to Africa, and carried to the West Indies 28,200 negroes. In 1788, when suppression of slavery was agitated, it was stated that the profit to Liverpool from the slave trade amounted to £300,000 per annum. In 1801 the population of the city had risen to 77,000; by 1851 it rose to 375,955; by 1901, to 686,332; and by 1904 to 723,430.

The system of docks for which Liverpool is world-famous originated in 1708, when Thomas Steers recommended and carried out the conversion of the "Pool" into a wet dock by impounding the water with flood-gates, so as to keep vessels afloat regardless of tide. The flood-gate had been employed in ancient times, and by the Dutch and Italians at a more modern period, in connection with canals and irrigation, but Liverpool was the first to utilize it in a tidal estuary for the purpose of neutralizing its ebbs and flows. The first dock was opened in 1715. There are now in existence 63 wet docks, the largest of them being capable of accommodating the largest of steamships. The total water area of the docks is about 700 acres with a lineal quayage of about 50 miles. There are also numerous graving docks for repair work. Many of the docks are surrounded by warehouses for the storing of cargo. The Tobacco Warehouse at Stanley Dock, 125 feet high, with a floor area of 36 acres, is probably the largest warehouse in the world, and is capable of storing 60,000 hogsheads of tobacco. Special warehouses have been provided for grain, wool, and general produce. A landing stage for enabling passengers to land and embark at any state of the tide, extends for 2,478 feet along the river-front. The entire Dock Estate, a property of enormous value, is controlled and managed by a body of twenty-eight gentlemen known as the Mersey Docks and Harbor Board, constituted by act

History

Docks

The Dock Estate

of Parliament. Twenty-four of these are elected by the dock ratepayers, i. e., persons paying rates and dues on ships and goods, and the remaining four are appointed by a commission consisting of three members of the British Government. The aggregate tonnage entering and clearing at Liverpool during the year ending June 30, 1906, was 32,295,712 tons. There is perhaps no greater monument to the wisdom and efficiency of public management than the Liverpool Dock Estate. Without the incentive of individual gain, the representatives of the commercial community devote their best energies to the consolidation and enlargement of the public estate; they receive no remuneration whatever for their services—the position being regarded as an honor to be attained only by the best men in the various branches of trade. No interest, political or otherwise, is allowed the slightest footing in the councils of the board, and it would be difficult to find another instance of services so impersonal, yet highly expert and laborious, being given without any inducement save public spirit and honorable distinction.

Among the public services which are municipally controlled and managed in Liverpool only the more important can be described here. The Electricity Supply Department of the City Council took over by purchase in 1896 the undertaking of a private company which had operated in the city from 1883. The purchase price was £400,000 and the business had then a total plant capacity of 10,000 horse power. The pressure of supply was 110 volts. Immediately on taking over the system the municipality increased the pressure, and erected new generating stations. On Dec. 31, 1905, the capital expended amounted to £1,849,775, and the surplus profit, after paying all working costs and charges for interest and sinking fund for the year 1905, exceeded £50,775—a large portion of which was handed over to the general fund of the city in reduction of rating. During the year 1905 the department supplied in lighting and power, including supply to the Tramway Department, a total of 31,452,323 units at a charge which averaged 3.17*d.* per unit to private users, 2*d.* per unit for public purposes other than tramway power, and 1.107*d.* for tramway power. The charges have been several times reduced since the service was municipalized. The department is at present (1906) considering a scheme for supplying motors to small workshops on the hire system in order to increase the use of electricity for industrial purposes.

The Tramway Department has been similarly successful. Taking over by purchase in 1897 the undertaking of a joint stock company, the city speedily converted the horse tramway into an electric system. The capital expenditure Dec. 31, 1905, stood at £1,898,812, and the length of track operated was 104 miles. The surplus, after paying interest on loan capital, and setting aside sinking fund and depreciation, reserve, and renewal funds, amounted in 1905 to £27,108, which was transferred to general rate account and there served to reduce the rates levied upon the citizens. The success of the municipal tramway undertaking was achieved upon fares greatly reduced (a passenger is carried two miles and a half for 1*d.*), wages of em-

ployees increased, and hours of labor shortened by about one third.

The proper housing of the poorer citizens has for many years exercised the ingenuity of the

Housing

Liverpool City Council. As far back as 1869 six blocks of cottages, known as St. Martin's Cottages, were erected out of funds of "Capital Personal Estate" belonging to the city. At a later period extensive clearances of slum property were made and the cleared sites were offered for sale on condition that workmen's dwellings at cheap rents should be erected. No purchaser coming forward, the City Council proceeded to erect the Victoria Square Dwellings and the Juvenal Street Laborers' Dwellings (371 tenements in all). These were opened in 1885 and 1890. It was found that, owing to the rent charge being somewhat higher than that of the demolished property, the new dwellings were tenanted by a class of workers superior to the former tenants of the site, the latter being crowded together in "sublet" houses in the neighborhood. It was felt to be desirable to rehouse the poorest of the poor, and eventually a new type of dwelling was designed—plain, but substantial and thoroughly sanitary—in which it was possible to accommodate the former tenants of the slum at a rent averaging about 1*s.* per room. A large number of dwellings have now been built, and the greatest care is taken to let these corporation tenements only to tenants who have actually been dispossessed or are about to be dispossessed by the slum demolitions of the City Council. Modifications of the original design are frequently made in the direction of greater comfort and convenience. In 1905 the Eldon Street Dwellings were opened. These houses, three stories high, comprising twelve three-roomed tenements, were built of crushed clinker (from the Council's refuse destructors) and Portland cement, molded into slabs, each slab forming a complete side or roof of a room, openings for doors and windows, as well as fireplaces and flues, being formed in the molding. The staircases, balconies, and chimneys above the roof are similarly molded in blocks. Owing to the difficulty and expense of transporting and hoisting the heavy slabs, this small experiment proved to be expensive. On a larger scale, however, it is expected to work out cheaper than the ordinary brick and mortar dwelling.

According to a report dated March 21, 1906, the Council had erected 1,820 tenements in all, with 4,359 rooms. The cost or valuation of the land for housing purposes and the cost of buildings amounted together to £356,705. The gross annual rental was £17,799. There were also in course of erection or projected, 340 tenements consisting of 951 rooms. For the year 1905 the net receipts, after deducting repairs and expenses, were £7,312—a little over 2 per cent on the capital outlay. It will be seen therefore that the result is not sufficient to pay interest and sinking fund, and the housing scheme thus necessitates a small charge upon the rates.

The Council has hitherto confined its building operations to the central part of the city. It will before long be compelled to turn its attention to the suburbs where private builders are erecting houses which are likely to deteriorate into slums in a very few years. During the last half century many building by-laws have been made to check the tendency to overcrowd the houses

upon a given area, but much remains to be done. Reformers are demanding increased powers for controlling the planning of streets and building areas on the outskirts of great cities so that ample space shall be secured about every dwelling.

Besides the important departments mentioned above, the city owns landed estate yielding about £100,000 per annum; it has constructed important engineering works for the purpose of procuring a constant and plentiful supply of pure water from the mountains of Wales; it owns and manages six markets which bring in a net revenue of £16,000 a year; it manufactures paving slabs from street refuse; it owns and works two large sewage farms producing crops of rye-grass, cabbages, potatoes, mangel-wurzels, and beet-root, the income from the produce covering the expenses of the farms; it paves its own streets and constructs its own sewers; it collects and disposes of all the refuse of the streets and houses; it constructs its tramways and repairs the cars. Besides these useful undertakings the city provides parks, gardens, recreation grounds, botanic gardens, palm-houses, aviaries, museums, art-gallery, libraries, baths, wash-houses, hospitals, and convalescent homes for the pleasure, health, or instruction of the citizens. Liverpool municipal effort has also largely contributed to the founding of the local university; and numerous elementary and secondary schools, technical schools, a nautical college, industrial schools, are controlled and managed by the City Council. A very recent departure was the establishment of depots for the sale of sterilized milk for infants. It is hoped by this venture to reduce the rate of infant mortality. In addition to the constructive work carried on directly by this enterprising municipality, there is a vast amount done in the way of inspection of private enterprise. A bacteriological department analyzes food and drugs; the medical officer's department inspects bakehouses, common lodging-houses, canal-boats, shippens, milk-shops, insanitary property, workshops where offensive trades are conducted, and endeavors to diminish the smoke nuisance. A special staff of female sanitary inspectors is occupied in visitation among the poorer classes in order to instruct mothers in the care of infants; they also inspect workshops where women are employed, assist the Police-Aided Clothing Association in clothing poor children, and render other useful services.

JOHN EDWARDS.

REFERENCES: Pictou's *Memorials of Liverpool*, Handbook compiled for the Congress of the Royal Institution of Public Health, 1903; Annual Reports of the Medical Officer of Health, Reports of Proceedings of the City Council, Reports of various Committees of the City Council, Reports and Pamphlets of Liverpool Housing Association, Publications of the Liverpool Fabian Society.

LLOYD-GEORGE, DAVID: President of the English Board of Trade (1905) and M.P.; born in 1863, at Manchester, England; educated in the Church School at Llanstymdury and privately. Read law and was admitted to practise as a solicitor in 1884. An eager and enthusiastic Liberal, Mr. Lloyd-George has always been active in politics and has had a most strenuous career. In 1890 was elected to Parliament for the Carnarvon District, North Wales. At the defeat of the Conservatives and the coming in of the Liberal Party in 1905 he was given a portfolio as President of the Board of Trade in the new

cabinet formed by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Address: Brynawel, Criccieth, Carnarvon, Wales.

LLOYD, HENRY DEMOREST: Socialist author; born New York City, 1847; educated public schools, Dr. Anthon's School, and Columbia College, class of '67. Studied at Columbia Law School, LL.D.; admitted to New York bar in 1869 and to bar of Chicago in 1872, but never practised. In 1871 he took an active part in the overthrow of Tammany and the Tweed Ring. He was secretary of the American Free Trade League, 1868 to 1872. Delegate for New York to Liberal Republican Convention at Cincinnati in 1872 he opposed the nomination of Horace Greeley. From 1872 to 1885 he was successively literary and financial editor and editorial writer on his *Chicago Tribune*, beginning here his study and observation of the great industrial combinations then forming. In 1881 he published "The Story of the Great Monopoly," the first arraignment of the Standard Oil Company and the railroads in granting it discriminating rebates. This was followed by other articles in like vein, notably "The Lords of Industry." He endeavored to save the lives of the Chicago anarchists, thinking them unjustly condemned. Lloyd gave much time to active work in the labor struggles of his time, was counsel for the Anthracite Miners before the Coal Strike Commission in 1902, and worked earnestly in 1903 for public ownership of the street railways of Chicago. It was in these last labors for the people that he contracted the illness of which he died in Sept., 1903. He was a radical opponent of the private use of public wealth, believing that the producers should own the wealth they produced. His ideals worked toward a cooperative commonwealth where social love would replace the present strife, and could see no limit to the development of man, who in his function of creator is to redeem both himself and society. Politically he believed party to be a necessary evil for the present and had determined to join the Socialists as being the only party which avowed a social ideal, international as well as national, and offered a program for the next great step, namely—the extension of the democratic principles to industry. In addition to the works already mentioned he wrote "Wealth Against Commonwealth"; "Labor Co-partnership"; "A Country Without Strikes"; "Newest England," etc.

LOBBY: "The lobby" is the name given to persons who undertake to influence the members of a legislature and thereby to secure the passing of bills. The term includes both those who, since they hang about the chamber, and make a regular profession of working upon members, are called "lobbyists" and those persons who on any particular occasion may come up to advocate, by argument or solicitation, any particular measure in which they happen to be interested. The name, therefore, does not necessarily impute any improper motive or conduct, tho it is commonly used in an unfavorable sense.

Says Mr. A. R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, in the *American Cyclopaedia of Political Science*, article "Lobby":

What is known as lobbying by no means implies in all cases the use of money to affect legislation. This corruption is frequently wholly absent in cases where the lobby is most industrious, numerous, persistent, and successful. By casual interviews, by informal conversation, by formal presentation

of facts and arguments, by printed appeals in pamphlet form, by newspaper communications and leading articles, by personal introductions from or through men of supposed influence by dinners, receptions, and other entertainments, by the arts of social life and the charms of feminine attraction, the public man is beset to look favorably upon the measure which interested parties seek to have enacted.

Unfortunately, however, the lobby usually degenerates till it is mainly a lobby in the bad sense. This results almost inevitably from methods of legislation, particularly in the United States. In the U. S. legislatures all business goes before committees—not only private bills, but public bills—often involving great pecuniary interests. To give a bill a fair chance of passing, the committee must be induced to report in favor of it. The committees have no quasi-judicial rules of procedure, but inquire into the subject, and usually by giving hearings on the subject to interested parties. If the committee can be gained the bill usually passes. The fate of a bill, therefore, often really lies in the hands of a few men, tho the responsibility can be thrown on the whole legislature. This gives enormous opportunity for corruption. Great corporations are sometimes interested to the extent of millions on the wording of a bill. Politicians of the lowest type can, therefore, get large bribes from corrupt corporations. This all but compels other corporations to bribe likewise. If the corporation does not, the corrupt corporation will gain the legislation. As a result, the average corporation that seeks a bill goes to the legislature with money in its hand, and still oftener it goes with money to buy off legislation that would injure, legislation often simply introduced to make the corporation pay for preventing its passage, or legislative blackmail. The corporation often has to spend money to gain a perfectly just and right bill. It is on this all but inevitable result of present industrial and commercial methods that the lobby fattens. Nor does the money always need to be corruptly spent. A sharp lobbyist, who knows the ins and outs of legislative practise, who knows many of the legislators, who knows who is corruptible and who not, who knows how to bring political influence to bear in this way or that, can often obtain or defeat legislation without the use of money. He may sell his influence, and the corporation money go into his pocket without his buying the legislators. It is in such ways that around almost all American legislatures has grown up "a third house," which is sometimes more influential than the other two. (See CORRUPTION.)

Efforts have been made to check the practise of lobbying, both in Congress and in state legislatures. Statutes have been passed severely punishing any person who offers any money or value to any member with a view to influence his vote. It has been repeatedly held by the courts that "contracts which have for their object to influence legislation in any other manner than by such open and public presentation of facts, arguments, and appeals to reason as are recognized as proper and legitimate with all public bodies must be held void."

It has been attempted to lessen lobbying by restricting the legislatures. Some states enacted a law compelling all lobbyists to be registered, that it may be known who they are and whom they represent, and exacting an account of all money spent in lobbying. Lobbies have been formed to represent the public interest, but they have no definite organization.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND: Perhaps the most concise way of stating the present position of local government in England is to give the chief items in the accounts of the money received and spent by our local councils. The following figures are taken from the "Annual Report of the Local Government Board, 1905," which deals with the financial year 1902-3. The total receipts of local authorities in England and Wales were (the earlier figures are given for comparison):

1879-80.....	£52,600,000	1901-2.....	£121,500,000
1900-1.....	111,900,000	1902-3.....	129,000,000

Analysing the last year's accounts more closely we find that the total included receipts from:

Rates, £50,000,000 (as compared with £22,000,000 in 1879-1880).	
Gas.....	£7,000,000
Water-works....	4,000,000
Tramways.....	£3,750,000
Electricity.....	1,750,000

The total expenditure of these local authorities for this same year 1902-3 was £128,960,000; made up of the following chief items:

Repayment and interest of loans.	£20,280,000
Highways.....	16,600,000
Poor relief.....	15,500,000
Education.....	13,300,000
Tramways.....	7,000,000
Gas.....	6,300,000
Water.....	6,000,000
Police.....	5,900,000
Electricity.....	5,300,000
Sewage.....	4,500,000

The loans outstanding at the end of the year amounted to £370,500,000. All the above figures clearly demonstrate the vast increase in the importance of local government activities and the enormous nature of the sums already involved. It is useful to remember that the national revenue of Great Britain in 1903 was £151,550,000; while the national debt stood at about £650,000,000. There are periodical, perhaps incessant, outcries that the local councils are spending too much money, but this is mainly the criticism of irresponsible persons who do not know the facts. The rational citizen has quite decided that the local councils are making a profitable use of the public money; and that an active policy on the part of the councils is an essential part of civilization. "Municipal trading" is pushing out its boundaries every day, just because it has been demonstrated beyond dispute that the public interest is better served by a public council than by a private company whose chief object is private gain.

Such being, in barest outline, the statistical facts of English local government, it remains to point out the more important problems which arise in this department of our public affairs. There are two problems which most urgently call for solution.

(1) *The law concerning English local government is in a state of extreme confusion, and must be made precise and clear.* It is a rash deed to write down a generalization from the data of social science, but we may say that the

Problems

Municipal Corporation Act of 1835 was the first attempt to reduce medieval chaos to modern order in the affairs of local government. Until 1835 the power of local government had been the power to govern a neighborhood as the authorities of that place pleased; there was little attempt to force them to consider the wider interests of the whole nation; each borough had its own customs. The

Act of 1835 laid down a uniform code which was to apply to the bulk of the boroughs of England. This modern process of national uniformity has been continued and extended until at the present time we find our local affairs in the hands of various public bodies (Parish, District, both urban and rural, Borough, and County Councils, Boards of Guardians, and Magistrates), who are called to administer their duties under the terms of comprehensive acts of which the chief are the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882, and the Public Health Act of 1875. So far stated the position seems fairly simple, but closer examination reveals a very remarkable state of things; for example, the Public Health Act, 1875, requires 2,200 closely printed pages of notes and references to over 600 other acts of Parliament to explain its meaning. It is necessary to read innumerable acts of Parliament besides the Municipal Corporations Act before a citizen can understand the powers of borough councils. Besides the main Poor Law Acts of 1601, 1834, and 1868, there are 400 other acts bearing on the subject and explained in 1,800 reported cases. The law of rating is scattered in almost 100 acts and 1,200 cases. Further, special subjects of local government are dealt with by separate acts on tramways, electricity, gas, water, small holdings, allotments, housing for the working classes, burials, police, highways; to enter the domain of local government is immediately to be faced by a long row—many long rows—of acts of Parliament and law books. The layman is helpless in this confusion; be it whispered, the lawyer is often hard prest for an answer. If the people are to govern, if democracy is to be aught but a theory, then the law must be made infinitely more understandable. It must be still more codified and also revised toward more simplicity. There is, for example, no need for district councils; their work could be easily distributed between the Parish Councils and the County Councils. The District Council area is too small for economical administration; it is too large for its members to intimately know the needs of the inhabitants. Then the Boards of Guardians must be abolished and their duties handed over to the County Councils. Come what may, simple law is the price of democratic control.

(2) *The complicated business of local government must ultimately be conducted by the professional expert. The problem before the elected councilors is how to choose the expert official.* It is clear, for example, that the best managers of the city tramways, the electricity supply station, the municipal water-works, are not likely to be chosen by way of the ballot-box; the matter requires detailed discussion which would not be appropriate to the election platform. We must learn to conduct our public affairs as men of sound business sense. The problem is exactly the one before the shareholders in a private company. It is perhaps the greatest merit of the Education Act of 1902 that it will serve as a model for future local government in England. Its "Education Committee" system seems the most hopeful method of finding the proper officials. This system is, briefly, the County Council appoints a number of its own members to sit as an Education Committee; and also coopts a certain number of persons who have special knowledge of education; the whole committee controls the education of its area through the officials whom it selects. This judicious com-

bination of members elected directly by the people and members chosen, indirectly, for their special knowledge, is the basis of a new method in local government, which is perhaps its most significant recent development. The other important fact in this Education Act is that it selects the County Council as the proper authority to undertake great public affairs. No other local governing area is large enough to pay for the very best men or to administer with the utmost economy. The County Council is marked out as the most important administrative body in future English local government.

G. R. S. TAYLOR.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT INFORMATION BUREAU, THE: This bureau, conducted by the Independent Labor Party, and the Fabian Society of London, England, was formed for the purpose of giving information on the work and powers of municipal bodies, boards of guardians, and other local authorities. The bureau has not been long in existence, and unfortunately is not so well known as it should be; nevertheless the continued prosperity and widening usefulness of the society shows how deeply the work done for its members is appreciated. *Address:* The Fabian Society, 3 Clements Inn, Strand, London, W. C.

LOCAL OPTION: The privilege granted to a political division, as a county or town, of determining whether the sale of intoxicants shall be prohibited within its limits. Local option is prohibition brought down to the level of a workable public sentiment. The difference between the local optionist and the extreme prohibitionist is not in kind but in the size of the political units. Local option crystallizes public sentiment in a given community and brings it to bear upon the liquor question for immediate results. State-wide prohibition is after all but a large kind of local option.

The principle of local option does not refuse to abolish saloons where it can, because it cannot yet abolish them everywhere it would. It is sometimes argued that local option is a compromise with evil. This is not the case. It is prohibitory to the full extent of the public sentiment existing.

It is likewise argued that the saloon is an evil demanding the enactment of prohibitory laws the same as theft or murder. But persons presenting this argument forget that all agree that to steal or murder is wrong, but all do not agree that the traffic in intoxicating liquors is wrong. Vast numbers of our population, who must be regarded as good citizens because they are thrifty and law-abiding, do not believe that the traffic in and use of intoxicating liquors is wrong. With these people a long course of education is necessary to bring them to a full realization and recognition of the immorality and crime attendant upon the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

There are few better methods of education for accomplishing this work than the operation of the local-option principle. The agitation leading up to the annual or biennial local-option elections in the different political units is of immense educational value, and furnishes its advocates frequent and full opportunities for the discussion of the prohibition principle. Every municipality, township, or county that abolishes the saloons is, by the beneficial effects of this act,

a standing argument for the extension of the principle to the larger political units. As the steam in the boiler increases in pressure with the action of the engine, so does the public sentiment of the people develop in proportion to the frequency of the opportunities of putting it into effective operation.

The solution of the liquor problem is too great a task to be accomplished by any one church or political party. We are coming steadily to recognize the necessity of bringing to bear upon it the mobilized public sentiment of all churches and all parties. This can be done only by the separation of the question from all other essential public and political issues of government. Such a separation allows the Church to assume its proper place in the problem of temperance reform, and furnishes frequent opportunities for the exercise of its gifts and graces.

Again, laws abolishing the liquor traffic are not self-acting. No law is operative that has not a public sentiment behind it. The merits of local option may be seen most clearly in what has already been accomplished. The states of Louisiana, Kentucky, Florida, Texas, West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, Mississippi, and South Carolina, containing a population of 27,000,000,

taken as a whole are in point of territory seven eighths prohibition. This has been brought about entirely through local-option laws. In many of the Northern states from large and increasing territory the saloon is being abolished by the application of improved local-option laws which are being enacted by the various state legislatures. While the South is much in advance of the North because of the absence of the foreign population, nevertheless most rapid strides are being made in most of the Northern states. Ohio, for example, which because of its many large cities ranks third or fourth as a saloon state, is rapidly abolishing the traffic. Of the 1,371 townships in the state nearly 1,100 of them have abolished saloons. Of the 763 incorporated villages and cities about 470 are now dry.

The effort to put these local-option laws in operation has developed a sustained public sentiment, which in most instances compels the enforcement of the law. It has unified and given direction to the efforts of the Church against the liquor traffic. The operation of the law makes possible increased legislation for its application to still larger political units. Hence we conclude that local option is the gradual and natural approach to the ultimate overthrow of the beverage liquor traffic. (See TEMPERANCE.)

PURLEY A. BAKER.

LOCAL PROHIBITION: Term commonly applied to the policy of refusing license to sell intoxicating liquors in municipalities, townships, and counties. It commonly rests upon state statutes giving subdivisions to the state local option (that is, local choice). In a few cases local prohibition is secured for some community by direct act of the legislature, and in some cities, for example Chicago, sections are sometimes placed under a prohibitory policy by the city council. The earliest local option in America was granted in Indiana by the laws of 1832. In 1833 the legislature in Georgia gave local option, to be exercised by the local courts, to two counties in that state. Between 1833 and 1850

many communities in different states secured the right and voted out the legal traffic in liquor. With the rise of the idea of state prohibition interest in local prohibition grew less and was heard of again but little, until after the Civil War. New York readopted a local-option system in 1873, and it has come to be part of the laws of the majority of the states. The theory has three classes of advocates; temperance people who seek to obtain some advantage against the saloon without encountering partizan opposition; politicians who welcome it as an outlet for temperance sentiment without disturbance to party politics; liquor dealers who accept it as a last resort to segregate dangerous temperance sentiment and ward off prohibition of wider extent.

The growth of the Anti-Saloon League, which works almost solely for local prohibition, has caused a wide revival of interest in the subject during the last ten years. The league has introduced the idea of option by "residence districts" in cities, and in the State of Ohio has secured legislation with such provisions.

It needs to be noted that local prohibition deals only with the local evils of the liquor traffic and makes no attempt to cope with its wider financial and political problems. The manufactures and products of a no-license town are sold in license cities in competition with the saloon. The no-license town shares in the bad government made inevitable by the debauchery of politics by the liquor traffic. The youth reared amid clean surroundings go out to find the temptations of the saloon as soon as they pass beyond the shadow of the hearth-tree. Excepting a few of the Southern states, local prohibition has never approached the removal of the saloon from a whole state, and even in the South the centers of population and influence are commonly held by the saloon, either by legal provisions that deprive cities of option on the question, or through the control of the cities by the saloon element.

In favor of the local prohibition theory its advocates urge the principle of "home rule"; against the adoption of local prohibition, the liquor interests present the usual contention of tyranny and alleged "failure."

Radical Prohibitionists deny the right of the legislature to grant local option to a town or county, asserting that the sale of liquor is no more a question for local determination than is horse stealing or the propagation of typhoid fever. The Prohibitionists insist also that, by means of local prohibition, the public conscience is saved, and that the citizens of no-license towns or counties, relieved of the more repulsive manifestations of the liquor traffic, lose sight of its wider evils and forget their responsibility for the state and national features of the problem. Local option being granted, however, Prohibitionists commonly favor the use of the opportunity to perform what they consider a duty neglected by the legislature.

Of the local advantages of local prohibition there has never been ground to doubt, whenever the policy has had opportunity for fair test. No-license towns and no-license cities, compared with license towns and cities, invariably show less crime, less pauperism, and commonly a better condition of public health. Massachusetts has furnished numerous illustrations, the most marked being instances in which in alternate years the same city has had license and no-license. Interesting literature upon this question

is published by the National Temperance Society of New York.

The table which follows shows, with substantial accuracy, the degree to which local prohibition prevails in the principal states. Absolute accuracy is almost impossible, since the facts are not recorded in many states, the local authorities having little control. Colorado and Oregon have newly adopted local-option laws, and Delaware, in which there is already considerable prohibition territory, is upon the eve of a local-option election which is expected to eliminate the saloon from almost the whole state. Georgia, which has just adopted a state prohibitory law, had 125 of its 146 counties under local prohibition before that law was adopted.

STATE	Number of counties, towns, cities, etc.	Number under local prohibition
Alabama.....	66 counties	20
Arkansas.....	75 counties	56
California.....		Parts of some 8 or 10 counties
Connecticut.....	168 towns..	89
Delaware.....		About one half the state
Florida.....	46 counties	35
Illinois.....		10 counties, 500 cities and villages, half of Chicago
Indiana.....		About 150 towns
Iowa.....	99 counties	56
Kentucky.....	119 counties	87
Louisiana.....	59 parishes	18
Maryland.....	23 counties	14
Massachusetts.....	33 cities..	19
Michigan.....	321 towns..	249
Minnesota.....	83 counties	1 and a few towns
Mississippi.....		About $\frac{1}{2}$ of the rural districts
Mississippi.....	77 counties	56
New Hampshire.....	11 cities..	6
New Jersey.....	224 towns..	183
New York.....		About 200 towns and cities
New York.....	933 towns..	308
North Carolina.....	97 counties	70
Ohio.....	768 towns..	480
Pennsylvania.....		1 county and a few towns
South Carolina.....	41 counties	18
South Dakota.....		Possibly 15 per cent of the state
Tennessee.....	All the state	under local prohibition except 5 municipalities.
Texas.....	243 counties	140 and parts of 55
Vermont.....	6 cities..	3 cities
Vermont.....	241 towns..	208 towns
Virginia.....	100 counties	72
West Virginia.....	55 counties	22
West Virginia.....	118 cities..	5
Wisconsin.....	206 villages	16
Wisconsin.....	1,104 towns	223

Oklahoma, which was admitted to the union in November, 1907, has many towns under local prohibition. In judging the value of local prohibition indicated in the table above it must be remembered that a very large part of the townships and counties mentioned lie in close

proximity to license territory. For example, many of the no-license towns of Wisconsin contain license villages. In New Hampshire the excise boards are empowered to grant hotel licenses in towns that vote no-license. In New York, where there are 308 no-license towns, it is possible in only two small sections of the state to establish a home fifteen miles away from a saloon.

WM. P. F. FERGUSON.

LOCKE, JOHN: Philosopher; born at Wrington, Somersetshire, England, in 1632. His father, a small landowner and attorney at Pensford, was a strict but genial Puritan. "From the time that I knew anything," Locke wrote in 1660, "I found myself in a storm which has continued to this time." Entered Westminster School, and in 1652 went to Oxford. Took his degree of A.B. in 1656, A.M. in 1658; made tutor of Christ Church in 1660, and lectured in Greek, rhetoric, and philosophy the following year. Locke was particularly attracted to the works of Descartes, which first gave him a taste for philosophical subjects.

In 1673 became secretary of the Board of Trade under Earl of Shaftesbury.

Among the writings of Locke during this period is an essay on the "Roman Commonwealth." But the most significant of all is an "Essay Concerning Toleration" (1666).

The fall of Shaftesbury in 1675 enabled Locke to spend four years of quiet in France, at which time at intervals his "Essay on the Human Understanding" was in process of construction, and here he enjoyed the society of distinguished men of letters and science; returned to London in 1679. After Shaftesbury's second downfall Locke retired in voluntary exile to Holland. The "Essay" was finished in 1687. He returned to England in 1689, and his fame as an author was established throughout Europe. He declined the embassy to Brandenburg, and accepted instead the modest office of commissioner of appeals. While in London (1689-90) he published his chief works on social policy, the "Epistola de Tolerationia," address to Limborch, and the "Two Treatises on Government," in defense of the sovereignty of the people; his "Essay on the Human Understanding" appeared in 1690. Locke died Oct. 28, 1704, at Oates, in Essex, where Sir Francis Masham had given him a home for many years. He passed away, as he declared, "in perfect charity with all men, and in sincere communion with the whole Church of Christ, by whatever names Christ's followers call themselves."

Locke is of importance in social reform because he is the intellectual father of the eighteenth-century philosophy, which, in France particularly, produced revolutionary ideas. Says Cousin:

Placed between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries he forms the transition from one to the other. In fact, run over all the sensualistic philosophers of the eighteenth century, there is not one who does not invoke the authority of Locke, and I do not speak merely of metaphysicians, but of moralists, publicists, and critics.

The essence of Locke's philosophy is that there are no "innate ideas." He says:

Let us suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas: how comes it to be furnished? Whence has it all the materials of reason and knowledge? To this I answer, in one word, from experience; in that all knowledge is founded, and from that it ultimately derives itself ("Essay on the Human Understanding," Book II.).

From his standpoint materialistic and un-Christian philosophers argued, as Locke did not, an individualistic revolt against the authority both of State and Church. As Locke in his "Civil Government" argued against arbitrary rule, they argued against all rule. (See POLITICAL SCIENCE; NATIONAL LIBERTY.)

LOCKWOOD, BELVA ANN BENNETT Mc-NALL: Woman suffragist; temperance reformer; born in Royalton, N. Y., 1830; graduated Genesee College, 1857; A.M. Syracuse University, 1871; graduated National University Law School, 1873. In 1879 secured passage of bill admitting women to United States Supreme Court. Mrs. Lockwood was attorney of record for 6,000 Eastern and emigrant Cherokees, carrying her case successfully through Congress, the U. S. Court of Claims, and the Supreme Court of the U. S., making extended legal arguments before these bodies with the result that the Supreme Court gave judgment for the Cherokees *versus* the U. S. in the sum of about \$5,000,000; secured passage of bill in 1873 giving to women employees of the government equal pay with men for the same work; and with others, in 1896, a bill giving to women of the District of Columbia equal property rights, and equal guardianship of their children, with men; six times a delegate to Universal Peace Congresses held in Europe. Mrs. Lockwood was nominated at San Francisco in 1884 by the Equal Rights Party for the Presidency of the U. S., and again by the same party in 1888 at its convention in Des Moines, Iowa. She has written many articles and brochures on peace and arbitration, and notably an exhaustive paper on "The Legal and Political Status of the Women of the U. S.," published in the Swiss *Jahrbuch* of 1897. Address: 619 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

LODGING-HOUSES: In every great city the cheap lodging-houses where the homeless poor can pass a night if they are not yet absolutely destitute or dependent upon charity, are among the most wretched spots to be found, and often centers of vice, if not of crime. In Germany, and to a less extent in the United States and other countries, however, clean and cheap lodging-houses have been opened by private charity. New York has some 105 such houses accommodating 16,000 lodgers.

The best known examples of these are the two Mills hotels, in New York City, erected by the philanthropy of Mr. D. O. Mills, and giving attractive hotel accommodation for 2,250 men for twenty-five to forty cents per night. Yet they have paid a fair return.

Boston, New York, Chicago, and other American cities have also established municipal lodging-houses where those who cannot pay can do some work, like splitting wood, and are aided in securing work.

Municipal lodging-houses are found in almost all English cities.

As long ago as 1853 Huddersfield established a municipal common lodging-house, and twenty years later Glasgow tried the same experiment on a larger scale. Since 1879 the corporation has maintained six lodging-houses for men and one for women, in which beds are let at from 3d. to 4½d. per night. Merely as a commercial experiment this proved a success. The result upon the character of the inmates is, however, far more important than any pecuniary result. These

municipal lodging-houses are admirably managed; there is a recreation room, in which lectures are delivered, and music produced, while all possible facilities are provided for washing clothes, cooking, etc.

Paris has three institutes (*refuge de nuits*) absolutely free and where the unemployed are helped to find work.

For Germany, see RELIEF SHELTERS.

The Salvation Army in most cities, the Church Army in London, and similar religious organizations in various cities maintain many such shelters, for ten cents a night, or fifteen cents with a breakfast.

LOMBROSO, CESARE: Specialist in insanity and criminal anthropology; born at Venice, 1836; studied medicine at Turin, and entering the army in the campaign of 1859, was soon made surgeon. In 1862 he took a professorship in diseases of the mind at Pavia, and later became director of an establishment for the insane at Piasaro. From here he went to Turin as professor of medical law and of psychiatry. He has written many works, particularly on criminology (*q. v.*) and criminal anthropology (*q. v.*), on which he is a leading authority. Address: 26 Via Legnano, Torino, Italy.

LONDON: London is of special interest in social reform because of its size, giving its social problems an extent which compels attention, and because of its importance, as in a sense the commercial metropolis of the world. "A province covered with houses," it exceeds all Ireland or Scotland in population. It is the largest city in the world.

Originating, it is supposed, in the Celtic *Llyndin* (Lake Fort), Latinized into *Londinium*, Tacitus mentions it in 61 A.D. as a trading center. In 809 it was the capital of the East Saxons, and was made by William the Conqueror (1066) the capital of England and given a special charter. Since then it has steadily grown, and latterly by absorbing whole towns and villages, as will be seen by the following table:

YEAR	Population	Percent- age of England
1350.....	90,000	3.60
1600.....	180,000	3.27
1700.....	550,000	9.16
1801.....	864,055	9.72
1851.....	2,362,236	13.18
1881.....	3,814,571	14.69
1891.....	4,232,118	15.39
1901.....	4,536,541	14.49
1906.....	4,721,217	14.59

POLICE DISTRICTS	POPULATION	
	1891	1901
County of London.....	4,190,615	4,509,618
60 parishes in Middlesex.....	542,894	792,316
39 parishes in Surrey.....	295,759	384,529
19 parishes in Kent.....	117,121	151,066
15 parishes in Essex.....	413,679	672,184
16 parishes in Herts.....	36,036	44,736
City of London.....	37,702	26,923
Total: "Greater London".....	5,633,806	6,581,372

The name London was formerly only applicable to the City with an area of a little over one square mile, and the outside districts grew up without any homogeneity and without a common name until 1855, when they became officially known as the Metropolis. This area became in 1889 the administrative County of London, 118 sq. m. in extent, and as such includes the City, in which, however, certain services are performed by the Corporation which are in the rest of the county performed by the County Council. The administrative County of London had in 1901 a population of 4,536,541.

Greater London or the Metropolis under the Metropolitan and the City Police is made up of all parishes of which any part is within eleven miles of Charing Cross, or of which the whole is within fifteen miles of Charing Cross. It is 693 sq. m. in extent and contains a population of (1906) 7,113,561.

London, except the square-mile City, had no unity of government (which was till 1855). But by the Metropolis Management Act of 1855, a comprehensive system of local administration was provided for the parishes. The ratepayers of each parish elected a vestry of from 18 to 120 members, to whom were added the rector, churchwardens, and in some parishes the district rectors also. In twenty-three cases these bodies were administrative vestries which were given direct control of the local sewers, roads, sanitation, etc. The remaining parishes were grouped into fifteen districts under the administration of district boards appointed by the parish vestries.

At the head of the system was the Metropolitan Board of Works. It consisted originally of forty-five members, appointed by the City Corporation, the twenty-three vestries, and the fifteen district boards.

Between 1855 and 1888 many changes were made in the details of the Metropolis management system in the direction of direct representation and the constitution of manageable areas. The franchise, too, was extended to that of parochial voters.

The London Government Act of 1899 abolished the vestries and district boards and the parish overseers outside the city, and created the metropolitan borough councils.

The reform of 1899 still left nearly 300 different authorities engaged in the work of public administration in London. The following are the authorities:

London County Council, elected by parochial electors.
Common Council of the City of London, elected by City voters.

Twenty-eight Metropolitan Borough Councils, elected by parochial electors.

Commissioners of Metropolitan Police, appointed by the Home Office to perform functions which in the City of London and everywhere else in England are in the hands of the county or municipal authorities.

Metropolitan Asylums Board, appointed by the Local Government Board and the Boards of Guardians to provide Imbecile Asylums and Fever Hospitals.

Two Sick Asylums Boards, appointed by certain Boards of Guardians to make joint provision for infirmaries.

Four School District Boards, appointed by certain Boards of Guardians to provide joint poor-law schools.

Thirty-one Boards of Guardians, elected by the parochial voters to administer the poor-law.

One hundred and twelve Vestries of City Parishes.

One hundred and fourteen Boards of Overseers of City Parishes.

Metropolitan Water Board, appointed by the County Councils, Metropolitan Borough Councils, Municipal Corporations, and Urban District Councils in the metropolitan water area.

Thames Conservancy Board.
Lea Conservancy Board.

The jurisdiction of the last three bodies and of the police, however, extends far beyond the County of London.

The County Council authority extends over the City for some common purposes, but not for all, while the City Corporation has jurisdiction within the County of London and beyond for markets and port sanitation.

Since the passing of the Local Government Act of 1888 more than 200 measures have been placed upon the statute book giving further powers to the County Council!

In 1903 a bill was passed for the abolition of the School Board and the transfer of the work of that authority to the London County Council, and in December of the previous year a measure was

	Total expenditure	Receipts in aid	Effect of transfers from local to county funds	DISTRIBUTION OF CHARGE BETWEEN	
				Imperial taxation	Rates
London County Council:					
General county account.....	£ 2,233,395	£ 209,181	+ 581,110	£ 554,104	£ 2,050,079
Special county account.....	982,272	619,508	+ 71	10,837	381,659
Equalization fund.....			+ 993,933		993,933
London School Board.....	3,118,551	13,435		812,580	2,348,496
Metropolitan Asylums Board.....	767,573	2,844	- 69,966		648,326
Local Government Board.....	1,722,249	331,302		687,525	724,411
Metropolitan Police—Proportion Common Poor Fund.....	1,424		+ 1,552,396		1,558,546
Total county authorities.....	8,825,464	1,176,270	+ 3,057,544	2,065,046	8,705,450
City Corporation:					
City Police.....	119,364	8,553			115,623
Special rate.....	35,204				38,036
Consolidated and sewer rates.....	382,510	82,055	- 5,923		323,772
Other accounts.....	678,588	678,215	- 373		
Ward rates.....	7,557				6,276
Metropolitan Borough Councils.....	4,245,393	852,236	- 1,026,666		2,282,460
Market Trustees.....	11,152	11,152			
Guardians.....	3,417,832	93,636	- 2,024,582	1,211	1,236,024
City Overseers.....	25,658	945			33,195
Total local authorities.....	8,923,177	1,726,792	- 3,057,544	1,211	4,035,386
Total.....	17,748,641	2,903,062		2,066,257	12,740,836

+ Increase.

- Decrease.

passed for the purchase of the London Water Companies' undertakings, and their administration by a Water Board.

No complete statement of the expenditure of all the local authorities in London is regularly published, but many of the details are included throughout the Local Taxation returns for England and Wales, from which, for the most part, the figures on page 729 have been compiled for the last year for which statistics are available.

The total given above does not represent the whole expenditure. There must be added the expenditure out of borrowed capital, amounting (in the same year) to £6,149,204. This gives a gross expenditure of £23,897,845, or about £5 5s. per head of population, of which £3 18s. per head is for current expenditure.

Most of the loans of the other bodies are made through the London County Council, which thus acts as banker to the other public bodies. In March, 1903, 1904, and 1905, the loan liabilities of the Council were:

	1903	1904	1905
Consolidated stock...	£53,761,638	£58,761,638	£63,902,465
London county bills	1,966,160	982,739	1,415,294
Former county loans.	171,765	143,372	117,980
Consolidated Loans			
Fund advances to capital accounts and to late School Board.....	896,034	854,167	3,574,677
Public Works Loans			
Commissioners' part debt of late School Board.....			2,285,221
Overdrawn balance..	831,342	389,165	291,538
	£57,626,939	£61,131,081	£71,587,175

There are five electorates in London: (1) the Parliamentary Borough; (2) the Parliamentary County; (3) the County Council; (4) the Parochial; and (5) the Common Council; of these only the County Council and the Parochial franchises are identical. Until 1901 the County Council differed in part from the Parochial franchise; but by the London County Council Electors' Qualification Act, 1900, the two electorates were assimilated. The chief alteration was the addition of lodger service, married women, and ownership voters to the County Council franchise, thereby increasing that electorate. The main conditions for the Parliamentary and County Council franchises are to be householders (or servants) with occupation and residence within the borough for twelve months previous to July 15th, or to be occupiers with occupation within the borough as above and residence within seven miles of the borough for six months previous to July 15th, or to be lodgers with occupation and residence as above in qualifying rooms in one definite place within the borough.

For Parliamentary purposes London is divided into fifty-eight constituencies, with one member each, except the City, which returns two members. The total electorate at last election (Jan., 1906) was 620,424. There were no uncontested seats, whereas at the previous general election (Oct., 1900) there were no contests in twelve constituencies. Liberal and Labor candidates polled 250,362 votes, and Conservatives 234,216. The results of the last and five previous elections in London were as follows:

	1885	1886	1892	1895	1900	1906
Conservative.....	36	48	36	51	51	19
Liberal.....	23	11	23	8	8	40
Majority.....	¹ 13	¹ 37	¹ 13	¹ 43	¹ 43	² 21

¹Conservative majority.

²Liberal majority.

The Liberal Unionists are included in the Conservatives.

In 1905 there were 894,368 children of the elementary school class in London, and there was accommodation in council schools for 588,703, and in voluntary schools for 209,119—total, 797,822. There were at that date 545 council schools open, and seven projected, which, with the projected enlargements of six existing schools, together will provide 805,606 school places. In addition to the above there are fifty sites for future requirements; the accommodation to be provided has not yet been settled.

In 1885 the average attendance on the board (now L. C. C.) schools was 298,317. In 1906 it was 495,901. For voluntary schools the figures are 167,242 in 1885 and 165,603 in 1906.

In addition there were 185 cookery centers, 144 laundry centers; and 36 housewifery centers, 200 manual training centers, 75 centers for the instruction of mentally defective children, 17 centers for the instruction of physically defective children, 12 centers for the education of the deaf, 10 centers for the blind. The Council has seven industrial schools, two truant schools, three day industrial schools, an industrial home for little boys, and several residential schools for the defective. Secondary schools are also being somewhat rapidly developed.

For higher education the Council has adopted the policy of subsidizing existing institutions, polytechnics, technical institutes, trade and workshop classes, art schools, some eight colleges, several secondary schools.

In 1902 a Metropolitan Water Board was created which in 1903 took over the plants of the private companies, paying the companies £30,000,000 in cash and debentures of £11,000,000, the companies having claimed £50,000,000.

For electric supply and street lighting the Board of Trade can grant orders, to be confirmed by Parliament, for installation by companies or municipal bodies, the preference being given to the latter. Companies once installed cannot be bought out except by friendly agreement for forty-two years, for the "then value," without additional pay for good-will. Some sixteen municipal undertakings have been begun.

London's gas is supplied by three principal gas companies consolidated from fifteen in 1870, which in 1905 received some £6,000,000 with gross profits of some £1,500,000. The price raised from 2s. to 2s. 11d.

As to tramways, of the 120 miles of tramway in London practically all the lines in the County of London have been acquired by the Council. According to the London Manual for 1905, the results have been as follows:

- (1) The relief of rates from the profits of the undertaking.
- (2) The institution of all-night car services.
- (3) The running of workmen's cars at reduced fares.

Municipal Ownership

(4) Reduced fares for ordinary passengers on many of the principal routes.

(5) The removal of advertisements from the windows of the cars.

(6) The institution of a ten-hours day (or sixty hours per week) for all tramway employees.

(7) The recognition of the principle of "one day's rest in seven."

(8) Increased wages for employees.

(9) Provision of uniforms for drivers and conductors.

The tramways, however, as yet play a minor part in London's transit systems. It is estimated that the metropolitan and other railroads bring 1,000,000 people into the city every day. The omnibuses carried 265,500,000 passengers in 1900. Cabs and carriages are very numerous and cheap. The underground railroads carry some 160,000,000 per year.

For the large work done by the London County Council on the housing question, see HOUSING.

But the problem still remains unsolved and acute. (See OVERCROWDING.) The death-rate of London, however, has steadily fallen since the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1881 the death-rate was 21.6 per 1,000, less than that of the twenty other largest cities of England; in 1890, 19.4, and in 1904 (for administrative county area), 16.1, much less than the birth-rate. Nevertheless conditions are anything but satisfactory. Says a Fabian tract, No. 45 (1904):

"As regards the four millions of persons in the metropolis, Mr. Charles Booth tells us that 37,610, or 0.9 per cent, are in the lowest class (occasional laborers, loafers, and semi-criminals); 316,834, or 7.5 per cent, in the next (casual labor, hand-to-mouth existence, *chronic want*); 938,293, or 22.3 per cent, form 'the poor' (including alike those whose earnings are small, because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, tho regular, is ill paid). These classes, on or below the 'poverty line' of *earnings not exceeding a guinea a week per family*, number together 1,292,737, or 30.7 per cent of the whole population. To these must be added 99,830 inmates of workhouses, hospitals, prisons, industrial schools, etc., making altogether nearly 1,400,000 persons in this one city alone whose condition even the most optimistic social student can hardly deem satisfactory ('*Labor and Life of the People*,' edited by Charles Booth, 1891, vol. ii., pp. 20-21).

"The ultimate fate of these victims it is not easy adequately to realize. In London alone, in 1902, no less than thirty-four persons, of whom twenty-four were fifty years old and upward, were certified by the verdicts of coroners' juries to have died of starvation, or accelerated by privation. Actual starvation is, however, returned as the cause of death in but a few cases annually; and it is well known that many thousands of deaths are directly due to long-continued underfeeding and exposure. Young children especially suffer.

"In London one person at least in every four will die in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum. In 1900, out of 84,534 deaths, 48,955 being twenty years of age and upward, 13,542 were in workhouses, 10,572 in hospitals, and 345 in lunatic asylums, or, altogether, 24,459 in public institutions (Registrar-General's Report)."

London's markets have long been a scandal in

the opinion of the Fabian Socialists. A Fabian tract says:

"The Corporation of the City is the largest owner of London's market property, levying an annual market revenue of about £217,000 against an expenditure of some £95,000 and a payment of £96,000 for interest on market debt. The parish of St. Saviour, Southwark, absorbs a net annual income of over £7,000 from the Borough Market, which is virtually a subsidy levied on London's potato supply in aid of the local rates, and so of the local landlords.

"Out of the total, moreover, the Duke of Bedford draws at least £15,000 a year from Covent Garden; and Sir Julian Goldsmid, M.P., a clear £5,000 a year net rental from his monopoly of the right to hold a market by Spital Church. This is an utterly unjustifiable tax on the food of the people.

"These monopoly rights are derived, not from any express charter or enactment, but by an old inference of the common law. What Charles II. gave to the Duke of Bedford's ancestor and Sir Julian Goldsmid's predecessor was merely the permission to hold a market; it is the lawyers who invented the doctrine that such a permission implies the prohibition of competing markets within about six miles and two thirds."

The London County Council is claiming that the various local authorities have the right to establish smaller retail markets and is taking steps in this direction. Various proposals are being put forth for municipalizing the port of London and buying out the dock companies.

The immense importance of the port of London may be gathered from the fact that the total tonnage entered in 1904 was 17,073,852 tons. Liverpool, which ranks next in the United Kingdom in the quantity and importance of its shipping, had a tonnage entered of 11,083,856 tons. Of continental ports Hamburg comes first with 9,611,732 tons, which is equal to 56.3 per cent of London's total. Then follow Antwerp with 9,400,335 tons, or 55 per cent, and Rotterdam with a total of 7,657,907 tons, equivalent to 44.7 per cent of that of London.

In 1901 the total valuation was £39,643,618; in 1906 it was £43,486,437, an increase of £3,842,819 in the quinquennium. Between

Commerce

1901 and 1905 the average of the supplemental lists, which may be taken as the average annual value of new property, was £503,362. The increase of the revaluation of 1906 over the 1905 valuation was, however, £1,829,371, and the excess of this over the average annual value of new property may be taken as representing the increase in the general value of property in London, and as indicating to some extent the "unearned increment" of five years. It amounted to £1,326,000. Included in the quinquennial valuation of 1901 are the ratable values of the following special properties: Railways, £2,307,864; tramways (including, L. C. C.), £140,575; gas, £923,924; electricity, £202,729; water, £634,206; canals, £19,192; docks, £226,770; hydraulic, £30,018; telephones and telegraphs, £32,456. Total, £4,517,734.

The total gross value (used for king's taxes) is £52,928,707; but as there is no gross valuation put upon government property, the total gross value of London corresponding to the total ratable value cannot be given. On the basis of the known values, however, the gross rental value

of London may be put at £53,643,000, gross value being on an average 23 per cent higher than ratable value.

The supreme control of the London' police force is vested in a chief commissioner (appointed by and acting under the control of the Home Office), who is assisted in his task by three assistant commissioners and five chief constables. The strength of the force Jan. 1, 1905, was 30 superintendents, 539 inspectors 2,148 sergeants, and 14,129 constables, giving a total of 16,846; but of these nearly 2,000 were retained by the government for service at the dockyards, military stations, and other State establishments. The cost is over £1,750,000, and the revenue is derived from the proceeds of a 5d. rate and from a government grant equal to a 4d. rate.

(See also LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL; LONDON REFORM UNION.) ROBERT DONALD.

REFERENCES: *The London Manual*, Robert Donald, editor; Loftie's *London City, Its History, Streets, Traffic, Buildings, and People* (1897); Herbert Fry, *London in 1899*; Besant's *London* (1902); C. Booth's *Life and Labor of the People in London* (17 vols., 1889 to 1902).

Some helpful addresses:
London Reform Union, Trafalgar Buildings, Northumberland Avenue, W. C.
Fabian Society, 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, W. C.
Independent Labor Party, 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E. C.
Labor Party, 28 Victoria Street, Westminster, S. W.
Social Democratic Federation, 21a Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, W. C.
London Arbitration Board, London Chamber of Commerce, Oxford Court, near 109 Cannon Street, E. C.
General Federation of Trade-Unions, Temple Chamber, Temple Avenue, E. C.
International Cooperative Alliance, 22 Red Lion Square, W. C.
Cobden Club, 28 Victoria Street, S. W.
English League for Taxation of Land Values, 376-7 Strand, W. C.
London School of Economics, Clare Market, Kingsway, W. C.
National Educational Association, Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, W. C.
Garden City Association, 348 Birkbeck Bank Chambers, W. C.
Land Nationalization Society, 432 West Strand, W. C.
National Housing Reform Council, 432 West Strand, W. C.
Central Public House Trust Association, 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S. W.
United Temperance Council, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E. C.
Charity Organization Society, 15 Buckingham Street, W. C.
Salvation Army Headquarters, Queen Victoria Street, E. C.
Church Army, 130 Edgewall Road, N. W.
Guild of St. Matthew, 376 Strand, W. C.
British Institute of Social Service, 11 Southampton Row, S. W.
British Women's Temperance Association, 47 Victoria Street, S. W.
Central Society for Women's Suffrage, 25 Victoria Street, S. W.
Women's Industrial Council, 7 John Street, Adelphi, W. C.
National Union of Women Workers, 9 Southampton Street, High Holborn.
Young Woman's Christian Association, 25 George Street, Hanover Square, W.
Toynbee Hall, 28 Commercial Street, E.
Mansfield House, Canning Town, E.
Oxford House, Snape Street, Bethnal Green, E.
Maurice Hostel, 64 Britannia Street, City Road.

LONDON, JACK: Socialist, novelist; born in San Francisco, Cal., 1876; educated in the University of California. To gain material for writing he became (1893) successively sailor, gold-miner, salmon-fisher, oyster pirate, fish-patrol, longshoreman, seal hunter in Bering Sea, and in 1900 began writing his very successful novels. But became interested in social subjects and eventually a Socialist. To get further experience he tramped over the United States and Canada, more than once getting into jail, and living also as a vagabond in East London. He went to the

Klondike in the gold rush of 1897, then as war correspondent to Japan and Manchuria. He was nominated Socialist candidate for the mayoralty of Oakland, Cal., and has done much lecturing for the Socialist Party. In 1906 he started on a seven years' cruise around the world, in a fifty-foot yacht. Among his novels are: "The Son of the Wolf" (1900); "The Call of the Wild," "The Sea Wolf" (1904); "The Game" (1905); "Before Adam" (1907). His main Socialist writing: "War of the Classes." Address: Glen Ellen, Sonoma County, Cal.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL, THE: The London County Council was established in 1889 by act of Parliament under the Local Government Act of 1888. (See LONDON.)

The Council consists of 19 aldermen, 118 councilors, and a chairman. Aldermen serve 6 years, and 9 or 10 must retire every 3 years, but may be reelected. The councilors are elected for 3 years. The councilors are elected directly by the rate-payers; and they elect the aldermen from their own members. The positions of aldermen and councilors vary only in regard to the term of office.

The powers and duties of the Council may be grouped under four heads: *First*, those formerly belonging to the Metropolitan Board of Works, e. g., raising and borrowing money, and loaning money to the councils of the metropolitan boroughs; drainage, and the sanctioning of local sewers; fire-brigade; parks and open spaces; construction of embankments; Thames crossings—bridges, tunnels, and ferries; street improvements—building lines, width of new streets, naming and numbering of streets; supervising buildings and district surveyors; dangerous structures; construction of theaters, music halls, artisans' dwellings; cattle diseases; testing of gas, gas-meters, and electric meters; protection of infants' life, etc. *Second*, powers transferred from former county judges affecting the granting of music and dancing licenses; provision of asylums for pauper lunatics, of reformatory and industrial schools; testing weights and measures; county buildings; coroners, and other minor matters. *Third*, powers transferred from various sources in regard to highways, licensing of theaters, slaughter-houses, cattle-yards; supervision of common lodging-houses, etc. *Fourth*, new powers in regard to the registration of voters, public health, historic buildings; inspection of factories and fire-escapes; suppression of nuisances; regulation of traffic; administration of the Shop Hours' and Shop Seats' Acts, of the Employment of Children Act, of the Midwives Act; reformatories for inebriates; registration of automobiles; the establishment of a steamboat service on the Thames, etc. Since the passing of the Education Act (London, 1903), the Council has become the authority for all public education in the county, both elementary and higher. As the central representative body of London, the Council is interested in numerous other affairs, and has delegates on all the important boards in London.

The Council elects numerous committees which report at the weekly meeting. The *Finance Committee* is the most important and has many statutory powers, since the Council is the principal money-raising body for all the different local boards in the county. It has a gross debt of £74,500,000. The annual expenditure amounts to £15,000,000, more than one third of which goes for education.

No costs, debt, or liability exceeding £50 may be incurred by the Council, except on a resolution passed on an estimate submitted by the Finance Committee. The *Asylums Committee* have special powers under the Lunacy Acts, and manage eight asylums. An experimental working colony for 300 male epileptics has been established on the Horton estate, and a new asylum for 2,000 patients is in course of erection. The different institutions provide for 17,000 patients. The *Housing of the Working Classes Committee* perform the duties conveyed to the Council by the Housing of the Working Classes acts, including the clearance of insanitary areas and the building of dwellings for working men. The Council has established a model municipal lodging-house for men at Parker Street, Drury Lane; and another for 800 men at Mill Lane, Deptford. In 1906 a third house of this class was opened. The Council has also built a large number of houses on estates in the suburbs, which are self-supporting. The *Bridges Committee* are concerned with the crossings and embankments of the Thames.

The most popular work of the Council is that connected with parks and open spaces.

The *Main Drainage Committee* have in charge the disposal of sewage. There are 290 miles of main, storm-relief, intercepting, and outfall sewers; nine pumping-stations and two sewage precipitation stations. The sewage of London is conveyed to Barking and Crossness, and there the solid matters held in suspension are precipitated, the harmless effluent being allowed to flow into the river. The Council obtained an act in 1900 for a comprehensive scheme of enlarging the main drainage system, and this was supplemented in 1904 by a scheme of extensive flood relief works. Work on these schemes is well under way. The total expenditure on main drainage up to March 31, 1905, was £9,633,000.

The Council has gradually bought up the different tramway systems of London, and is now in possession of all the tramways with the exception of a few miles, chiefly in the northwest—the system of the London Southern Company having been acquired in 1906. The Council leased one of the purchased lines to the North Metropolitan Tramways Company for a period of years expiring in 1910. But in 1906 the Council compensated the company for the surrender of the lease and took over the working of the line with a view to reconstructing all London tramways for the purpose of installing electric traction. The lines south of the river are furnished with an electric system, and 60 miles of double track are already equipped and working. The total of mileage of tramways under the Council is 110; 50 miles north and 60 south of the river. The system is extended constantly. The total capital outlay on tramways up to March 31, 1906, was £4,724,477; the outstanding debt, £4,274,459; the yearly revenue is about £1,400,000.

The *Education Committee* is composed of 38 members of the Council and 5 coopted lady members. During 1904-5 the Council had a staff of about 20,000 teachers, 17,000 of whom were engaged in public elementary schools; there was an administrative staff of 500, and a corps of about 400 attendance officers. The average roll of public elementary schools was about 750,000. The estimates of expenditure for 1906-7 for education is £5,177,132, of which £4,322,798 is for elementary and £854,334 for higher educa-

tion. The latter includes now evening schools, pupil teachers' centers, secondary schools, polytechnics, and technical schools, and university teaching.

The charge falling on the rates, after deducting grants and other receipts in aid, is £3,441,990, or 1s. 7d. in the pound—an increase of 1d. in the pound over 1905-6.

The attempt of the Council to provide better facilities for traffic on the Thames by means of a good steamboat service has not been financially successful, and the boats have been laid off over the winter of 1906-7 until spring.

The Council obtained authority from Parliament in 1906 to build a new county hall.

The Council has two principal sources of revenue—the sale of stock and the county rate. The Imperial Exchequer makes contributions, chiefly for education. The current expenses, interest on debt, are paid out of the rates; disbursements in behalf of working-class dwellings and street improvements are generally recouped from receipts. Capital expenditures and current expenses of tramways are wholly covered by receipts. Permanent disbursements, e. g., purchase of tramways, are met by the sale of stock or bonds. During the year 1906 the Council issued no London County Council Consolidated stock, but provided for its capital expenses partly by stock issue of 1905, partly by London County bills. All borrowings of the Council are subject to the provision of a sinking-fund—under treasury approval—sufficient to repay all expenditure within sixty years. The total stock now outstanding amounts to £67,000,000. The rating for 1906-7 is 2s. 9½d. per pound over the whole county, including the city; and a further rate of 2½d. per pound over the county outside the city—owing to street improvements in the new parts. This includes 1s. 7d. for education.

The assessable value of the county on April 6, 1906, was £43,477,772; the estimated amount of a 3s. rate per pound for 1906-7 is £6,460,246.

The Council from its beginning until the last election has had a majority of Progressives, including such well-known Labor and Fabian leaders as John Burns, Sidney Webb, Graham Wallas, W. Crooks, W. C. Steadman, H. Gosling, and others.

THE RESULT OF ELECTIONS LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL

	Councilors			Aldermen			Prog. majority
	Prog.	Mod.	Ind.	Prog.	Mod.	Ind.	
1889....	73	45	.....	18	1	.....	45
1892....	83	34	1	17	1	1	65
1895....	58	59	1	12	5	2	6
1898....	69	48	1	12	7	.....	25
1901....	84	31	3	14	5	.....	62
1904....	83	34	1	14	5	.....	58
1907....	36	79	3	.....	.....	.....	(1)

¹ A majority of 40 councilors for the Moderates.

In 1907 the elections favored the Moderates, largely owing to desperate efforts on the part of private interests to defeat the Progressive program of municipalism and using the immediately increased expenditures as their weapon, while ignoring the prospective and partly realized income from the expenditures.

LORIA, ACHILLE: Professor of economy; born at Mantua, Italy, 1857. He held a pro-

fessorship first at Sienna, and since then has been at Padua. Cossa places him among the ablest of Italian economists, and says of his views: "In criticizing the established order of things economic he goes with the Socialists, lavishing upon them expressions of attachment with a profusion which is quite out of place, and yet he will none of their schemes and remedies, and abides steadfastly in the expectation that the course of nature will heal social wounds by a simple process which is already at work and consists in the 'diffusion' of property and the 'elision' of rent." Author: "La rendita fondiaria e la sua elisione naturale"; "La legge di popolazione ed il sistemà sociale"; "Carlo Darwin e l'economia politica"; "Analisi della proprietà capitalistica" (2 vols.).

LOS ANGELES FELLOWSHIP, THE: An association of people united together for the purpose of encouraging trustful and unselfish living. Other than this purpose, this young and virile organization authorizes no platform, program, or creed. The fellowship is the direct outgrowth of a series of addresses delivered in southern California by the Rev. B. F. Mills during the winter and spring of 1904. It is not a church in the technical sense, but yet in the best sense it means to be thoroughly religious and to endeavor to be what a church ought to be and do all that a living church should do for the community. The founder of the fellowship declares: "This society means to meet the demand of our time, a time when, as Mazzini says, 'The old world passes away but a new world comes into existence.'" It proposes to minister to every need of humanity, individually and collectively. The object of this organization is nothing less and it could be nothing greater than the attempt to put the true content into the idea of religion.

The officers of the society are not rulers but administrators.

The fellowship has adopted the two great modern principles of the initiative and referendum and of the recall or imperative mandate, by which methods the entire membership is enabled to partake in the government of the fellowship and in the administration of its affairs. The officers are Benjamin Fay Mills, Permanent Minister and President of the Council; Mary Russell Mills, Senior Associate Minister; Clarence Thompson, Assistant Minister, and a Board of Trustees. Clark R. Mahan, Associate Secretary. Offices, 434 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, Cal.

LOTTERIES. See GAMBLING.

LOVEJOY, ELIJAH PARISH: Abolitionist; born at Albion, Me., 1802. Studying theology at Princeton, was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1833, and became editor of the *St. Louis Observer*, a religious paper. While disclaiming any connection with the abolitionists, he nevertheless wrote sympathetically of the antislavery agitation, which was then beginning. This greatly offended many of the citizens, and the feeling against him increased in bitterness, until finally the office of the *Observer* was destroyed by a mob. He then resolved to remove his paper to Alton, Ill., but as soon as his press was brought there a mob broke it into fragments. The town reimbursed him for his loss, and another press was procured, only to be destroyed by the mob. He bought a third press, but it met the same fate.

By this time the question had become serious. A convention comprizing many of the noblest men in Illinois was held at Upper Alton. It supported him and bought another press, which arrived Nov. 7, 1837. At midnight a mob of thirty or forty men came from the neighboring drink-shops and commenced to throw stones at the warehouse, to fire shots, and at last attempted to burn it. The roof being set on fire, Mr. Lovejoy and several others stepped out and were fired upon by the rioters. One of the bullets struck Mr. Lovejoy, who only lived long enough to return to the warehouse.

LOVEJOY, OWEN R.: Secretary (1907) of the National Child Labor Committee; born 1866 at Jamestown, Mich. Graduated from Albion College, 1893. Minister in Methodist Episcopal Church in Michigan (1893-1900) and in Congregational Church, Mt. Vernon, N. Y. (1900-6). Assistant secretary of the National Child Labor Committee since 1905, mainly engaged in investigation of child-employing industries in the Northern states. He believes that society is to become politically and industrially democratic and free in the production and use of the ever-increasing store of wealth, through the development of higher ethical standards and systematic training for industrial efficiency.

LOVETT, WILLIAM: Chartist; born near Penzance, Eng., 1800. He was apprenticed to a ropemaker, then moved to London in 1821, where he found a precarious living in cabinet-making and by opening a confectionery store. Joining the First London cooperative association he became (1830) secretary of the British Association for Promoting Cooperative Knowledge, which, however, failed in three or four years. Becoming acquainted with Owen Coblett and others, he became active in various reforms—for the opening of museums on Sunday, against stamp-duties on papers, etc. In 1831 he refused to serve in the militia and execution was levied on his furniture, tho this led to Parliament's abolishing drawing. He was arrested in 1832 for taking part in a procession (rioting), but was soon acquitted. He joined the National Union of the Working Classes (1831) and the London Working Men's Association (1836). He drafted the bill afterward circulated as the "People's Charter." (See CHARTISM.) He was secretary of the first Chartist's Convention. He was imprisoned several times, once for twelve months. In 1844 he organized a society for political refugees, called Democratic Friends of All Nations. In 1848, with Hume and Cobden, he formed a People's League to try and unite the middle classes and the working men. For this he was much criticized by O'Connor and other Chartists, and after this he largely devoted himself to educational reform. He tried teaching and wrote extensively. He died in 1877. His main works are: "Chartism" (1841); school text-books, and an "Autobiography." (See CHARTISM.)

LUDLOW: One of the best model villages in America, near Springfield, Mass., where the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates (jute and hemp mills) offer over 500 attractive houses to their employees. No land can be bought, at any price, in the portion of the village owned by the company, and on which all the houses stand. The houses, tho built on streets somewhat scattered

and picturesquely placed, are built too closely together (tho they do allow of small gardens in front and behind), and tho with considerable variety in their own architecture, are in too stiff rows to be altogether pleasing. Nevertheless, the company does offer wonderfully convenient and attractive houses, at marvelously low rents for what is offered. Rents, across the river, outside the company's grounds, are almost twice as high for equal accommodations. Yet the company finds that it pays, and more than pays. Commencing in a small way, it is now steadily and rapidly putting up new streets of buildings. And the employees appreciate them. Wages in Ludlow are not high, yet the employees are more than content. An almost luxurious memorial club-house with appointments of parlors, billiards, gymnasium, swimming-baths, etc., offer both the men and young women unusual opportunities. A fair house, eight rooms and bath, rents for \$10.75 per month. Running water is furnished all the houses and baths, gas for cooking, steam-heat, and electric-heat can be had at only slight additional cost. Attractive apartments for girls only can be had at \$2.75 per week for a single room and full board. Boys and girls earn from \$4 to \$6 per week, and women (spinners) from \$6.50 to \$9. (See MODEL VILLAGES.)

LUDLOW, JOHN MALCOLM: English lawyer associated with Maurice and Kingsley in their Christian socialism, and to a degree the originator of the movement. A letter of his to Maurice, written from Paris in 1848, and describing the French Socialist movement of that period, seems first to have directly turned Maurice's thoughts in the direction of Christian socialism. Ludlow was associated with Maurice and Kingsley in the weekly paper, *Politics for the People*, and in 1850 he became editor of the *Christian Socialist*, which became in 1851 the *Journal of the Association*. He also wrote for the series "Tracts by Christian Socialists." Among those who started in 1850 the first association of cooperative working tailors Ludlow was prominent, and was one of the convening committee of the first cooperative congress in London, in 1860, together with Kingsley, Hughes, and Neale. After that date he took little prominent part in social reform save to write certain able articles on the early Christian Socialists in *The Economic Review* (Oct., 1893) and *The Atlantic Monthly* (Jan., 1896). Address: 35 Upper Addison Gardens, W. London, England.

LUTHER AND SOCIAL REFORM: A well-known modern writer has represented the German Reformation as mainly an economic revolt. Such a view is inadequate. At heart the movement was deeply religious, and even its theological aspects became, as the years passed, increasingly important. But this much is true—the beginning of the movement was a protest against an economic injustice, and this tangible economic side of the revolt was what brought to it the support of the people and the secular rulers. Luther became a force to be reckoned with by pope and emperor when he was seen to be striking at great social wrongs. When the popular religious life, the intellectual power of humanism, the new patriotism—the whole revolutionary upheaval of medieval life that marked the age—seemed in Luther to have found a voice, he became the central figure in Germany and the leader of a great national movement.

This gave popular force to the famous Theses. Ostensibly academic propositions from a scholar and for scholars, they were really words of earnest practical appeal and warning. That indulgences deceive and debase the people was their theme, and the monetary aspect of this wrong Luther keeps well to the fore.

"Christians should be taught," he says, "that he who gives to a poor man, or lends to a needy man, does better than if he bought pardons. Because by a work of charity, charity increases, and the man becomes better, while, by means of pardons, he does not become better, but only freer from punishment" (Thesis 43).

The wrong that he attacks is a gross form of the world-old substitution of churchism for true religion. The words which set Germany on fire were directed not against wrong theology, but against a church which had become a great financial system, enormously corrupt, but also enormously efficient in extorting the money of the people. Because the evil was grown intolerable and Luther's words rang true, men of every class rallied to his side. The princes with their increasing territorial power protected him from the common fate of heretics. The towns with their rapidly growing wealth and influence backed his program of reform. And the oppressed peasantry hailed him as their prophet.

In 1520 Luther, the acknowledged leader of radical Germany, presented in three treatises his full position. The address "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation concerning the Reformation of the Christian Commonwealth" outlined in twenty-seven specific recommendations his positive program. Seven of these, a fourth of the whole, concern distinctly social questions. One urges the reform of popular education. Two discourage religious pilgrimages.

"Let the priest tell [the intending pilgrim] to spend his money, and the labor a pilgrimage would cost, on a thousandfold better work, namely, on his family and on his poor neighbors."

In the same spirit he denounced monasticism and the numberless saints' days. Granted their holy origin and the pope's approval, they must be abolished because in men's use of them they dishonor God. So he attacked begging, even when encouraged by religion, as an economic menace, and proposed that each town should feed its own poor and no others. To strip such questions of all pretense to sacredness and consider them merely in relation to the common good was a great advance step, as it was also a return to the attitude of Jesus. Many a genuine wrong fortified by the name of religion can be destroyed when we insist on regarding it only as economically and socially bad.

The last recommendation addrest to the secular affairs takes up what he regarded as the great social perils of his time. Were he to have used modern terms he would have named them extravagance and debt, the unrestrained power of the trusts, intemperance, and the social evil. Luther was afraid of the increasing tide of imports, particularly of expensive luxuries. He could not understand the use of credit, and so, in true medieval fashion, condemns it as an invention of the devil. But with all his foggy economics, the earnestness of his warning persuades us that he saw a real menace to society. And we, who live in a like time of rapidly increasing

Economic Views

wealth and rising values, may recognize it as money-madness, with its accompaniments of extravagance, speculation, debt, and greed. Related to this was the menace of the powerful commercial companies, like the Fuggers of Augsburg. In the then unsettled state of Germany, commerce ran many risks, but its profits were even greater. The questions we are still asking about this source of wealth were already in Luther's mind.

"Is it possible," he says, "that in a single man's lifetime such great wealth should be collected together, if all were done rightly and according to God's will? I am not skilled in accounts. But I do not understand how it is possible for 100 guilders to gain twenty in a year, or how one guilder can gain another, and that not out of the soil, or by cattle, seeing that possessions depend not on the wit of men, but on the blessing of God."

This was the May-time of the Reformation. Luther was writing on great questions of theology and the Church, but also on things that imperiled sobriety and industry among the people. In the social reforms he urged he was conservative, with no thought of a reorganization of the whole social structure, but he was not narrow. The whole scope of life, even down to its basis of economic justice, occupied his vision.

The Reformation marked a long step forward in the slow progress toward democracy. Only in democracy could its essential principles find complete expression. But, since a man seldom understands all the implications of his teaching, we may well ask Luther's attitude toward the democratic ideal. In "The Liberty of the Christian Man" (1520) he defends the thesis that the Christian man is free of all restraint, but is also under obligations to serve all. In particular, the priest is no different from any ordinary Christian, save in that he has a special task to perform. So of every class in society. One is not superior to another, but each has his own duty to perform for the whole body. And to Luther this was more than the beautiful dream that, through the centuries, has found so many noble expositions. In the "Address to the Nobility" he argued frankly that not the consecration of pope or bishop, but the consent of the people, gives authority to priest or bishop.

"For, since we are all priests alike, no man may put himself forward, or take upon himself, without our consent and election, to do that which we have all alike power to do." "We teach clearly, according to the Apostle, that every town should elect a pious, learned citizen from the congregation, and charge him with the office of minister."

And not only did he carry this into practice, but writing to the Bohemian churches in 1523 he further maintained the right of the congregations of a district to elect a bishop, and so build up a national church on a democratic basis.

Such radical views of the structure of the Church would readily spread to the secular power.

A treatise of 1523 on "The Temporal Authority" is in spirit thoroughly revolutionary. But this marked the high tide of Luther's iconoclastic teaching. The radical movement at Wittenberg during his concealment at the Wartburg seems to have thoroughly frightened him. The Reformation movement had now acquired momentum. And Luther was no longer the free

lance of revolt, but a leader weighed down by the responsibility of power. In 1525 came the fearful events of the Peasants' War. In his "Exhortation to Peace," published at the height of the rising, Luther was inclined to favor their claims. Only a month later came another pamphlet, "Against the Murderous and Thievish Bands of Peasants," of which the best we can say is that it was written in the heat of violent passion.

"Crush them," he says of the peasants, "strangle them and pierce them, in secret places and in sight of men, he who can, even as one would strike dead a mad dog."

The wrongs of the peasants were undoubted. But in the play of great political forces, the Lutheran movement was in gravest danger. The rise of the peasants at just this time seemed to imperil the whole cause. So for the sake of the new Church he abandoned the cause of the people. At first the religious motive had led him directly to the social problems and wrongs in the life of his nation. But now the success of an institution usurped the chief place in his thought. His Church loomed larger to him than justice or the needs of men. Such a step once taken could not be retraced. As the years passed the Reformation from being a popular movement became a semipolitical issue of the princes. The place of the disowned authority of Rome was taken by the secular rulers. To-day there is no place for the democratic or representative element in the Lutheran churches of Germany. Naturally such a Church is not among the forces that work for democracy and freedom.

HARRIE R. CHAMBERLIN.

LUXURY, says Prof. Émile de Laveleye, "consists in the consumption of what has cost great labor to produce, for the satisfaction of spurious needs." So defining it, he condemns it, and says: "Luxury is pernicious to the individual and fatal to society. Primitive Christianity reformed it in the name of charity and humility; political economy condemns it in the name of utility, and justice condemns it in the name of equity."

Prof. R. T. Ely writes in the *Kingdom* (June 5, 1896):

A newspaper writer, speaking of certain extravagant social events which occurred a few years since, used these words: "Murmurs against luxury may be heard among people in straitened circumstances when the lavish expenditures and sumptuous pleasures of great society entertainments are discusst. But such persons are prone to forget that these expenditures that seem so prodigal go in large part to benefit the working people." We cannot consider now all the economic fallacies involved in arguments of this kind. They have been exposed over and over again by able men. It may, however, simply be pointed out that the same expenditure made in behalf of others would give equal employment to labor. Let us take the case of a man who contributes \$1,000,000 for a public building, and contrast it with the case of a man who spends \$1,000,000 on his own private house. Labor has equal employment in both cases, but the benefit of the toil accrues to the public in the one case and in the other to the selfish enjoyment of an individual. Another comparison: Contrast the expenditure of \$10,000 for an evening's entertainment with an expenditure of \$10,000 for books for a public library. Labor is alike employed in both cases, but in the second case the enjoyment is more widely diffused and is of a far more enduring character. This attempted justification is precisely on a line with that which people advance for the maintenance of gambling-dens and the support of the traffic in intoxicating beverages.

Yet tho this view is supported by all moralists and all economists, the development of luxuries and extravagance goes on in all modern cities and perhaps most of all in New York City and among

Reactionary
Views



KEIR HARDIE, M.P.
Labour



CARROLL D. WRIGHT, U.S.A
Industrial Ethics



Mrs. C. DESPARD
Adult Suffrage



Miss MARY MacARTHUR
Woman's Work



Americans of the wealthiest class. Mr. Cleveland Moffett, writing in *Success* in 1906 on "The Shameful Misuse of Wealth," gives many instances. We read of \$1,000 a year spent on clothes for a poodle; dog collars set with pearls or diamonds; dogs themselves worth \$3,000-\$5,000 (St. Bernards, \$7,000); ordinary families among the wealthy with 24 servants; chefs with salaries of \$5,000 to \$10,000. We read of dinners of every extravagance, dinners served on golden dishes, appendicitis dinners, horseback dinners on luxuriously trapped horses, monkey dinners, bull and bear dinners, dinners with opera singers as centerpieces, clown dinners, singing-bird dinners, and even a dinner given by a New Yorker where the table represented an Egyptian desert and the guests dug up jewels with gold shovels and picks. The jewelry worn by the wealthy in New York has been estimated at \$200,000,000. Pearl necklaces for women cost \$200,000 or more; twenty men in New York are said to wear link cuff buttons costing \$5,000. The estimate is made for New York that for dress 100 women spend each \$30,000 annually, or \$3,000,000; 1,000 women spend each \$15,000 annually, or \$15,000,000; 5,000 women spend each \$5,000 annually, or \$25,000,000; 6,100 women spend each \$50,000 annually, or an annual total of \$43,000,000.

Yachts for the wealthy cost from \$500,000-\$750,000 and cost fortunes annually to maintain. W. K. Vanderbilt's private car is valued at \$50,000. Single individuals have 17 automobiles. On cottages at Newport \$100,000 are spent for a stone wall or \$100 for a tree. To prevent ennui the men gamble for \$10,000 in an evening; women for smaller amounts. Ladies have strange pets—snakes, pigs, lions, and bears. Their poodles have gold-filled teeth, are sent in victorias for fresh air, accompanied by liveried servants, or taken to the opera. And so through all the nauseating round.

In Europe it is much the same, tho perhaps with less tawdry display of wealth. In England and Wales people spend annually in licenses alone: For carriages, £513,261; armorial bearings, £68,479; male servants, £148,690; killing game, £581,232.

LUZZATTI, LUIGI: Italian statesman; born 1841, of Jewish parents, in Venice. He studied law and political sciences, and taught for a short time at the Istituto Tecnico in Milan, and later accepted a professorship of political economy and constitutional law at the University of Padua (1867). Elected to the House of Deputies in 1871, he soon became prominent in matters of finance, and was appointed Minister of the Treasury in Rudini's cabinet of 1891-92 and 1896-98. His principal activity in philanthropy consists in the establishment of numerous savings-banks and mutual relief associations.

LYNCHING (for statistics, see **HOMICIDES**): The following article, by Cardinal Gibbons, is condensed by his permission from *The North American Review* for Oct., 1905:

It is a law of all Christian and civilized nations, based on the Mosaic ordinance, that all deliberate murderers and other atrocious criminals shall expiate their transgressions by the death penalty.

But private individuals, how exalted soever may be their station and influence in the community, or how grievous soever the offense, cannot constitute themselves the agents for punishing the

guilty. A claim of this kind would destroy or imperil security of life, and lead to indiscriminate bloodshed.

The prerogative of exacting life for life, and blood for blood, is vested exclusively in the public authorities, who are charged with maintaining the peace and good order of the commonwealth.

But even civil rulers are forbidden to make an arbitrary use of their prerogatives, at least in times of peace. Their powers are strictly defined. They can pronounce sentence of death only after a judicial verdict has been rendered. The Constitution of the United States expressly provides that no man may be condemned to death till declared guilty after a judicial trial.

I admit that there are exceptional times and circumstances when summary executions may be tolerated and condoned; when, for instance, a territory is suddenly occupied by a mixed and heterogeneous population, and is in a formative state; when the civil law and the usual machinery and appliances of a stable government are not yet established. On occasions like this, the recognized leaders of the people may punish notorious criminals in the interests of social order. But it is manifest that this method of chastising offenders cannot be tolerated in a state where the courts of justice are in free operation.

What aggravates the crime of lynch law is the circumstance that not unfrequently it sentences to death an innocent person, while the guilty party escapes. Cases of mistaken identity and ungrounded suspicion are liable to occur when we consider the excited frame of mind of the unhappy victim of violence and lust, and the eagerness of an outraged community to avenge an atrocious and brutal crime.

Unfortunately, also, the lynching of one individual is sometimes attended by the accidental and promiscuous slaying or wounding of bystanders in the conflict.

Another deplorable result of lynching is that public sympathy is sometimes drawn from the innocent victim of lust and murder, and is transferred for the time being to the brute who outraged and killed her. Her defenseless condition, her agonies and cries for help, her vain entreaties, her dishonor worse than death, culminating often in torture and murder in order to cover the crime—all this horrible picture fades from view and is almost forgotten, while the iniquity of the human fiend is condoned or palliated on account of the lawless manner in which his crime was expiated. He often becomes the hero of the hour, and is regarded by some even as a martyr. And, while the malefactor's crime is almost lost sight of, and he becomes the object of morbid pity, popular denunciation falls on the heads of those who participated in his summary execution.

If, indeed, the illegal and violent infliction of the death penalty on criminals had a deterrent effect on other evil-disposed persons, and acted as a warning to them, that circumstance, while not justifying lynch law, might at least offer some excuse or palliation for its exercise. But experience shows that it rather increases instead of diminishing the calendar of crime. Far from terrorizing the colored race who are the usual sufferers from hasty executions, it inflames them with indignation, and excites them to perpetrate deeds of violence on the weaker sex as much from a spirit of revenge, and from a triumph in the humiliation of their victims, as from a desire to gratify their animal passions.

Let us now examine into the principal grounds of excuse for the exercise of lynch law. One of the causes of hasty and violent executions without the forms of law is the needless and often irritating delay in bringing a notorious criminal to the bar of justice, and the infliction of punishment inadequate to the enormity of the offense.

Yet another crying evil and incentive to lynching is the wide interval that so often interposes between a criminal's conviction and the execution of the sentence, and the defeat of justice by needless procrastination. Human life is indeed precious and sacred, but the effort to guard it has gone beyond reasonable bounds. It is blessed to be merciful, but mercy should not be exercised at the expense of justice and social order. Misplaced clemency often works infinite harm to the community.

Of late years the difficulty of carrying out the judgment of the court (in murder trials especially) has greatly increased from the widened application of pleas in bar—notably that of insanity. When a conviction has been reached, innumerable obstacles generally stay the execution. The many grounds of exception allowed to counsel, the appeals from one court to another of higher jurisdiction, involving an enormous expense to the commonwealth, the long periods of time intervening between the terms of the lower and higher courts, the impossibility of recalling the original witnesses by reason of their death or removal to distant parts of the country, the apathy or fading interest of the friends of the prosecution, the untiring efforts of the advocates and friends of the accused, the facility with which signatures for pardon are obtained, with the final application for mercy to the governor—all these circumstances have combined to throw around the transgressor an extravagant protective sys-

tem, and have gone far to rob jury trials of their substance and efficacy.

When the crime of the accused has been manifestly proved, and no extenuating circumstances can be advanced, the lawyers for the defense have often recourse to the plea of insanity as a last resource. Medical experts are always available to testify to the moral irresponsibility of the culprit, bewildering the jury by their technical phrases. This subterfuge not unfrequently succeeds in defeating the ends of justice, tho the sanity of the guilty party had never before been called in question.

A sovereign remedy for the suppression of lynching and for the restoration of the law's supremacy is found in a speedy trial and conviction of the accused, if he is found guilty, followed by the rigorous execution of the sentence.

It would be a great blessing for society if our lawmakers were to revise the criminal code now in force, and to sweep away, or at least considerably diminish, the barriers which interpose between the crime and its punishment. A prompt execution of the verdict would strike terror into evil-doers, and satisfy the public conscience.

But it is far more merciful to stop crime than to punish it by legislation. It is better to remove the cause than to repair its evil effects. From data before me, I infer that about 70 per cent of those who perished by lynching in the Southern states between 1885 and 1903 belonged to the colored population. If the deep-rooted antipathy between the white and the black races were removed, or assuaged, these violent executions would be considerably diminished.

This blessed result can be accomplished only by submission to the teachings or the Gospel, which proclaims the equality of all men before God.

J. CARD. GIBBONS.

M

MABLY, GABRIEL BONNOT DE: Political economist; born in Grenoble, 1709. Pursued his studies with the Jesuits of Lyons; entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, but later became secretary to his relative, the Cardinal of Teucin, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The true minister was Mably. However, a misunderstanding arose between the minister and his secretary, and Mably withdrew to devote himself to political science. Already in 1742 his "*Parallèle des Romains et des Français par rapport au gouvernement*" had established his fame. In 1748 appeared the "*Droit public de l'Europe fondé sur les traités*"; afterward the "*Entretiens de Phocion sur le rapport de la morale avec la politique*" (1763); "*Doutes proposés aux philosophes économistes sur l'ordre naturel des sociétés*" (1768); "*De la législation, ou Principes des lois*" (1770); "*Observations sur le gouvernement et les lois des États-Unis d'Amérique*" (1784)—a curious work, in which he predicts the approaching downfall of the new republic "unless it turn away from the line of commercialism in which it is involved." Invited by the Polish Diet to prepare a code of laws for Poland, his "*Gouvernement de Pologne*" appeared in 1781.

Mably died in 1785, author also of several posthumous works, among them "*Les Droits et les Devoirs du Citoyen*."

The economic ideas of Mably are scattered through all his works; they form a complete system and make him one of the first thinkers of his age.

MACARTHUR, MARY R. (MISS): Secretary Women's Trade-Union League; born at Glasgow, Scotland, 1880. Joined National Union of Shop Assistants and Clerks in 1900; was elected first president of Ayr Branch, and afterward became its secretary. Elected first president of Scottish National Council of Shop Assistants' Union; was also elected first woman member of the National Executive of the Union. In 1903 Miss Macarthur was appointed secretary of the Women's Trade-Union League; has attended Scottish Trade-Union Congress and British Trade-Union Congress annually since 1903. She represented the Women's Trade-Union League at the Women's International Congress at Berlin in 1904. Miss Macarthur is at present the only woman member of the Executive of the London Trades' Council; she has been very successful as an organizer of women's trade-unions; during the past few years has been instrumental in adding many thousands to the ranks of the British women trade-unionists. In politics she is a Socialist and a member of the Independent Labor Party. Author of many articles and papers published in *The Labor Record*

and other newspapers and periodicals. *Address:* Women's Trade-Union League, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E. C.

McBRIDE, JOHN: American labor leader; born in Wayne County, Ohio, in 1854; commenced working in the mines at the age of nine. In 1870 he joined the Miners' Union; in 1883 was elected its president. In 1881 was nominated to the state legislature, and tho defeated, was renominated and elected in 1883 and again in 1885. In 1886 was Democratic candidate for Secretary of State. In 1894 was elected president of the American Federation of Labor (*q. v.*), but defeated in 1895.

McCULLOCH, JOHN RAMSAY: Editor; author; born at Whithorn, Scotland, 1789; became editor of *The Scotsman*, a Liberal organ, and one of the editors of *The Edinburgh Review*. He wrote the article on political economy in the supplement to the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (1824), and expanded it in 1825 into the "Principles of Political Economy, with a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Science." In 1828-32 he was professor of that science in the University of London. In 1838 was controller of the royal stationary office, and received a pension of £200. One of the first to develop free-trade views. His "Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation" and a "Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical, Historical, of the Various Countries, Places, and Principal Natural Objects of the World" were long standard authorities. Died at Westminster in 1864.

MacDONALD, ALEXANDER: Miner; Commissioner on Labor Laws; born 1821 in Lanarkshire, the son of a miner; worked in the pit at the age of eight years. Having an ardent desire for education, prepared himself for Glasgow University; entered in 1846, working as a miner in the summer; became a leader of the miners all over Scotland. In 1850 became a school-teacher; in 1857 gave this up to give all his time to agitation on behalf of the miners. In 1863, on the formation of the National Union of Miners, was elected president. Meanwhile, by some commercial speculations acquired a modest fortune, which enabled him to devote all his time to advocating a parliamentary program among the miners. In the general election for 1874 was returned to Parliament for Stafford with Mr. Bright (*q. v.*), the first Labor member. He was appointed on the Royal Commission on Labor Laws, and brought in a minority report. Died in 1881.

MACDONALD, JAMES RAMSAY: English Socialist and Labor M.P.; born Lossiemouth, 1866, his parents being agricultural laborers. Worked as a clerk in London, but also studied and taught. In 1888 he became secretary to Mr. T. Lough, M.P. A contributor to the reform press, he was one of the pioneers of socialism in the south of England, joined the Independent Labor Party, and was chosen on its administrative council, and on the executive of the Fabian Society. In 1900, on the formation of the Labor Representation Committee, he was elected its first secretary, and so continued, till last year it became the Labor Party, with Mr. Macdonald as its secretary and Parliamentary whip. He has also served the London County Council, 1901-4. Strongly op-

posed to the Boer War, in 1903 he went to South Africa, and wrote "What I Saw in South Africa." He has been editor of the *Socialist Library*, and writer of numerous articles on Socialist and Labor topics. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament for Leicester. *Address:* 3, Lincoln's Inn Field, London, W. C.

McGLYNN, EDWARD: Priest; born New York City, 1837; was educated at the College of the Propaganda in Rome. Entering the Roman Catholic priesthood, became in 1866 pastor of St. Stephen's Church, in New York City, where he rapidly gained influence and popularity. His opposition to the establishment of parochial schools and his advocacy of the land doctrines of Henry George (*q. v.*) brought him into disfavor with the Church, and he was summoned to Rome, and, on refusing to go, excommunicated. In 1887 he aided in founding the Anti-Poverty Society (*q. v.*) and became its president, lecturing on its principles before enthusiastic audiences in New York City and elsewhere. In 1893 he was reconciled to the Church, tho without renouncing his economic views; the ban of excommunication was removed, and he was restored to his rank and to office in the Church. Died in 1899.

McGUIRE, PETER J.: First vice-president of the American Federation of Labor; born New York City, 1852; was educated in public schools and evening classes at the Cooper Institute; in 1867 apprenticed as a wood joiner; joined the union of his craft in 1872, and interested himself in the labor movement. In 1880 secured the passage of labor bills in Missouri and organized the labor bureau of that state; became a Greenbacker in 1876 and stumped Missouri in 1880. In 1881 organized the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (*q. v.*); was arrested that year for conspiracy, but acquitted. In 1881 was delegate to the International Working Men's Congress in Switzerland, and studied industrial conditions in Europe. In 1882 he became general secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters; has address many thousand meetings in all portions of the United States; was for years vice-president of the American Federation of Labor.

McKENZIE, HON. JOHN: Minister of Lands in New Zealand; born in Rosshire, Scotland, 1838; went to New Zealand in 1866 and became a prosperous farmer. For over thirty years he has held important political positions, as member of Parliament and later Minister of Lands. In this position he mainly has carried out New Zealand's new policy of "land for the people."

McMAHON, JOHN R.: Author and journalist; born 1875 at Roy Bareilly, India, of missionary parents. Entered New York journalism 1893; private in 202d Regiment, New York Volunteers, in Spanish-American War, 1898. Resumed journalism in work on newspapers, magazine stories, dramatic collaboration. He is author of "Toilers and Idlers," a socialistic novel (1907), and in politics is a supporter of socialism.

McNEILL, GEORGE E.: Sometimes called "The Father of the American Federation of Labor"; born in Amesbury, Mass., 1836, his father one of the early workers in the antislavery movement, a friend of John G. Whittier. He

worked as a boy in the woolen mills of his native town, organized a union among the boys, took part in a strike, and was blacklisted. In 1856 he went to Boston and earned a precarious living in many occupations. He joined the Sons of Temperance and wrote for temperance papers. Becoming convinced, however, that intemperance was largely the result and not the cause of poverty, he gave his life to the Labor movement. He first became prominent as a writer and worker for *The Daily Voice*, a Boston Labor paper, and spoke for this all over New England. Coming to believe with Ira Steward (*q. v.*) in the Eight-Hour Philosophy (*q. v.*) as the main philosophy of labor, he became its main spokesman and imbued the whole American Labor movement with its views. He was an active member of the great Eight-Hour League, and had much to do with the establishment of the ten-hour law of Massachusetts; he founded the Working Men's Institute, and in co-operation with Wendell Phillips, Governor Claflin, and others, led to the establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, the first labor bureau. Upon its organization in 1869, he was made deputy chief, but displaced for political reasons in 1873, the bureau having shown that the Massachusetts savings-banks received their capital largely not from working men but from capitalists. (See LABOR BUREAUS.) He was president of the famous Boston Eight-Hour League for eight years. (See EIGHT-HOUR DAY.)

He joined the Sovereigns of Industry, and became state secretary. Upon the formation of the International Labor Union of America was made president; in that capacity address public meetings all over the United States. He was connected as editor or associate editor with the *New York Labor Standard*, *Fall River Labor Standard*, Paterson (N. J.) *Labor Standard*, Paterson *Home Journal*, as well as *The Voice*. He founded the *Labor Leader* at Boston. He was an active member of the Labor Congress at Rochester in 1874, and there wrote a declaration of principles later adopted by the Knights of Labor (*q. v.*).

He served for a time as a member of the school committee of the city of Cambridge, Mass. He joined the Knights of Labor in 1883; became prominent in District 30 of that order, when District 30 was the largest district of the largest labor organization that had existed up to that time, and was appointed district treasurer in 1884. He favored, however, the principle of trade autonomy for each trade, and on that issue, differing from Mr. Powderly (*q. v.*), he largely led in the movement which resulted in the formation of the American Federation of Labor (*q. v.*), and became one of its foremost councilors, the intimate friend and adviser of Mr. Gompers (*q. v.*). He was successful as arbitrator of differences between employers and employees; notably in the great horse-car strike in Boston, 1885, and in the case of the employees of the Union Pacific Railroad. In 1886 he was the working men's candidate for Mayor of Boston. The first systematic history of the Labor movement in America was undertaken by McNeill, resulting in the publication of "The Labor Movement, or the Problem of To-day," in 1886, edited and the larger portion written by himself. He was appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts a Commissioner of Manual Training (1892); later on taxation, and on codification of laws. Mr. McNeill was an independent and radical Democrat, his economic

ideals being those of trade-union socialism. He was an ardent Anti-Imperialist, and a constant speaker and writer in protest against every kind of oppression. In 1883 he founded the Massachusetts Mutual Accident Association, and, after years of struggle, found in this pecuniary success. He wrote some verse—"Unfrequented Paths." He was in religion a Christian Socialist (and warden of the Church of the Carpenter). (See BLISS, W. D. P.) He died in 1906.

MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ DI BERNARDO:

Writer and diplomat; born Florence, 1469, of middle-class parentage. A man of affairs rather than a student, he grew up in the brilliant court of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and after the reestablishment of the republic in 1498 he was, till the return of the Medici in 1512, chancellor or secretary of the second chancery in Florence, thrown intimately with public men, and sent on repeated embassies to Cesare Borgia, Pope Julius II., the Emperor Maximilian, Louis XII. of France, and the various Italian states. The return of the Medici ended his public career, though he sought favor with them, and in 1521 was commissioned by them to write a history of Florence; but in 1527 the Medici were again driven from Florence, and Machiavelli died in disappointment the same year.

His political writings have made his reputation. "Dell'arte della guerra" (1520) advocates the present system of standing armies instead of the Middle Age use of mercenaries. His "Lettere familiari" and "Istorie Fiorentine" (1525) give unrivaled insight into his times. His "Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio" gives his ideas of republican government; but his great work is "Il Principe," in which he considers absolute monarchy, and has made the word *machiavellism* a synonym for evil. There has been interminable discussion whether Machiavelli wrote this book satirically, cynically, immorally, or honestly. It is a remorseless and scientific examination of the principles and methods an absolute monarch as a matter of fact follows and seemingly must follow in order to succeed. All factors of rights and morals are eliminated. Every point is proved and illustrated from contemporary history. Some of his principles need a Cesare Borgia to execute. Like the "Discorsi," it was published after his death in 1532. (See POLITICAL SCIENCE.) Machiavelli was undoubtedly a man of the world, but he always seems to have been true to Florence, and to have had a true, devoted wife in Marietta Corsini.

MACHINERY: The importance of machinery in production can scarcely be overestimated. The part that it has played in the development of the modern labor problem can scarcely be put too strongly. We shall consider: I. The Facts of Machine Production; II. Social Results; III. The Right Use of Machinery.

I. THE FACTS OF MACHINE PRODUCTION.

Tools and machinery are not identical; a tool is an instrument, usually simple, tho, as in the case of the lathe and potter's wheel, sometimes complex, which is guided and directed by the skill of the craftsman. When the tool grows complex, and is not guided by the individual skill of the craftsman, but by a mechanism which governs its action, it is called a machine. Ma-

chinery usually includes motor mechanism transmitting mechanism, and working or tool mechanism.

Machinery increases man's productivity in two ways. It enables him, as with the steam-hammer, to concentrate enormous power upon a fixed point, and to make motion regular and continuous. Says Mr. J. A. Hobson ("The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," pp. 51, 52):

Machinery can increase the scope of man's productive ability in two ways: The difficulty of concentrating a large mass of human force upon a given point at the same time provides certain quantitative limits to the productive efficiency of the human body. The steam-hammer can perform certain work which is quantitatively outside the limit of the physical power of any number of men working with simple tools and drawing their motor power from their own bodies. The other limit to the productive power of man arises from the imperfect continuity of human effort and the imperfect command of its direction. . . .

Use

Machinery can also do work which is too fine or delicate for human fingers, or which would require abnormal skill if executed by hand. . . .

The continuity and regularity of machine-work are also reflected in certain economies of measurement. The faculty of self-registering, which belongs potentially to all machinery, and which is more utilized every day, performs several services which may be summed up by saying that they enable us to know exactly what is going on. When to self-registration is applied the faculty of self-regulation, within certain limits a new economy of force and knowledge is added. But machinery can also register and regulate the expenditure of human power. Babbage well says: "One of the most singular advantages we derive from machinery is in the check which it affords against the inattention, the idleness or the knavery of human agents." . . .

These are the sources of all the improvements of economies imputed to machine production. All improvements in machinery, as applied to industrial arts, take therefore one of the following forms:

(1) Rearrangement or improvement of machinery so as to utilize more fully the productive power of nature or man. Improvements enabling one man to tend more spindles, or enabling the same engine at the same boiler pressure to turn more wheels, belong to this order of improvement.

(2) Economies in the source of power. These will fall under four heads: 1. Substitution of cheaper for dearer kinds of human power. Displacement of men's labor by women's or children's. 2. Substitution of mechanical power for human power. Most great improvements in the "labor-saving" character of machinery properly come under this head. 3. Economies in fuel or in steam. The most momentous illustration is the adoption of the hot blast and the substitution of raw coal for coke in the iron trade. 4. The substitution of a new mechanical motor for an old one derived from the same or from different stores of energy—e. g., steam for water-power, natural gas for steam.

(3) Extended application of machinery. New industrial arts owing their origin to scientific inventions and their practice to machinery arise for utilizing waste products. Under "waste products" we may include (a) natural materials, the services of which were not recognized or could not be utilized without machinery—e. g., nitrates and other "waste" products of the soil; (b) the refuse of manufacturing processes which figured as "waste" until some unsuspected use was found for it.

The development of machinery may be divided into four periods:

1. The period of the earlier mechanical inventions, marking the displacement of domestic by factory industry (1764-85).

2. The period of application of steam to manufacturing (1785-1814).

3. The period of steam locomotion, with its bearing on industry (1814-56).

4. The period of the construction of machinery by machinery (1856-66).

Important dates in the development of machinery are the invention of Hargreave's spinning-jenny (1764), Arkwright's mill (1771), Crompton's mule (1779), Cartwright's power-loom and Watt's engine for cotton-mills (1785), Whitney's cotton-gin (1792), Stephenson's locomotive (1814), the opening of the first railway (1822), the hot blast (1829), ring-spinning (1841). The revolution in the industrial world created by

machinery has been often dwelt upon. The following facts are taken from the first report of the United States Commissioner of Labor for 1886:

In the timber business twelve laborers with a Bucker machine will dress 12,000 staves. The same number of men by hand labor would have dressed in the same time only 2,500. In the manufacture of paper a machine now used for drying and cutting, run by four men and six girls, will do the work formerly done by 100 persons, and do it much better. In the manufacture of wall-paper the best evidence puts the displacement in the proportion of 100 to 1. In a phosphate mine in South Carolina ten men accomplish with machinery what 100 men handle without it in the same time. There has been a displacement of 50 per cent in the manufacture of rubber boots and shoes. In South Carolina pottery the product is ten times greater by machine processes than by muscular labor. In the manufacture of saws, experienced men consider that there has been a displacement of three men out of five. In the weaving of silk the displacement has been 95 per cent, and in the winding of silk 90 per cent. A large soap manufacturing concern carefully estimates the displacement of labor in its works at 50 per cent. In making wine in California a crushing machine has been introduced with which one man can crush and stem 80 tons of grapes in a day, representing an amount of work formerly requiring eight men. In woollen goods modern machinery has reduced muscular labor 33 per cent in the carding department, 50 per cent in the spinning, and 25 per cent in the weaving. In some kinds of spinning 100 to 1 represents the displacement. In the whole United States in 1886 the machinery was equal to 3,500,000 horse-power. If men only had been employed, it would have required 21,000,000 to turn out the actual total product; the real number was 4,000,000. To do the work accomplished in 1886 in the U. S. by power machinery and on the railways would have required men representing a population of 172,500,000. The actual population of the U. S. in 1886 was something under 60,000,000, or a little more than one third.

Commenting on these very remarkable statistics, the Labor Commissioner says: "The apparent evils resulting from the introduction of machinery and the consequent subdivision of labor have to a large extent, of course, been offset by advantages gained; but it must stand as a positive statement, which cannot be successfully controverted, that this wonderful introduction and extension of power machinery is one of the prime causes, if not the prime cause, of the novel industrial condition in which the manufacturing nations find themselves."

Machinery, too, has revolutionized agriculture. Mr. D. A. Wells considers it to have made greater changes here than in any other occupation. He says ("Recent Economic Changes"):

In respect to no other one article has change in the conditions of production and distribution been productive of such momentous consequences as in the case of wheat. On the great wheat-fields of the State of Dakota, where machinery is applied to agriculture to such an extent that the requirement for manual labor has been reduced to a minimum, the annual product of one man's labor, working to the best advantage, is understood to be now equivalent to the production of 5,500 bushels of wheat. In the great mills of Minnesota, the labor of another one man for a year, under similar conditions as regards machinery, is in like manner equivalent to the conversion of this unit of 5,500 bushels of wheat into

1,000 barrels of flour, leaving 500 bushels for seed purposes; and altho the conditions for analysis of the next step in the way of results are more difficult, it is reasonably certain that the year's labor of one and a half men more—or, at the most, two men—employed in railroad transportation, is equivalent to putting this 1,000 barrels of flour on a dock in New York ready for exportation, where the addition of a fraction of a cent a pound to the price will further transport and deliver it at almost any port of Europe.

Here, then, we have the labor of three men for one year, working with machinery, resulting in the producing all the flour that 1,000 other men ordinarily eat in a year, allowing one barrel of flour for the average consumption of each adult. Before such a result the question of wages paid in the different branches of flour production and transportation becomes an insignificant factor in determining a market; and, accordingly, American flour grown in Dakota and ground in Minneapolis, from 1,000 to 1,500 miles from the nearest seaboard, and under the auspices of men paid from \$.50 to \$2.50 per day for their labor, is sold in European markets at rates which are determinative of the prices which Russian peasants, Egyptian "fellahs," and Indian "ryots" can obtain in the same markets for similar grain. (See AGRICULTURE.)

Mr. Hobson says (as above):

It must not be forgotten that by far the most important factor in the decline of English agricultural employment is the

transport machinery which has brought the produce of distant countries into direct competition with English agricultural produce.

Of England, Mr. William Clarke, in the "Fibian Essays," says:

A cotton-mill in one of the dismal "hell-holes" called towns in Lancashire is a wonderful place, full of bewildering machines. Here is a machine called an "opener," by which 15,000 pounds of cotton can be opened in fifty-six hours. There is a throstle, the spindles of which make from 6,000 to 7,000 revolutions per minute. Here is a man who, with the aid of two pieces to take up and join the broken ends, can work 2,000 spindles. Among the distinct separate machines used are opener, scutcher, and lap machine, drawing frame, slubbing frame, intermediate frame, roving frame, throstle, self-acting mule and hand mule, doubling frame, and mule doublers or twiners. By means of these appliances the following results have been attained: Within eight years, from 1792 to 1800, the quantity of cotton exported from the U. S. to Lancashire had increased from 138,000 pounds to 18,000,000 pounds. In 1801 Lancashire took 84,000 bales of cotton from the U. S.; in 1876 she took 2,075,000 bales; and whereas in the former year only 14,000 bales came from India, in 1876 from that country came 775,000 bales, besides a great increase in Brazilian cotton, and a new import of 332,000 bales from Egypt. In 1805 1,000,000 pieces of calico were sold in the Blackburn market during the whole

England

year; and that was considered a very large sale. In 1884, according to Ellison's "Annual Review of the Cotton Trade," there were exported 4,417,000,000 yards of piece goods, besides the vast quantity produced for home consumption. In 1875, in place of the little cottages with their hand-loom of a century before, Lancashire contained 2,655 cotton factories with 37,515,772 spinning-spindles and 463,118 power-loom; and she produced yarn and piece goods to the weight of 1,088,890,000 pounds, and of the value of £95,447,000. See, too, how through the use of machinery the cost of production has been lowered. In 1790 the price of spinning the yarn known technically as No. 100 was 4s. per pound; in 1826 it had been reduced to 6½d. The sale price of yarn No. 100 in 1786 was 38s.; in 1793 it was reduced to 15s. 1d.; in 1803 to 8s. 4d.; in 1876 to 2s. 6d. The decreased cost in each case followed on economy in production, itself dependent on increased differentiation in machinery; that in turn involving larger and larger capital; and that again necessitating aggregation and the crushing out of small concerns which could not command machinery or sell at a profit in competition with it.

And this process is by no means an ended one. Mr. Carroll D. Wright, in his "Industrial Evolution of the U. S.," chap. xxvii., gives some instances of recent improvements in machinery:

One of the latest sextuple stereotype perfecting presses manufactured by R. Hoe & Co., of New York, has an aggregate running capacity of 72,000 eight-page papers per hour; that is to say, one of these perfected presses, run by one pressman and four skilled laborers, will print, cut at the top, fold, paste, and count (with supplement inserted if desired) 72,000 eight-page papers in one hour. To do the presswork alone for this number of papers would take, on the old plan, a man and a boy, working ten hours per day, 100 days. By the use of Goodyear's sewing-machine for turned shoes one man will sew 250 pairs in one day. It would require eight men, working by hand, to sew the same number in the same time. By the use of a heel-shaver or trimmer one man will trim 300 pairs of shoes a day, while formerly three men would have been required to do the same work; and with the McKay machine one operator will handle 300 pairs of shoes in one day, while without the machine he could handle but five pairs in the same time. So, in nailing on heels, one man, with the aid of machinery, can heel 300 pairs of shoes per day. In the days of the single-spindle hand-wheel, one spinner, working fifty-six hours continuously, could spin five hanks of No. 32 twist. At the present time, with one pair of self-acting mule-spinning machines, having 2,124 spindles, one spinner, with the assistance of two small boys, can produce 55,098 hanks of No. 32 twist in the same time. . . . Even in power machinery, a weaver formerly tended but one loom. Now one weaver minds all the way from two to ten looms, according to the grade of goods. In a large establishment in New Hampshire, improved machinery, even within ten years, has reduced muscular labor 50 per cent in the production of the same quality of goods. In weaving in the olden time, in this country, a fair adult hand-loom weaver wove from forty-two to forty-eight yards of common shirting per week. Now a weaver, tending six power-loom in a cotton factory, will produce 1,500 yards and over in a single week; and a very recent invention will enable a weaver to double this product.

In many lines of manufactures new machinery has to be put in every few years to keep up with

the competition. Steamers ten years old are usually worthless for fast voyages.

In his "Recent Economic Changes," chap. ii., Mr. D. A. Wells says:

The power capable of being exerted by the steam-engines of the world in existence and working in the year 1887 has been estimated by the Bureau of Statistics at Berlin as equivalent to that of 200,000,000 horses, representing approximately 1,000,000,000 men; or at least three times the working population of the earth, whose total number of inhabitants is probably about 1,460,000,000. The application and use of steam alone up to date (1889) has accordingly more than trebled man's working-power, and by enabling him to economize his physical strength has given him greater leisure, comfort, and abundance, and also greater opportunity for that mental training which is essential to a higher development. And yet it is certain that four fifths of the steam-engines now working in the world have been constructed during the last quarter of a century, or since 1865.

But the present steam-engine will probably be discarded. Many believe that the use of electricity as a motor power will still more revolutionize industry. (See ELECTRICITY. For further illustrations of the productive power of machinery, see PRODUCTIVITY.)

II. SOCIAL RESULTS

In his "Political Economy," Book IV., chap. vi., John Stuart Mill wrote his oft-quoted words: "Hitherto it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lengthened the day's toil of any human being." This is considered by many an exaggeration. If hours of labor were at first lengthened by the introduction of machinery they are to-day steadily being lessened. (See EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT.) If machinery has developed the factory system, that to-day is by no means what it was. The most evil results of machinery are thus temporary, its good results permanent. Realizing what machinery means in the way of cheapened production and how it makes it possible that wage-earners should own a hundred commodities that the wealthy could not have a hundred years ago, most economists believe that machinery has been to the vast benefit of working men as of all classes. There are, however, two sides to this. The most serious discussion has been on the question of how far machinery has permanently displaced labor. Writers like Mr. Carroll D. Wright claim that if machinery has displaced labor in one direction it has created more employment for them in others. Mr. Wright shows, e.g., in his "Industrial Evolution of the U. S.," chap. xxviii., that the average per capita consumption of cotton in this country was 5.9 pounds in 1830, 13.91 pounds in 1880, and 19 pounds in 1890, which figures, he says, "clearly and positively indicate that the labor necessary for such consumption has been kept up to the standard, if not beyond the standard, of the olden time—that is, as to the number of people employed." In iron he says the increase has been as great proportionally: 105.64 pounds in 1870, 204.90 pounds in 1880, and 283.38 pounds in 1890. In steel it was 46 pounds in 1880 and 144 in 1890. Many occupations have been created. He says (we abridge his words):

If we could examine scientifically the number of created occupations, the claim that inventions have displaced labor on the whole would be conclusively and emphatically refuted. In telegraphy thousands and thousands of people are employed where no one has ever been displaced. Electroplating, a modern device, has not only added wonderfully to the employed list by its direct influence, but indirectly by the introduction of a class of goods which can be secured by all persons,

The railroads offer another grand illustration of the expansion of labor. It now requires more than three quarters of a million of people to operate our railroads, and this means a population of nearly four millions, or one sixteenth of the whole population of the country. The displacement of the stage-coach and the stage-driver was nothing compared to the expansion of labor which the railroad systems of the country have created. As a means of expansion of labor the sewing-machine is a striking illustration. It has displaced no one; it has increased demand, and it has been the means of establishing great workshops to supply the thousands of machines that are sold throughout the world.

Creates Work

The expansion of values as the result of the influence of machinery has been quite as marvelous as in any other direction, for educated labor, supplemented by machinery, has developed small quantities of inexpensive material into products of great value. This truth is illustrated by taking cotton and iron ore as the starting-point. A pound of cotton, costing at the time this calculation was made but 13 cents, has been developed into muslin which sold in the market for 80 cents, and into chintz which sold for \$4. Seventy-five cents' worth of common iron ore has been developed into \$5 worth of bar iron, or into \$10 worth of horseshoes, or into \$180 worth of table knives, or into \$6,800 worth of fine needles, or into \$29,480 worth of shirt buttons, or \$200,000 worth of watch-springs, or \$400,000 worth of hair-springs, and the same quantity of common iron ore can be made into \$2,500,000 worth of pallet arbors.

The illustrations given, both of the expansion of labor and the expansion of values, are sufficiently suggestive of a line of study which, carried in any direction, will show that machinery is the friend and not the enemy of man, especially when man is considered as a part of society and not as an individual.

Mr. Hobson, however, who has made a more minute analysis, comes to less pronounced results. He says (as above, pp. 234, 235):

Facts and figures seem to support the following conclusions:

1. That along with the increased application of machinery to the textile and other staple manufactures there has been in these industries a decrease of employment relative to the growth of the working population.

2. That in the transport industries the increase of employment is in inverse proportion to the introduction of machinery into the several branches as a dominating factor.

3. That the considerable diminution of agricultural employment is not compensated by any proportionate increase of manufacturing employment, but that the displaced agricultural labor finds employment in such branches of the transport and distributive trade as are less subject to machinery.

So far, therefore, as the statistics of employments present a just register of the influence of machinery upon demand for labor, we are driven to conclude that the net influence of machinery is to diminish employment so far as those industries are concerned into which machinery directly enters, and to increase the demand in those industries which machinery affects but slightly or indirectly. If this is true of England, which, having the start in the development of the factory system, has to

a larger extent than any other country specialized in the arts of manufacture, it is probable that the net effect of machinery upon the demand for labor throughout the industrial world has been to throw a larger proportion of the population into industries where machinery does not directly enter.

Effect on Employment

Machinery has, too, Mr. Hobson argues, a greater effect in increasing the irregularity of employment. He says:

While it is the interest of each producer of machine-made goods to give regular employment, some wider industrial force compels him to irregularity. What is this force? It is uncontrolled machinery. In the several units of machine production, the individual factories or mills, we have admirable order and accurate adjustment of parts; in the aggregate of machine production we have no organization, but a chaos of haphazard speculation. "Industry has not yet adapted itself to the changes in the environment produced by machinery." That is all.

When production was slower, markets narrower, credit less developed, there was less danger of this big miscalculation, and the corrective forces of industry were more speedily effective. But modern machinery has enormously expanded the size of markets, the scale of competition, the complexity of demand, and production is no longer for a small, local, present demand, but for a large, world, future demand. Hence machinery is the direct material cause of these great fluctuations which bring, as their most evil consequence, irregularity of wages and employment.

How far does this tend to right itself? Professor Nicholson

believes that time will compel a better adjustment between machinery and its environment.

"The enormous development of steam communication and the spread of the telegraph over the whole globe have caused modern industry to develop from a gigantic starfish, any of whose members might be destroyed without affecting the rest, into a *μύα ζώον* which is convulsed in agony by a slight injury in one part. A depression of trade is now felt as keenly in America and even in our colonies as it is here. Still, in the process of time, with the increase of organization and decrease of unsound speculation, this extension of the market must lead to greater stability of prices; but at present the disturbing forces often outweigh altogether the supposed principal elements."

The organization of capital under the pressure of these forces is doubtless proceeding, and such organization, when it has proceeded far enough, will indisputably lead to a decrease of unsound speculation. But these steps in organization have been taken precisely in those industries which employ large quantities of fixed capital, and the admitted fact that severe fluctuations still take place in these industries is proof that the steadying influences of such organization have not yet had time to assert themselves to much purpose. The competition of larger and larger masses of organized capital seems to induce heavier speculation and larger fluctuations. Not until a whole species of capital is organized into some form or degree of "combination" is the steadying influence of organization able to predominate.

But there is also another force which, in England, at any rate, under the increased application of machinery, makes for an increase rather than a diminution of speculative production. It has been seen that the proportion of workers engaged in producing comforts and luxuries is growing, while the proportion of those producing the prime necessities of life is declining. How far the operation of the law of diminishing returns will allow this tendency to proceed we cannot here discuss. But statistics show that this is the present tendency both in England and in the U. S.

So long, then, as a community grows in numbers, so long as individuals desire to satisfy more fully their present wants and continue to develop new wants, forming a higher or more intricate standard of consumption, there is no evidence to justify the conclusion that machinery has the effect of causing a net diminution in demand for labor, but it tends to diminish the proportion of employment in the "manufacturing" industries; but there is strong reason to believe that it tends to make employment more unstable, more precarious of tenure, and more fluctuating in market value.

(See also OCCUPATIONS; UNEMPLOYMENT.)

Less discust but perhaps more important is the effect of machinery upon the *quality* of labor. Some believe that machinery improves labor, taking it out of tenements and rude huts into factories, which are now usually comparatively hygienic (for proof, see article SWEATING, where it is shown how terrible are the conditions in trades not using machinery). Others argue, too, that machinery replaces muscular labor by higher forms of labor. Professor Marshall inclines to this view ("Principles of Economics," 2d ed., pp. 314, 322). Others dwell upon the educative effect of machinery, teaching inventiveness, love of order, cooperation, etc. But there is another side to the question. Says Mr. Hobson (as above, chap. ix.):

As regards those workers who pass from ordinary manual work to the tending of machinery, there is a good deal of evidence to show that, in the typical machine industries, their new work taxes their physical vigor quite as severely as the old work. Prof. Shield Nicholson quotes the following striking statement from the *Cotton Factory Times*: "It is quite a common occurrence to hear young men who are on the best side of thirty years of age declare they are so worked up with the long mules, coarse counts, quick speeds, and inferior material, that they are fit for nothing at night, only going to bed and taking as much rest as circumstances will allow. There are few people who will credit such statements; nevertheless they are true, and can be verified any day in the great majority of the mills in the spinning districts."

Schulze-Gaevernitz shows that the tendency in modern cotton-spinning and weaving, especially in England, has been both to increase the number of spindles and looms which an operative is called upon to tend, and to increase the speed of spinning. "A worker tends to-day more than twice or nearly three times as much machinery as his father did; the number of machines in use has increased more than fivefold since that time, while the workers have not quite doubled their numbers." With regard to speed, "since the beginning of the seventies the speed of the spinning-machines alone has increased about 15 per cent" ("Der Grossbetrieb," pp. 120-157). . . . "There is a temptation," as Mr. Cunningham says, "to treat

the machine as the main element in production, and to make it the measure of what a man ought to do, instead of regarding the man as the first consideration, and the machine as the instrument which helps him; the machine may be made the primary consideration, and the man may be treated as a mere slave who tends it" ("Uses and Abuses of Money," p. 111).

The factory is organized with military precision, the individual's work is definitely fixed for him; he has nothing to say as to the plan of his work or its final completion or its ultimate use. "The constant employment on one sixty-fourth part of a shoe not only offers no encouragement to mental activity, but dulls by its monotony the brains of the employee to such an extent that the power to think and reason is almost lost" ("Contemporary Review," 1889, p. 392).

Dr. Arlidge expresses a decided opinion: "Generally speaking, it may be asserted of machinery that it calls for little or no brain exertion on the part of those connected with its operations; it arouses no interest, and has nothing in it to quicken or brighten the intelligence, tho it may sharpen the sight and stimulate muscular activity in some one limited direction" ("Diseases of Occupations," pp. 25, 26).

A locomotive superintendent of a railway was recently questioned as to the quality of engine-driving. "After twenty years' experience he declared emphatically that the very best engine-drivers were those who were most mechanical and unintelligent in their work, who cared least about the internal mechanism of the engine." Yet engine-driving is far less mechanical and monotonous than ordinary tending of machinery.

Effect on Character

Mr. Hobson concludes:

The net influence of machinery upon the quality of labor, then, is found to differ widely according to the relation which subsists between the worker and the machine. Its educative influence, intellectual and moral, upon those concerned with the invention, management, and direction of machine industry, and upon all whose work is about machinery, but who are not detailed machine-tenders, is of a distinctly elevating character. Its effect, however, upon machine-tenders in cases where, by the duration of the working-day or the intensity of the physical effort, it exhausts the productive energy of the worker, is to depress vitality and lower him in the scale of humanity by an excessive habit of conformity to the automatic movements of a non-human motor. This human injury is not adequately compensated by the education in routine and regularity which it confers, or by the slight understanding of the large cooperative purposes and methods of machine industry which his position enables him to acquire.

Machinery is, too, the creator of the factory system and the factory town. It is this, perhaps, which makes it most unpopular with the worker. Says Mr. Robert Blatchford ("Merrie England," chap. iii.):

My reasons for attacking the factory system are:

1. Because it is ugly, disagreeable, and mechanical.
2. Because it is injurious to public health.
3. Because it is unnecessary.
4. Because it is a danger to the national existence.

The Manchester school will tell you that the destiny of this country is to become "the workshop of the world."

I say that is not true; and that it would be a thing to deplore if it were true. The idea that this country is to be the "workshop of the world" is a wilder dream than any that the wildest Socialist ever cherished. But if this country did become the "workshop of the world," it would at the same time become the most horrible and the most miserable country the world has ever known.

Let us be practical and look at the facts.

First, as to the question of beauty and pleasantness. You know the factory districts of Lancashire. I ask you is it not true that they are ugly and dirty and smoky and disagreeable? Compare the busy towns of Lancashire, of Staffordshire, of Durham, and of South Wales, with the country towns of Surrey, Suffolk, and Hants.

I know that the Manchester school will tell you that this is mere "sentiment." But compare their actions with their words.

To make wealth for themselves they destroy the beauty and the health of your dwelling-places; and then they sit in their suburban villas, or on the hills and terraces of the lovely southern countries, and sneer at the "sentimentality" of the men who ask you to cherish beauty and to prize health.

Or they point out to you the value of the "wages" which the factory system brings you, reminding you that you have carpets on your floors, and pianos in your parlors, and a week's holiday at Blackpool once a year.

But how much health or pleasure can you get out of a cheap and vulgar carpet? And what is the use of a piano if you have neither leisure nor means to learn to play it? And why should you prize that one week in the crowded, noisy watering-place, if health and fresh air and the great salt sea are mere sentimental follies?

III. THE RIGHT USE OF MACHINERY

Some writers, like John Ruskin, imply, if they do not state, that there is no right use of machinery. They say that it must destroy art and life and beauty. (See ART.) Ruskin says in "Fors Clavigera":

A man and a woman, with their children properly trained, are able easily to cultivate as much ground as will feed them; to build as much wall and roof as will lodge them, and to spin and weave as much cloth as will clothe them. They can all be perfectly happy and healthy in doing this. Supposing that they invent machinery which will build, plow, thrash, cook, and weave, and that they have none of these things any more to do, but may read, or cricket, all day long, I believe myself that they will neither be so good nor so happy as without the machines. . . . No machines will increase the possibilities of life. They only increase the possibilities of idleness. . . . There was a rocky valley between Buxton and Bakewell, once upon a time, divine as the Vale of Tempe; you might have seen the gods there morning and evening—Apollo and all the sweet muses of the Light—walking in fair procession on the lawns of it, and to and fro among the pinnacles of its crags. You cared neither for gods nor grass, but for cash (which you did not know the way to get); you thought you could get it by what the *Times* calls "Railroad Enterprise." You enterprised a railroad through the valley—you blasted its rocks away, heaped thousands of tons of shale into its lovely stream. The valley is gone, and the gods with it; and now, every fool in Buxton can be at Bakewell in half an hour, and every fool in Bakewell at Buxton; which you think a lucrative process of exchange.

Wiser, however, seems the position of those who believe that machinery should be largely used, but used to increase the simplicity of life, not its complexity. Mr. Blatchford, whom we have quoted above as opposed to the factory system, would make English life more agricultural and less manufacturing, but he would have machines do even more than they do to-day, only as the servant of the whole community, not as the property of capitalists for whom wage-workers slave. He says:

I propose to make our material lives simple; to spend as little time and labor as possible upon the production of food, clothing, houses, and fuel, in order that we may have more leisure. And I propose to employ that leisure in the enjoyment of life and the acquirement of knowledge. . . . Let us go back to our Manchester street of 100 working-class families. Suppose, instead of keeping up the wasteful system I described, we abolish all those miserable and imperfect drying-grounds, wringing-machines, wash-kitchens, and kitchen-ranges, and arrange the street on communal lines.

We set up one laundry, with all the best machinery; we set up one big drying-field; we set up one great kitchen, one general dining-hall, and one pleasant tea-garden. Then we buy all the provisions and other things in large quantities, and we appoint certain wives as cooks and laundresses, or, as is the case with many military duties, we let the wives take the duties in turn. . . .

So with the housework when we had simple houses and furniture. Imagine the difference between the cleaning of all the knives by a rapid knife machine turned by an engine, and the drudgery of 100 wives scrubbing at 100 clumsy knife-boards.

Says another socialistic writer:

At present machinery competes against man. Under proper conditions machinery will serve man. There is no doubt at all that this is the future of machinery; and just as trees grow while the country gentleman is asleep, so while humanity will be amusing itself, or enjoying cultivated leisure—which, and not labor, is the aim of man—or making beautiful things, or reading beautiful things, or simply contemplating the world with admiration and delight, machinery will be doing all the necessary and unpleasant work. The fact is that civilization requires slaves. The Greeks were quite right there. Unless there are slaves to do the ugly, horrible, uninteresting work, culture and contemplation become almost impossible. Human slavery is wrong, insecure, and demoralizing. On mechanical slavery, on the slavery of the machine, the future of the world depends. . . . A great deal of nonsense is being written and talked nowadays about the dignity of manual labor. There is nothing necessarily dignified about manual labor at all, and most of it is absolutely degrading. It is mentally and morally injurious to man to do anything in which he does not find pleasure, and many forms of labor are quite pleasureless activities, and should be regarded as such. To sweep a slushy crossing for eight hours

on a day when the east wind is blowing is a disgusting occupation. To sweep it with mental, moral, or physical dignity seems to me to be impossible. To sweep it with joy would be appalling. Man is made for something better than disturbing dirt. All work of that kind should be done by a machine.

And I have no doubt that it will be so. Up to the present man has been, to a certain extent, the slave of machinery, and there is something tragic in the fact that as soon as man had invented a machine to do his work he began to starve. This, however, is, of course, the result of our property system and our system of competition. One man owns a machine which does the work of 500 men. Five hundred men are, in consequence, thrown out of employment, and, having no work to do, become hungry and take to thieving. The one man secures the produce of the machine and keeps it, and has 500 times as much as he should have, and probably, which is of much more importance, a great deal more than he really wants. Were that machine the property of all, every one would benefit by it. It would be an immense advantage to the community. All unintellectual labor; all monotonous dull labor; all labor that deals with dreadful things, and involves unpleasant conditions, must be done by machinery. Machinery must work for us in coal-mines, and do all sanitary services, and be the stoker of steamers, and clean the streets, and run messages on wet days, and do anything that is tedious or distressing.

REFERENCES: J. A. Hobson's *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism* (1894); J. S. Nicholson's *Effect of Machinery on Wages* (1892); Cooke Taylor's *The Modern Factory System* (1891); Charles Allen's *The Effect of the Factory System* (1904); Carroll D. Wright's *The Industrial Evolution of the U. S.* (1901).

MADDISON, FRED: Labor member British Parliament for Burnley; born 1856 at Boston, Lincolnshire; educated in a Wesleyan school at Hull; learned the compositor's trade; was the first workman member of the Hull Corporation; and was elected president of the Trade-Union Congress in 1886. Later he was editor of *The Railway Review*, the official organ of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, until 1897, and was offered a position in the Labor Department of the Board of Trade in 1902. He sat for Parliament for the Brightside division of Sheffield from 1897 to 1900, and was returned for Burnley in 1906 by Labor votes. Address: 12, Acris Street, Wandsworth, London, S. W., England.

MAGNA CHARTA ("Great Charter"): An instrument signed at Runnymede, June 15, 1215, by King John of England, forced thereto by the barons of the kingdom, led by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. Besides restraining certain royal prerogatives that had been abused, and introducing various improvements into the law, it provided for the protection of every free-man from loss of life, liberty, or property, except by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land, while the king was compelled to say, "We will sell to no man; we will not deny or delay to any man right or justice." Magna Charta was the foundation of English liberties, and its chief protective provisions have been incorporated in the Constitution of the United States and the separate states. (See JURY.)

MAHAIM, ERNEST A. J.: Professor at the University of Liège; born 1865 in Morniques, Hainaut, Belgium; educated at University of Liège; took all his degrees to the faculty of law there, Doctor of Law, Doctor of Political Science, Special Doctor in Public Law and Political Science; was the preferred pupil of the Belgian economist, Emile de Laveleye; studied two years abroad: in Berlin, where he met Schmoller and Wagner; in Vienna, in Paris, and in England. Mahaim is one of the founders of the International Association for the Legal Protection of Working Men.

Professor Mahaim believes in the "Socialism

of the Chair," being largely for the interference of the State in social questions without adopting, however, the collectivist views. He is author of "Études sur l'Association professionnelle," "La politique Commercial de la Belgique," "Enquête sur la situation hygienique des habitations ouvriers a Liège et dans les communes suburbaines," "Enquête sur la situation hygienique des habitations ouvriers dans les communes, Angleur, Grivegnée, Bressoux, et Inpille." Has also written numerous papers on housing questions, etc., for the great periodicals and reviews of London, Paris, Berlin, and Brussels. Address: 9 Avenue du Hêtre, Comte, Sclessin, Belgium.

MAILLY, WILLIAM: Member of National Executive Committee, Socialist Party; born in Pittsburgh, Pa., 1871; spent boyhood in Scotland and England; left school at the age of twelve; worked as errand boy and clerk until return to United States in 1889. Worked in mines and at other manual labor in Illinois and Alabama, and at Nashville, Tenn., as bookkeeper. First active in labor movement in United Mine Workers' Union in Alabama, 1893. Since then has continuously done journalistic work both for labor and socialist party; has acted as organizer both for unions and Socialist Party; was state secretary of Massachusetts Socialist Party in 1902 and national secretary of the party 1903-4. Mr. Mailly believes in a social revolution to be brought about by organization of working class into the Socialist Party; he believes that the political and economic organizations should be kept separate and distinct, but should work together to resist all encroachments of the capitalist class upon the liberties of the workers, whether in the political or economic field; labor-unions at present perform a useful function, tho largely negative in results; but the Socialist Party has the greater function of achieving the ultimate emancipation of labor from the capitalist class ownership and capitalist class rule. Since Feb., 1905, he has been one of the publishers of *The Socialist*. Address: 239 East 84th Street, New York.

MAINE, SIR HENRY JAMES SUMNER, LL.D.: Professor of international law; born in England, 1822; educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge; was afterward a tutor in Trinity College. In 1847 he was appointed regius professor of civil law in the university, but resigned in 1854 to become reader on jurisprudence at the Middle Temple. From 1862-69 he resided in India as law member of the supreme government. On returning to England he was elected professor of jurisprudence at Oxford; next year was made a member of the council of the Secretary of State for India, and was knighted. In 1875 he published as a pamphlet a lecture delivered at Cambridge on "The Effects of Observation of India on Modern European Thought." In 1877 he was elected master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge; in 1887 professor of international law. He died at Cannes in 1888. Among his numerous works are "Roman Law and Legal Education"; "Ancient Law"; "Village Communities"; "Lectures on the Early History of Institutions"; "Early Law and Custom"; "Popular Government"; "International Law."

MAINE LAW, THE: Maine was the first of the United States to pass a vigorous prohibitory act. It was first outlined by General James Appleton,

but perhaps owes most to Neal Dow (*q. v.*). A crude prohibitory law was passed in 1846, but in June, 1851, the law that has since been known as the Maine Law was enacted. (See PROHIBITION.)

MALON, BENOIT: French Socialist; born near St. Étienne, 1841; worked first as a day-laborer, later as a dyer. In 1868 he joined the International, and was imprisoned for three months. On being released he was made one of the society's organizers, and secretary of a cooperative store founded by himself at Puteaux. He later joined the editorial staff of *The Marseillaise*. In 1870 he was again imprisoned for a year. Released by the revolutionaries (Sept. 4th), he was thenceforth a firm opponent of the government. In 1871 he was elected member of the National Assembly, but soon left and joined the Paris Commune. On its overthrow he escaped to Switzerland, where he began publishing a journal, *La Revanche*, which, in 1872, was suppressed by the government. In Switzerland Malon joined Bakursin's Alliance, and fought zealously against the London Council of the International. Leaving Switzerland he traveled through Italy, and at the close of the "seventies" settled in Lugano, where he published a weekly, *Le Socialisme Progressif*, which, however, existed only a short time. In 1879 he went to Zurich, and in 1880, on being granted an amnesty, returned to Paris. At first he inclined toward Marxism; but later, when he had commenced publishing the *Emancipation* at Lyon, he was won by Brousse and became a strenuous opponent of Guesde and Lafargue. From about 1885 until his death in 1893, Malon edited the *Revue Socialiste*. His main works are: "L'Internationale, son Histoire et ses Principes" (1872); "Exposé des Écoles Socialistes Françaises" (1872); "Il Socialismo, suo Passato, suo Presente e suo Avvenire" (1875); "Histoire Critique de l'Economie Politique" (1876); "Le Nouveau Parti" (1881); "Le Parti Ouvrier en France" (1882); "Histoire du Socialisme et des Prolétaires" (5 vols., 1881-84); "Le Socialisme Réformiste" (1885); "La Morale Sociale" (1887); "Le Socialisme Intégral" (1890-91).

MALTHUS, THOMAS ROBERT (see MALTHUSIANISM): English sociological writer; born Albury, Surrey, England, 1766; was graduated with honors at Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1788, and in 1797 became a fellow of the college. He entered holy orders and divided his time between the university and a small parish in Surrey. In 1798 published the first edition of his great work under the title "An Essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and other Writers." The book aroused very general interest and discussion, and Mr. Malthus went abroad and traveled in Sweden, Norway, France, and portions of Russia, collecting material for a new edition, which appeared in 1803, and was, in his own words, "a new book." He had found, upon investigating the subject, that "much more had been done" upon it "than he had been aware of." It had "been treated in such a manner by some of the French economists, occasionally by Montesquieu, and, among our own writers, by Dr. Franklin, Sir James Steuart, Mr. Arthur Young, and Mr. Townsend, as to create a natural surprise that it had not excited more of the public attention." "Much, however," he thought,

"remained yet to be done. The comparison between the increase of population and food had not, perhaps, been stated with sufficient force and precision," and "few inquiries had been made into the various modes by which the level" between population and the means of subsistence "is effected." The first desideratum here mentioned—the want, namely, of an accurate statement of the relation between the increase of population and food—Malthus supposed he supplied by the celebrated proposition that "population increases in a geometrical, food in an arithmetical, ratio."

This exact mathematical proposition, however, he introduced but incidentally, and omitted in later editions, contenting himself with the general proposition that population, unless checked by war, poverty, etc., tended to increase faster than sustenance. His book ran through various editions, the last of which during his lifetime appeared in 1826 and bore the modified title, "An Essay on the Principles of Population, or a View of its Past and Present Effects on Human Happiness, with an Inquiry into the Future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils which It Occasions."

In 1805 Malthus was appointed professor of modern history and political economy in the East India Company's College at Haileybury. This situation he retained till his death in 1834.

Besides his great work, Malthus wrote "Observations on the Effect of the Corn Laws" (1815); "An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent" (1815); "Principles of Political Economy" (1820); and "Definitions in Political Economy" (1827). His views on rent were of especial importance, and are believed by some to be the origin of the famous Ricardian law of rent. (See RICARDO; POLITICAL ECONOMY.) The "Encyclopædia Britannica" says of Malthus:

Malthus was one of the most amiable, candid, and cultured of men. In all his private relations he was not only without reproach, but distinguished for the beauty of his character. He bore the popular abuse and misrepresentation without the slightest murmur or sourness of temper. The aim of his inquiries was to promote the happiness of mankind, which could be better accomplished by pointing out the real possibilities of progress than by indulging in vague dreams of perfectibility apart from the actual facts which condition human life.

The only checks on population advocated by Malthus are the moral checks of abstinence from marriage and sexual intercourse. Other checks like war come in as merely natural checks.

MALTHUSIANISM (see MALTHUS) may be defined as the theory, first popularized, tho not first taught, by Malthus, that population has a tendency to multiply faster than subsistence, and that some people must necessarily, therefore, fail to have food unless the race as a whole adopts some measures to prevent the natural increase of its numbers. This is undoubtedly one of the most contested and yet most important questions in social science.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd says ("Social Evolution," chap. viii.): "Underneath all Socialist ideals there yawns the problem of population." Individualism (*q. v.*) rests one of its main arguments upon Malthusianism.

There are two strongly contested views or sets of views upon the subject, but before we can notice these we must see a little more exactly what is meant to-day by Malthusianism. The doctrine as now held by its advocates is not exactly the view advocated by Malthus. Malthus himself somewhat modified his views in the successive editions of his book. (See MALTHUS.) He

omitted from the later editions any exact mathematical statement of the relation between population and sustenance. Secondly, Malthus and the earlier Malthusians based their theory on an asserted general tendency in all animate creation to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it, as evidenced in the vegetable and animal worlds, in the savage and semisavage civilizations, and even in civilized communities.

Modern Malthusianism, as illustrated, for example, in Pres. A. T. Hadley's "Economics" (1896, pp. 41-51), takes a more scientific form.

Statement It carefully analyzes the difference between the birth-rate and death-rate of various countries; it finds in agriculture a law of diminishing

returns (*q. v.*); it argues that the pressure of population and consequent family responsibility has largely produced the present surplus of food in civilized countries, so that the removal of this pressure would diminish the supply; above all it connects itself with the evolutionary principle of the necessity of natural selection to progress (see *EVOLUTION*), and contends that a removal of the pressure of population would mean biological degeneration.

The correctness of this view is asserted and denied. Most individualists and some Socialists accept the theory at least far enough to admit that there is a tendency for population to outstrip sustenance. The individualists usually assert it to be a necessary principle, and that it cannot be prevented without interfering with social progress. Says President Hadley (as above, p. 41): "If poverty is inevitable and simply represents a sacrifice of individuals for the sake of the progress of the race, we may and must view with resignation a number of evils which can only be made worse by attempting to eradicate them." Socialist Malthusians, however, while admitting that population does tend to

Results

outstrip sustenance, argue that competition is not the only path to progress, and that there may and should be found some way of limiting population to the means of sustenance. They urge that not enough attention has been given to the biological principle of progress by functional adaptation and by cooperation of organisms. John Stuart Mill, accepting the Malthusian doctrine, argues that socialism is the state of society most favorable to limiting population to means of sustenance. He says ("Political Economy," Book II., chap. i.):

Another of the objections to communism is similar to that so often urged against poor-laws: that if every member of the community were assured of subsistence for himself and any number of children, on the sole condition of willingness to work, prudential restraint on the multiplication of mankind would be at an end, and population would start forward at a rate which would reduce the community through successive stages of increasing discomfort to actual starvation. There would certainly be much ground for this apprehension if communism provided no motives to restraint equivalent to those which it would take away. But communism is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest intensity against this kind of selfish intemperance. Any augmentation of numbers which diminished the comfort or increased the toil of the mass would then cause (which now it does not) immediate and unmistakable inconvenience to every individual in the association; inconvenience which could not then be imputed to the avarice of employers or the unjust privileges of the rich. In such altered circumstances opinion could not fail to reprobate, and if reprobation did not suffice, to repress by penalties of some description this or any other culpable self-indulgence at the expense of the community. The communistic scheme, instead of being peculiarly open to the objection drawn from danger of overpopulation, has the recommendation of tending in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil.

Many, however, deny the correctness of the Malthusian theory. Professor Marshall ("Economics of Industry," p. 31) says:

Malthus's statements with regard to the misery that has existed in past ages have been confirmed by more recent historians; but the practical conclusions that he deduced from them are more liable to be disputed. For he could not foresee the inventions and discoveries which were just about to be made when he wrote. He could not foresee how the growth of steam traffic would enable England, on the one hand, to import food from countries where there was a scanty population; and, on the other, to send out her surplus population to cultivate new soils, and to spread the energy and genius of the English people over the earth.

Professor Symes says ("Political Economy," pp. 10, 11):

There seems no sufficient ground for the assertion that population tends to increase more rapidly than production. In England it is certain that production has increased far more rapidly than population during the past century, and it may fairly be questioned whether the density of the population has not been one of the causes of the high average productiveness of English laborers. These

not only support themselves, but produce enough to support a large class in idle luxury, a large class in pauperism, a large class who live by crime, and many classes who labor with more or less advantage to the community, but not at work which is directly productive of material wealth. The idle rich and the idle poor, clergymen, schoolmasters, actors, musicians, thieves, domestic servants, and others, have to live on what the directly productive classes produce; and tho in all communities there must be a certain proportion of non-producers, it is doubtful whether a thinly populated country could possibly support so large a proportion as England does at the present day.

On the whole, then, we conclude that every increase of population opens up opportunities for fresh and superior ways of applying labor, and that if the community avails itself of these, the produce of its labor will, in most cases, be more than proportionately increased.

Many seem to forget, too, the enormously increased power of providing food made potent by modern science. Says Mr. D. A. Wells ("Recent Economic Changes"):

Forty years ago a deficient harvest in any one of the countries of Europe entailed a vast amount of suffering and starvation on their population. To-day the deficiency of any local crop of wheat is comparatively of little consequence, for the prices of cereals in every country readily accessible by railroad and steamships are now regulated not by any local conditions, but by the combined production and consumption of the world; and the day of famines for the people of all such countries has passed forever. The extent to which all local advantages in respect to the supply and prices of food have been equalized in recent years through the railway service of the United States is demonstrated by the fact that a full year's requirement of meat and bread for an adult person can now be moved from the points of their most abundant and cheapest production, 1,000 miles, for a cost not in excess of the single day's wages of an average American mechanic or artisan.

Great improvements have been made during the last ten or twenty years in the breeding of live stock and its economical management, whereby a greatly increased product of animal food can be obtained from a given number with comparatively little increased labor or expense. In the matter of dairy produce, recognized authorities in England estimate that the average increase in the yield of milk per cow in that country has been at least 40 gallons per annum since 1878; and this for the 3,500,000 cows in milk, owned by British farmers, "means 140,000,000 extra gallons of milk over and above what the same animals yielded in 1878; and at 6d. per gallon would amount to an extra return of no less than £3,500,000 for the United Kingdom, or £1 per cow. . . ."

Furthermore, not only has the supply of food increased, but the variety of food available to the masses has become greater. Nearly all tropical fruits that will bear transportation have become as cheap in non-tropical countries as the domestic fruits of the latter, and even cheaper. . . . Thirty or forty years ago fish in its most acceptable form—viz., fresh—was only available to consumers living in close proximity to the ocean; but now fish caught on the waters of the North Pacific, and transported more than 2,000 miles, are daily supplied to the markets of the Atlantic slope of the U. S.; and sea products of the coast of the latter, transported 2,000 miles, are regularly furnished in a fresh condition to British markets. To this it should be added that on the

Marvelous Increase of Food Supply

very possibility of propagation which Malthus says applied to the animal and vegetable world, the supply of vegetable

and animal (including fish) food can be, under proper care, almost indefinitely multiplied. What can be done is shown in part in Japan. Recent investigations by Professor Rein, of the University of Bonn, Germany, show "that with an area about the same as the state of California (157,000 sq. m.), and with only one tenth of such area practically available for cultivation, Japan supports a population of 36,000,000 almost entirely from her own product. Making due allowance for what may be eked out of the nine tenths taken up by forest, desert, and mountain, it appears that the incredible number of 2,500 inhabitants are supported from each square mile of cultivated land, or four to the acre. It is well known that this can be done on a small scale, but its application to a nation is marvelous." Nothing is wasted in Japan; everything is utilized, and all arable land has been brought to the highest state of cultivation.

There is thus, however, to say the least, no very pressing fear of the world's being unable to sustain its population from lack of food. In the U. S., to ignore all the rest of the world, if our population were as dense as that of France, we should have, this side of Alaska, 555,000,000; if as dense as that of Germany, 658,000,000; if as dense as that of England and Wales, 1,452,000,000; if as dense as that of Belgium, 1,574,000,000, or more than the present estimated population of the globe.

Many opponents of Malthusianism also argue that with increasing civilization and popular education fecundity will, on biological principles, decrease.

The American Cary argued the physiological theory that the total sum of nutriment received by an organized body directs itself, in largest proportion, to the parts of the system which are most used, and that this meant a diminution in the fecundity of human beings, in spite of more abundant feeding, through the greater use of their brains incident to an advanced civilization.

Nevertheless, there is strong evidence claimed for Malthusianism. The possible natural productivity of the human race is undoubtedly very large. It has been calculated by some that population may double itself in thirteen years. Malthus considered it safer to argue that it could at least double itself in twenty-five years. Mill says on this point ("Political Economy," Book I., chap. x., § 2):

The power of multiplication inherent in all organic life may be regarded as infinite. There is no one species of vegetable or animal which, if the earth were entirely abandoned to it and to the things on which it feeds, would not in a small number of years overspread every region of the globe of which the climate was compatible with its existence. . . . It is but a moderate case of fecundity in animals to be capable of quadrupling their numbers in a single year; if they only do as much in half a century, 10,000 will have swelled within two centuries to upward of 2,500,000. The capacity of increase is necessarily in a geometrical progression; the numerical ratio alone is different.

To this property of organized beings the human species forms no exception. Its power of increase is indefinite, and the actual multiplication would be extraordinarily rapid if the power were exercised to the utmost. It never is exercised to the utmost, and yet in the most favorable circumstances known to exist, which are those of a fertile region colonized from an industrious and civilized community, population has continued for several generations, independently of fresh immigration, to double itself in not much more than twenty years. That the capacity of multiplication in the human species exceeds even this is evident if we consider how great is the ordinary number of children to a family where the climate is good and early marriages usual, and how small a proportion of them die before the age of maturity in the present state of hygienic knowledge where the locality is healthy and the family adequately provided with the means of living. It is a very low estimate of the capacity of increase, if we only assume that in a good sanitary condition of the people each generation may be double the number of the generation which preceded it.

Pres. A. T. Hadley (as above, p. 42) says:

The physiological possibilities of the birth-rate in the human race, when not restrained by intellectual, social, or

moral conditions, are thought to be as high as 60 per 1,000, tho no statistics show a birth-rate as large as this over any considerable extent of space or time. . . . The difference between the birth-rate and the death-rate in any one year represents the rate of increase of population for that year. If the birth-rate is 45 per 1,000 and the death-rate 25 per 1,000, the increase of population is 20 per 1,000, or 2 per cent. (For the facts as to birth-rates and death-rates, see BIRTH-RATES AND DEATH-RATES.)

As to the fact that modern civilizations have an oversupply of food, President Hadley argues (idem, pp. 47-51) that this is due to competitive and individualistic family responsibility, and under socialistic conditions would disappear. In uncivilized countries he says there is no surplus of food. The history of the English poor-law, he argues, shows that natural selection has not done its work. Criminals and paupers habitually defy the principle that every man should earn a living for himself and his family. As to the assertion that fecundity necessarily tends to decrease with civilization, President Hadley denies that we have any reason for believing this. He says (p. 48):

It is true that as society exists at present high comfort and low birth-rate are commonly associated, because comfort is made to depend upon prudence. Let the comfort be made independent of prudence, as in the case of the pauper or criminal, and the birth-rate tends to increase rather than diminish. It may not be exactly true, as some Malthusians would have us believe, that the low birth-rate is the cause of the comfort; but it is much farther from the truth to assert that the comfort is the cause of the low birth-rate. Both are the results of a common cause, the exercise of prudence, which gives high comfort and low birth-rate to those who are capable of practising it.

Finally, as to the future, President Hadley argues (p. 43) that the improvements in the arts of producing and utilizing food may increase the power of the world's sustenance, "it is a fact thoroughly established by observation that in any given stage of the arts there is a certain point beyond which increased application of labor and capital does not obtain correspondingly increased supplies of food from a given area."

The views thus quoted present, perhaps, a fair statement of the present condition of the problem. We have quoted President Hadley on the Malthusian side rather than any biologist, because President Hadley is among the latest economists to treat the subject, and because the question is practically to-day economic or psychological rather than biologic. All authorities are agreed that as a matter of fact in civilized countries to-day there is abundance of food if it were rightly distributed, and that science can at least increase this supply for a considerable time under modern social conditions.

The only question is, What has produced this condition in modern countries? President Hadley, e. g., says that "no amount of facts such as are accumulated by writers like Nitti will prove anything against the Malthusian theory. Statistics show that high comfort and low birth-rate go hand in hand. They are absolutely incapable of showing which is cause and which is effect." Individualists say it is individual responsibility and pressure of existence that causes a low birth-rate, so that under Socialist conditions, removing pressure, you would not have the present supply of food. Socialists claim that under socialism you would increase supply and not increase the rate of human fecundity; and this is mainly a psychological problem. (See INDIVIDUALISM; SOCIALISM.) As for the problem which is purely biologic, how far progress depends on the strug-

Evidence for Malthusian- ism

Controversy

gle for existence and natural selection, see EVOLUTION; INDIVIDUALISM; SOCIALISM; SOCIOLOGY.

One other view, however, must be here noticed. Many writers and workers for social reform accept the Malthusian theory as to the tendency to overpopulation, and argue that it is moral and necessary and humane to check population, especially among the poor, by physical means.

Neo-Malthusianism

This view is sometimes called *Neo-Malthusianism*, and is earnestly defended on moral and humanitarian grounds. Richard Carlisle, Dr. Charles Knowlton, R. D. Owen, James Watson, and later Austin Holyoake, Charles Bradlaugh, and Mrs. Annie Besant (who has since, we believe, given up belief in Malthusianism), were the most active in popularizing this theory among the poor, and in spite of misrepresentation, abuse, persecution, and prosecution in the courts, continued the propaganda, supported by such men as John Stuart Mill, George J. Holyoake, Robert Dale Owen, and a long list of physicians. Knowing well and horrified by the conditions of life in the slums, seeing the suffering involved in large families, feeling that under conditions where modesty and privacy were all but impossible (see SLUMS), and hope equally faint, late marriages inevitably mean early prostitution, they argued that Neo-Malthusianism was the most moral course. Women, they said, in the slums were but slaves, sometimes of drunken husbands, at best of foul surroundings. Neo-Malthusianism, they said, was the only practical escape from overpopulation and wretched demoralization. Boldly, therefore, they preached as right what they said the wealthy denounced but practised.

REFERENCES: For further consideration of this question, and for the modern literature of the question, see BIRTH-RATES and DEATH-RATES; also SOCIOLOGY.

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND: Incorporated as a municipality only in 1878, but its municipal industries in magnitude excel to-day those of any other provincial city in Great Britain. Its undertakings not only serve Manchester, but its smaller neighbors. It is the center of an aggregate population of over a million, to whom it supplies water. The area of its gas supply extends to 30,422 acres, and includes 14 outlying townships. Its own population is 631,465 on 19,668 acres. The city possesses the most profitable markets in the country—yielding in 1904-5 a surplus of £14,000 to the municipal exchequer. Its gas undertaking paid over in 1905 £60,000 in aid of rates. Manchester can boast of being the birthplace of free libraries. Infectious diseases, hospitals, cemeteries, slaughter-houses, and laborers' dwellings are also under its control. It has been liberal in its provision of parks for the people. It keeps up a municipal art-gallery and a museum. But by far the greatest work of the Manchester Corporation—its boldest municipal enterprise—is its assistance of the Manchester Ship Canal. To maintain that undertaking it has advanced £5,000,000, and elects 11 members to the Board of Directors against 10 nominated by the company, and it is provided by the Manchester Ship Canal (Finance) Act, 1904, that the right of the corporation to appoint a majority of one on the directorate shall continue in perpetuity. By the provisions of the same act the rate of interest on the £5,000,000 is reduced from 4½ to 3½ per cent, making the annual payment £160,000, which amount is payable in perpetuity, and if in any

year the revenue of the company is insufficient to pay the whole of this amount the balance may be provided by the issue of 3½ per cent preference stock. The city has in hand a large housing scheme and additional sewage disposal works. A great tramway scheme has just been completed. The tramway service has been municipalized and electricity introduced.

On the passing of the Housing Act (1890), Manchester began to develop and has now 1,313 artisans' dwellings. There are 13 sets of baths in the city. The bathers, in 1905, numbered 1,220,463. There are 4 municipal cemeteries. The Manchester public libraries include a central reference library with over 133,000 volumes, 19 lending libraries with news-rooms, reading-rooms, and also, with two exceptions, with children's reading-rooms. The libraries contain 358,287 volumes. The 17 city markets cover an area of 28 acres, and are very profitable, valued at £998,534. The Cleansing Department of Manchester is the largest in the kingdom. The department is a great manufacturing concern: it makes manure, oil, soap, tallow, mortar; it has two large estates of 3,681 acres, upon which part of the refuse of the city is disposed of, and has workshops where it makes implements, vans, railway trucks, brushes, machines, etc. Nearly 2,000 men are employed by the department, which has over 425 horses and 500 vans and carts. The following are significant figures: Average city rate for year ending March 31, 1906, 6s. 8½d. Cost of police (net ordinary payments for last financial year), £72,742; fire brigade, £16,621; hospitals and infectious diseases, £45,386; parks and open spaces, £56,754; lunatic asylums, £17,788; street lighting, £73,563; improvements and buildings, £82,776; highways and sewers, £113,247; sewerage and sewage disposal, £67,972.

MANDELLO, JULIUS GEORGE: Professor of political economy; born in 1868; studied economics and politics in the Universities of Budapest, Geneva, and Strasburg. In 1890 he took the degree of Doctor of Political Sciences, and in 1900 became professor of political economy and finance at the Royal Faculty of Law and Political Science in Pozsony, Hungary. Traveled extensively, spending much of his time in France, Germany, Belgium, and the United States. In England he lectured before the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Oxford, and for one term at the London School of Economics and Political Science of London University on the factory laws of Europe. In 1896 became a fellow in commons at St. John's College, Cambridge, England. Member British Economic Association; American Academy Political and Social Sciences; American Statistical Association. Member also of Institut International de Sociologie and Institut International de Statistique, general secretary of Hungarian Economic Association. Correspondent International Labor Bureau in Basle, editor of Hungarian "Economic Dictionary," and the Hungarian "Economic Review." Besides university lectures and addresses before scientific bodies, Dr. Mandello has lectured a great deal for the university extension and at workmen's clubs, etc. Author of many books and articles on economics, statistics, and social science. *Address:* I. Tábor utca, Budapest, Hungary.

MANGER, HON. SAMUEL: Member of Federal Parliament of Australia for Melbourne, Vic-

torial; born at Seelong, Nov. 12, 1857. He was educated in the national schools, and became a retail hatter. He was and is still interested in social reform. He is the honorary secretary of the Anti-Sweating League of Victoria, the leader of the Temperance Party in the House of Representatives, president and superintendent of the United Victoria Fire Brigades. He secured the passage of the Fire Brigade Bill, and has represented the government on the board for over twenty years, and was for thirteen years a member of the governing board. He was elected to the Victorian Assembly 1878-1901, and to the first Federal House of Representatives with an overwhelming majority in 1901; reelected 1903. He is a progressive in politics. He is interested in fraternal orders and was Chief Ruler of the Independent Order of Rechabites. Address: 66 Bourke Street, Melbourne.

MANN, HORACE: Educationalist; philanthropist; born 1796, at Franklin, Mass. His father was a farmer in limited circumstances, and the son was early taught self-reliance and independence by a severe and frugal life. He graduated at Brown University in 1819; was admitted to the bar 1823; elected to the legislature 1827; in that body was active in the interests of education, public charities, and laws for the suppression of lotteries and intemperance. In the practise of his profession he adopted the principle never to take the unjust side of any case, and is said to have gained four fifths of the cases entrusted to him, as all juries felt perfect confidence in the honesty of his purpose; 1837-48 was secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education; introduced a thorough reform into the school system of the state, establishing normal schools, and instituting county educational conventions; opposed corporal punishment in school discipline. He visited Europe, investigated the condition of the schools, and embodied his observations in a published report. By his lectures and writings he awakened an interest in the cause of education that had never been so strongly felt before. For eleven years he labored fifteen hours a day in the interests of better education. In 1848 he was elected to Congress. His first speech in that body was in advocacy of its right and duty to exclude slavery from the territories. "I consider no evil as great as slavery," he said. Opposing Webster on this question, he was defeated by one vote; but on appealing to the people as an independent antislavery candidate, he was re-elected and served till 1853. He was nominated for Governor of Massachusetts by the Free Soil Party, but was unsuccessful. He was chosen president of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, accepted the office, and continued in it until his death in 1859.

MANN, JOHN, JR.: Socialist; born in 1863 at Glasgow, Scotland; a graduate of the University of Glasgow, he is now practising as a chartered accountant in Glasgow and London. Mr. Mann has for many years taken an active interest in practical social work, more particularly in connection with housing experiments in Glasgow, and also in the formation and development of the Public House Trust movement, a scheme for controlling the saloons in the interest of the public and for handing over the profits to foster counter attractions. Address: 142, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow, Scotland.

MANN, TOM: English Labor leader, now in Australia; born at Foleshill, Warwickshire, 1856, the son of a colliery clerk. At the age of nine he worked in coal-mines, dragging on his hands and knees heavy trolleys through low, dark passages. He gradually worked his way up, coming to serve an apprenticeship as machinist in Birmingham, and in 1877 going to London as an engineer. He also had a short experience of work in the United States. He early became interested in social movements, and manifested a religious bent. When he came to London he took a Sunday-school class at St. Stephen's, Westminster, but later joined the Swedenborgians. He became an ardent teetotaler at Birmingham, and started "A Mutual Improvement Society." In 1885 he joined the Social Democratic Federation, for which he worked as a lecturer and organizer, taking also a prominent part in the eight-hour agitation. Mr. Mann especially worked among the dockers, and a trade-union was formed, of which he was elected president. In the great London dock strikes (*q. v.*), which almost marks an epoch in the English Labor movement, he was one of the chief leaders, and contributed largely to its satisfactory result. In 1891, appointed by the Conservative administration a member of the Royal Commission of Labor, he signed the minority report; was later chosen first secretary of the London Reform Union; left this post, however, in a year to become the general secretary of the Independent Labor Party (*q. v.*). In 1894 and 1895 Mann was an unsuccessful candidate for Parliament, but polled a large vote. A few years later he went to Australia and is now a Socialist leader there.

MANNING, HENRY EDWARD: Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. He was born in 1807 at Totteridge, Hertfordshire; received his education at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford. After his ordination in the Church of England, in 1832, he was appointed rector of Lovington and Graffham. In 1851, however, he made submission to Rome, and was sent to Rome for further studies. In 1857 he came in close touch with Cardinal Wiseman as provost of the Chapter of Westminster, and was appointed Archbishop of Westminster in 1865, and Cardinal in 1875. During the Vatican Council of 1870 he was a strong advocate of papal infallibility. In his official position he was indefatigable in all kinds of good works, e. g., the care of the poor, the temperance movement, and education, and in his utterances often very radical. He was, with the Bishop of London and the Lord Mayor, one of the committee which settled the dock laborers' strike in 1880. He wrote numerous works, chiefly on ecclesiastical and religious matters. Died Jan. 14, 1892. (See ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH; also CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

MANOR: The name given in medieval England to a landed estate. The exact nature of the English manor is, however, in dispute. Professor Nasse argues in a work on "Agricultural Communities of the Middle Ages in England," that down to the Norman Conquest agricultural England was tilled by communities of free peasant proprietors, similar to the communal conception of the German *mark* (*q. v.*). Mr. F. Seeböhm, in his "The English Village Communities and the English Manor," has contested this opinion, and argues that the manor, as the estate of a lord or

thane with villeins under him, was the original and universal system in England. Both views find defenders. (See PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.) Authorities at present seem to incline to the views of Seebohm, with, however, some modifications, finding no trace of communal holding, but rather of a feudalism by no means light. (See FEUDALISM.)

MANSFIELD HOUSE: One of the leading and most successful social settlements in East London (Canning Town), founded in 1890, under Congregational auspices, largely under the lead of Mr. Perry Alden, M. P. (*q. v.*). (See SETTLEMENTS.)

MANSION HOUSE COUNCIL ON THE DWELLINGS OF THE POOR: This important council began its work in the year 1884, but was reorganized in 1903. The objects of the council as stated in the scheme of reorganization are:

1. To study all questions relating to housing and sanitation, especially in London and its suburbs; to watch parliamentary action, and to influence public opinion in connection with the same, and generally to act as a bureau of information in regard to such matters.
2. To encourage and press for efficient sanitary administration on the part of the central and local authorities, and to undertake inspection, where expedient, for testing the efficiency of such administration.
3. To form and assist the work of sanitary aid committees in London and its suburbs and to affiliate to the council, when desired, any other societies or committees working on similar lines within that area.
4. To cooperate with bodies carrying on similar work in other places.

The executive committee of the council promotes the formation of local committees, to consist of persons interested in the sanitary well-being of some special locality and willing to give their services to promote sanitary reform. Such local committees, however, shall pursue their work according to the rules and methods prescribed by the council and shall be affiliated to the council. The Lord Mayor of London is the president of the council, and among its vice-presidents is the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, the president of the London Congregational Union, and the chief rabbi of the Jews. *Secretary's offices:* 31, Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Circus, London, E. C., England.

MANUFACTURES (see also FACTORY LEGISLATION; INDUSTRIAL BETTERMENT, etc.): We are concerned here simply with the facts and statistics of manufactures.

EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES

(From the U. S. Bulletin of Commerce and Finance, Sept., 1904)

COUNTRIES	1880	1903	INCREASE	
			Total	Per cent
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	
United Kingdom.	964,540,000	1,142,595,000	178,055,000	18.46
United States	102,856,015	145,244,562	349,589,610	339.85
Germany	460,279,000	780,926,000	320,647,000	69.66
France	339,186,000	405,794,000	66,608,004	19.64

¹ Fiscal year 1904.

The chief countries exporting manufactures at the present time are the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and the United States. These four countries supply about three fourths of the

INCREASE *

[Figures for mechanical and neighborhood industries, 1905, are estimates based on percentages of increase over 1900 shown for factory industries]

	DATE OF CENSUS					PER CENT OF INCREASE				
	1905 ¹	1900 ¹	1890	1880	1870	1860	1900 to 1905	1890 to 1900	1880 to 1890	1870 to 1880
Number of establishments.	533,769	512,254	355,415	253,852	252,148	140,433	4.2	44.1	40.0	0.7
Capital.	\$13,872,035,371	\$9,817,434,799	\$6,595,156,486	\$2,790,272,606	\$2,118,208,769	\$1,000,855,715	41.3	50.5	133.9	31.7
Salaries.	566,175	390,759	246,009	(3)	(3)	(3)	42.7	43.0	...	...
Wages.	\$609,200,251	\$403,711,233	2 \$391,988,208	(3)	2,053,956	(3)	50.9	24.9	55.6	33.0
Wage-earners, average number. . . .	6,152,443	5,308,406	4,251,613	2,732,595	\$775,384,343	1,311,246	15.9	23.8	99.5	22.2
Total wages.	\$3,014,389,372	\$2,322,333,877	\$1,891,228,321	\$947,953,795	\$775,384,343	\$378,878,966	22.5	23.5	64.8	25.0
Men 16 years and over.	4,792,874	4,110,527	3,327,042	2,019,035	1,615,558	1,040,349	16.6	22.5	64.8	25.0
Wages.	\$2,629,747,837	\$2,016,677,789	\$1,659,234,483	531,639	323,770	270,897	21.5	21.5	51.2	64.2
Women 16 years and over.	1,194,083	1,020,296	803,686	(3)	(3)	(3)	16.0	28.1	51.2	64.2
Wages.	\$356,092,855	\$279,994,396	\$215,367,976	181,921	114,658	(3)	27.5	30.0	43.6	58.7
Children under 16 years.	167,066	168,583	120,885	(3)	(3)	(3)	40.9	39.5	...	...
Wages.	\$29,228,667	\$25,661,692	\$16,625,862	(3)	(3)	(3)	13.2	54.3	...	...
Miscellaneous expenses.	\$1,651,603,535	\$1,027,755,778	\$631,225,035	(3)	(3)	(3)	60.7	62.8	...	...
Cost of materials used.	\$9,497,619,851	\$7,345,413,651	\$5,162,044,076	\$3,396,823,549	\$2,488,427,242	\$1,031,605,092	29.3	42.3	52.0	36.5
Value of products, including custom work and repairing.	\$16,866,706,985	\$13,004,400,143	\$9,372,437,283	\$5,369,579,191	\$4,232,325,442	\$1,885,861,676	29.7	38.8	74.5	26.9

* The Census explains that the data for the different censuses being not taken on exactly the same basis are only in a general way and not absolutely comparable.

¹ Totals for 1900 and 1905 are exclusive of statistics for governmental establishments and for Hawaii.

² Includes proprietors and firm members, with their salaries; number only reported in 1900 and 1905; but not included in this table.

³ Not reported separately.

⁴ Decrease.

⁵ Not reported.

ESTABLISHMENTS CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES, 1900

STATE OR TERRITORY	ESTABLISHMENTS CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED, NOT INCLUDING PROPRIETORS AND FIRM MEMBERS							
	Hand trades			Manufactures				
	Total establishments	No. employees	Over 20	Total establishments	No. employees	Under 5	501 to 1,000	Over 1,000
Continental United States.....	215,814	68,823	7,773	296,377	41,686	125,880	1,063	443
North Atlantic Division.....	91,144	26,253	4,042	113,121	14,622	44,352	613	270
South Atlantic Division.....	14,684	4,927	508	32,495	5,062	13,319	85	34
North Central Division.....	82,303	27,376	2,430	100,164	15,736	45,700	275	122
South Central Division.....	15,325	6,076	382	35,717	4,269	10,496	44	8
Western Division.....	12,358	4,191	411	14,880	1,997	6,013	46	9

STATE OR TERRITORY	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION WAGE-EARNERS IN						Horse- power	Per cent of increase		
	1900			1890				1900	1890 to 1900	1880 to 1890
	Men at least 16 years of age	Women at least 16 years of age	Child- ren under 16 years of age	Men at least 16 years of age	Women at least 15 years of age	Child- ren				
Continental United States.....	77.4	19.4	3.2	78.3	18.9	2.8	11,298,119	89.8	74.6	
North Atlantic Division.....	73.0	24.1	2.9	73.2	24.1	2.7	5,253,826	69.3	71.5	
South Atlantic Division.....	74.2	18.3	7.5	75.6	18.3	6.1	1,054,956	125.1	59.3	
North Central Division.....	83.4	14.3	2.3	86.2	11.6	2.2	3,285,686	88.5	69.5	
South Central Division.....	86.5	9.6	3.9	85.2	11.0	3.8	1,283,643	190.3	110.0	
Western Division.....	86.1	12.2	1.7	86.8	11.2	2.0	420,008	114.2	188.6	

THE UNITED STATES, 1905
(All tables compiled from the Census)

	Total	Urban ¹	Rural
Number of establishments.....	216,262	113,101	103,161
Capital.....	\$12,686,265,673	\$8,566,221,283	\$4,120,044,390
Salaries officials, clerks, etc., number.....	519,751	386,713	133,038
Salaries.....	\$574,761,231	\$438,685,154	\$136,076,077
Wage-earners, average number.....	5,470,321	3,624,829	1,845,492
Total wages.....	\$2,611,540,532	\$1,796,277,612	\$815,262,920
Men 16 years and over.....	4,244,538	2,689,883	1,554,655
Wages.....	\$2,266,273,317	\$1,521,141,741	\$745,131,576
Women 16 years and over.....	1,065,884	836,836	229,048
Wages.....	\$317,279,008	\$256,932,754	\$60,346,254
Children under 16 years.....	159,899	98,110	61,789
Wages.....	\$27,988,207	\$18,203,117	\$9,785,090
Miscellaneous expenses.....	\$1,455,019,473	\$1,110,261,278	\$344,758,195
Cost of materials used.....	\$8,503,949,756	\$5,849,805,532	\$2,654,144,224
Value of products, including custom work and repairing.....	\$14,802,147,087	\$10,310,285,063	\$4,491,862,024

¹ Includes municipalities having a population in 1900 of at least 8,000.

manufactures entering the international markets of the world, the total exports of manufactures from these countries being, in round terms, \$3,000,000,000, and the total value of manufactures entering the world's international markets being about \$4,000,000,000. A study, however, of the relative growth of manufacture and of exportations of manufactures in these four countries indicates that the U. S. is making more rapid gains than any other of the group.

Studies of production of manufactures as a whole are extremely difficult because no country other than the U. S. makes any measurement, by census or otherwise, of the value of its manufactures as a whole. Estimates have been made by Mulhall and other statisticians of the value of the manufactures produced in the principal countries of the world at various dates. These estimates of the value of manufactures produced in the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and the U. S. are for the years 1888 and 1900, respectively, as follows:

ESTIMATED VALUE OF MANUFACTURES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, GERMANY, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES, 1888 AND 1900

[Figures of 1888 are Mulhall's estimates, those of 1900 for European countries are estimates of W. J. Clark, those of 1900 for U. S. are census figures of gross production]

COUNTRIES	1888	1900	INCREASE	
			Amount	Per cent
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	
United Kingdom.....	3,990,000,000	5,000,000,000	1,010,000,000	25
Germany.....	2,837,000,000	4,600,000,000	1,763,000,000	62
France.....	2,300,000,000	3,450,000,000	1,090,000,000	46
Total.....	9,127,000,000	13,050,000,000	3,863,000,000	42
United States.....	7,022,000,000	13,004,000,000	5,982,000,000	85

These figures are in all cases estimates, except those of the census of 1900.

GROUPS OF INDUSTRIES
1905 AND 1900

Group	Census	Number of establishments	Capital	SALARIED OFFICIALS, CLERKS, ETC.		WAGE-EARNERS AND WAGES				Miscellaneous expenses	Cost of materials used	Value of products, including custom work and repairing
				Num-ber	Salaries	Total	Average number					
							Wages	Men 16 years and over	Women 16 years and over				Children under 16 years
United States	1905 216,262 1900 207,562		\$12,686,265,673 8,978,825,200	519,751 304,202	\$574,761,231 380,889,091	5,470,321 4,715,023	\$2,611,540,522 2,009,735,799	4,244,538 3,633,236	1,065,884 918,511	159,899 101,270	\$8,593,949,756 6,577,614,074	\$14,802,147,087 11,411,121,122
1. Food and kindred products.....	1905 45,790 1900 41,159		1,173,151,276 900,927,187	53,224 45,134	51,456,814 38,360,214	354,054 391,395	164,601,893 125,338,403	264,682 227,282	79,804 63,091	9,568 10,932	2,304,416,564 1,778,644,270	2,845,234,900 2,193,791,594
2. Textiles.....	1905 17,042 1900 17,647		1,744,169,234 1,340,633,629	61,997 43,558	69,281,415 50,350,266	1,156,305 1,022,123	419,841,630 341,651,466	492,161 423,573	582,630 521,284	81,514 77,266	1,246,502,061 894,846,961	2,147,441,418 1,628,600,214
3. Iron and steel and their prod- ucts.....	1905 14,239 1900 13,874		2,331,498,157 1,538,459,831	82,112 50,098	100,444,686 58,431,566	857,298 737,986	482,357,593 384,233,365	839,274 716,186	18,510 13,779	8,514 8,021	1,66,896,587 91,955,596	2,176,739,726 1,806,278,241
4. Lumber and its remanufac- tures.....	1905 32,726 1900 35,181		1,013,827,138 730,067,675	45,555 32,410	48,571,861 29,992,488	735,945 672,655	336,058,173 253,626,194	708,357 647,508	10,673 13,279	10,915 11,918	518,908,150 481,701,505	1,223,739,336 1,009,778,057
5. Leather and its finished prod- ucts.....	1905 4,915 1900 5,313		440,777,194 327,804,674	17,233 14,391	18,372,722 14,866,571	255,368 241,662	116,694,149 98,726,363	182,126 169,886	65,843 65,310	7,399 6,466	40,737,343 21,752,239	705,747,470 569,019,254
6. Paper and printing.....	1905 30,787 1900 26,065		798,758,312 557,131,055	80,009 48,120	81,808,311 48,998,355	359,205 297,320	185,547,791 139,690,715	259,375 211,378	90,880 73,886	9,250 12,056	338,245,437 75,971,854	857,112,256 605,114,847
7. Liquors and beverages.....	1905 6,381 1900 5,740		659,547,620 515,166,244	12,647 9,804	21,421,353 15,925,442	68,340 55,120	45,146,285 33,217,604	66,309 53,210	1,191 952	840 958	139,854,147 93,815,032	501,266,605 382,898,381
8. Chemicals and allied products	1905 9,680 1900 8,812		1,504,728,510 1,139,093,102	45,971 34,417	49,864,233 26,972,997	210,165 182,227	93,965,248 71,594,508	187,881 162,517	20,491 17,817	1,793 1,893	609,351,100 73,608,984	1,031,965,263 335,432,542
9. Clay, glass, and stone prod- ucts.....	1905 10,775 1900 11,577		553,846,682 335,400,558	18,768 12,790	21,555,724 13,079,228	285,365 231,753	148,471,993 102,867,056	265,049 211,832	10,854 9,307	5,462 10,614	123,124,392 18,144,850	270,726,065 270,726,065
10. Metals and metal products, other than iron and steel.....	1905 6,310 1900 5,505		598,340,758 389,735,215	19,471 13,092	24,854,590 15,519,850	211,706 171,963	117,599,837 87,138,156	176,478 141,347	31,348 26,137	3,886 4,779	644,377,583 451,190,510	922,262,456 710,825,157
11. Tobacco.....	1905 16,828 1900 14,959		323,083,591 111,517,318	9,236 7,836	8,800,434 5,993,077	159,408 134,526	62,640,303 47,975,331	85,691 76,218	66,301 40,330	7,416 6,978	80,145,016 78,915,293	331,117,681 263,713,173
12. Vehicles for land transporta- tion.....	1905 7,285 1900 8,739		447,697,020 324,235,576	24,632 16,338	24,334,118 15,109,197	384,577 314,340	121,860,574 103,698,574	381,283 310,810	2,196 2,237	1,008 1,293	334,244,377 207,129,730	643,924,442 505,094,454
13. Shipbuilding.....	1905 1,097 1900 1,107		121,623,700 77,341,001	2,480 1,495	3,339,741 2,007,237	50,754 46,747	29,241,087 24,824,738	49,915 45,711	65 34	774 1,002	37,463,179 33,474,866	82,769,239 74,532,277
14. Miscellaneous industries.....	1905 12,377 1900 11,394		974,316,571 621,318,135	47,466 34,749	50,655,229 32,992,753	390,831 307,296	187,514,312 134,833,266	303,957 237,778	79,398 62,118	7,476 7,400	101,108,364 48,537,620	941,604,873 655,010,866

POWER EMPLOYED

	DATE OF CENSUS		Per cent of increase 1900 to 1905
	1905	1870	
Total horse-power....	14,464,940	2,346,142	39.0
Owned:			
Steam.....	10,664,560	1,215,711	31.0
Gas.....	289,514	.....	114.9
Water.....	1,647,969	1,130,431	13.3
Electric.....	1,138,208	.....	266.4
All other.....	91,784	.....	83.6
Rented.....	632,905	.....	98.1

GREAT BRITAIN

No official statements are made in Great Britain concerning the total value and growth of her manufactures, but it is generally understood that manufactures constitute quite four fifths of the exports of the United Kingdom, and of these statistics are given.

EXPORTS OF ARTICLES WHOLLY OR MAINLY MANUFACTURED

1891.....	£211,071,300	1901.....	£223,823,211
1893.....	186,578,295	1902.....	227,537,027
1895.....	192,743,374	1903.....	234,787,859
1897.....	197,109,161	1904.....	243,825,894
1899 ¹	219,590,874	1905.....	269,767,795

¹ Beginning 1899, the exports include the value of ship and boats (new) with their machinery.

In England and Wales 56.9 per cent of the breadwinners are engaged in manufactures and mining; the highest percentage in the world, except Scotland, which is 58.1. In Ireland, 30.7 per cent. (For other details, see COMMERCE.)

GERMANY

For recent statistics, see COMMERCE. No manufacturers' census has been made since 1895. The number of persons employed in the German Empire in trades, manufactures, commerce, etc., according to the census of June 14, 1895, was as follows ("Statistik des Deutschen Reiches," Band 119):

NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS AND OF PERSONS EMPLOYED

ESTABLISHMENTS GROUPS	Small, 1-5 persons		Medium, 6-50 persons		Large, 51 persons and over		Total	
	Estab- lishments	Persons	Estab- lishments	Persons	Estab- lishments	Persons	Estab- lishments	Persons
All Industries:								
Total 1895.....	2,934,723	4,770,669	191,301	2,454,333	18,953	3,044,267	3,144,977	10,269,269
Total 1882.....	2,882,768	4,335,822	112,715	1,391,720	9,974	1,613,247	3,005,457	7,340,789
Increase in per cent of 1895 over 1882.....	1.8	10.0	69.7	76.3	90.0	88.7	4.6	39.9
Industries According to Classes in 1895:								
A. Gardening, cattle-raising, fishing.....	39,698	70,091	2,571	25,853	52	7,184	42,321	103,128
B. Manufacturing, independent of mining and building trades....	1,989,572	3,191,125	139,459	1,902,049	17,941	2,907,329	2,146,972	8,000,503
C. Commerce and transportation, independent of hotels, inns, and saloons.....	905,453	1,509,453	49,271	526,431	960	129,754	955,684	2,165,638

MARK, THE: In the Middle Ages, in Germany, a tract of land belonging in common to a community of freemen who divided the cultivated portion or *arable mark* among their individual members, used the *common* or *ordinary mark*

together for pasturage or general purposes, and dwelt in the village *mark* or central portion. Whether it did or not, the *mark* seems to evidence the early organization of the Germanic tribes, from whence the English came, as they are described by Tacitus. According to Green's "History of the English People," the members of the community holding the *mark* were freeholders, or *ceorls*, tho there were among them *eorls*, distinguished by nobler blood, and from whom the *ealdormen* were chosen as rulers in peace or leaders in war. The choice, however, was purely voluntary, and the *ceorls* had no special legal privileges; and tho preliminary discussions rested with the *eorls*, the clash of arms of the *ceorls* was the final decision. The *witen*, or wise men, of the village met and settled disputes, and later, in England, came together as the *witenagemot*, the origin of Parliament. (For the much-discussed question on whether these *marks* indicate an original communal holding of soil, see PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.) The probability seems to be that the organization was communal, not individualistic; but the communities were more patriarchal than those of equal freemen. (See MANOR.)

MARKHAM, EDWIN: American poet, Socialist; born in Oregon City, Ore., 1852. Spent early life on a California ranch; worked his way through school; became a teacher, and superintendent of schools, then principal of the Observation School of the University of California. In 1897 he wrote "The Man with the Hoe," a poem which attracted universal attention, and has been called "the psalm of labor" and "the battle-cry of the next thousand years." He is now writing an epic poem to be called "Eternitas," which will embody his ripest thought on the life here and hereafter. He meanwhile writes largely for journals and magazines. He believes that the Golden Rule should be the working principle in all social affairs—that Fraternity in Action is the marrow of all gospels and the fulfilment of all revelations.

He believes that Christ's kingdom was intended to be an actual social order—the working-form of God on earth. This would give body to the word of Christ; build his Comrade Kingdom, and

make possible on earth the practise of the Sermon on the Mount. His principal works are: "The Man with the Hoe, and Other Poems"; "Lincoln, and Other Poems"; "Virgilia, and Other Poems"; "The Hoe-Man in the Making" (series on child

labor); "Remarkable Pages from Thomas Lake Harris: Seer and Social Worker" (2 vols.). Address: Westerleigh, West New Brighton, New York.

MARRIAGES (for the history, the social and ethical problems involved, and a general discussion of the marriage question, see articles **FAMILY** and **DIVORCE**): We give here statistics as to marriages.

THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, according to the census of 1870, the proportion of the married to the total population was 37.8; in 1880 it was 37.7; in 1890, 35.7; in 1900, 36.5; but of the last figure the census says "the losses in proportion of the unmarried among the total population are due to a decrease in the proportion of children."

Few states publish the statistics of marriages,

MARRIAGES IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES
(From the *Annuaire Statistique Générale de la France* ¹)

	NUMBER OF THOUSAND MARRIAGES															
	Austria	Hungary	Belgium	Denmark	England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland	France	Germany	Italy	Nether-lands	Norway	Russia ²	Sweden	Switzer-land	Japan
1801-5				8								7		19		
1806-10				8								6		21		
1811-15				9								7		22		
1816-20				10								8		22		
1821-25	111			9								9		24		
1826-30	129			10								8		22		
1831-35	132		30	10								8		22		
1836-40	134		31	9								8		21		
1841-45	140		29	10	128				276			10		23		
1846-50	150		29	11	143				276		22	11		26		
1851-55	134		31	14	158				271		25	11		26		
1856-60	148		36	13	162	21			298		26	12		29		
1861-65	159		36	12	173	22			325		28	11		28		
1866-70	132		37	13	181	23	29		348	178	29	11	641	25	18	
1871-75	191	166	40	15	200	26	26		393	210	31	13	670	30	22	
1876-80	168	150	38	15	192	25	24		345	210	31	13	650	50	21	
1881-85	170	164	39	16	202	26	22		355	232	30	13	712	30	20	
1886-90	181	151	43	15	207	26	21		381	232	31	13	736	29	21	
1891-95	193	160	47	16	225	28	22		404	220	34	13	802	28	22	
1896-1900	206	159	55	18	253	32	22		457	228	37	15	898	31	25	297
1901	214	170	57	18	259	31	22		468	235	40	15	862	31	25	378
1902	207	169	56	18	261	32	23		457	238	40	14		31	25	395
1903	213	160	54	17	261	32	22		463	237	39	13		30	25	371
1904	210	182	56	18	257	32	22	298	477	247	40	13		30	25	
1905		170	56	18	260	31	23	302		255	41			30	26	

¹ Since 1903, the figures are mainly from the *Statesman's Year Book*.
² Not including Finland, Poland, or the Caucasus.
³ Russia in Europe, 1899.
⁴ 1899.

PERSONS PER 1,000 OF POPULATION

	Austria	Hungary	Belgium	Denmark	England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Norway	Russia	Sweden	Switzerland	Japan
1801-5				17.0								15.3		15.9		
1806-10				15.4								13.9		17.2		
1811-15				17.6								16.5		17.9		
1816-20				16.8								17.6		17.1		
1821-25	15.3			16.4								17.4		17.8		
1826-30	16.8			16.2								15.6		15.6		
1831-35	16.8		14.4	16.8								14.5		15.0		
1836-40	16.5		14.7	14.3								13.3		13.6		
1841-45	16.3		13.1	15.8	15.7				16.4		14.8	15.8		14.4		
1846-50	17.8		13.3	15.8	16.5				15.8		15.0	15.4		14.6		
1851-55	15.1		13.6	18.4	17.2				15.0		15.6	15.6		14.6		
1856-60	16.2		15.7	17.0	16.7	13.8			16.2		16.0	15.0		15.8		
1861-65	16.5		14.6	14.6	16.8	14.0			16.0		16.6	13.8		14.2		
1866-70	18.2		14.9	15.2	16.4	13.8	11.4		17.2	14.0	16.2	12.8	19.8	12.0		
1871-75	18.2	21.6	15.1	15.8	17.1	14.9	9.8		18.9	15.6	16.6	14.6	19.6	14.0	16.0	
1876-80	15.6	19.4	13.8	15.6	15.3	13.8	9.1		15.7	15.1	15.6	14.5	17.7	13.2	14.8	
1881-85	15.8	21.5	13.7	15.4	15.1	13.8	8.7		15.4	15.0	14.2	13.4	18.2	12.8	13.8	
1886-90	15.4	17.8	14.2	14.0	14.7	13.0	8.6		15.8	15.4	14.0	13.2	17.4	12.2	14.1	
1891-95	16.0	18.0	15.2	13.8	15.1	13.6	9.5		15.9	14.8	14.5	12.9	17.9	11.5	14.5	
1896-1900	16.0	17.0	16.6	15.0	16.1	14.6	9.9		16.8	14.3	14.9	13.8		12.1	15.6	
1901	16.4	17.6	16.6	14.4	15.9	14.0	10.1		16.5	14.5	15.4	13.2	18.4	12.1	15.2	17.4
1902	15.5	17.2	16.3	14.3	15.9	14.1	10.3		15.8	14.5	15.1	12.8		11.9	15.0	16.8
1903	15.4	16.2	15.8	14.2	15.2	14.0	10.4	15.0	15.8	14.4	14.8	12.0		11.6	15.0	
1904				14.4				15.2	16.0		14.8	11.8			14.8	

1904, Australia, 14.2; New Zealand, 16.2.
¹ Russia in Europe, 1894.

PER CENT OF MARITAL CONDITION, UNITED STATES

RACE, NATIVITY, NATIVITY OF PARENTS, OR MARITAL CONDITION	Total	MALES										FEMALES											
		15 years and over	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years	25 to 29 years	30 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 54 years	55 to 64 years	65 years and over	Age un- known	Total	15 years and over	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years	25 to 29 years	30 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 54 years	55 to 64 years	65 years and over	Age un- known	
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	37,178,127	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total males.....	38,816,448	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	37,178,127	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single.....	23,492,923	40.2	98.8	77.6	45.8	27.6	16.9	10.3	7.6	5.7	28.6	20,491,042	31.2	88.7	51.6	27.5	16.6	11.1	7.8	6.6	6.0	24.6	100.0
Married.....	13,956,314	54.5	1.0	21.6	52.5	69.8	78.8	82.2	79.7	67.1	28.5	13,813,787	56.9	10.9	46.5	68.9	78.0	79.5	73.9	60.5	34.2	40.1	100.0
Widowed.....	1,178,008	4.6	(1)	0.4	1.2	2.0	3.6	6.8	11.9	26.4	3.5	2,717,839	11.2	0.2	1.4	2.9	4.6	8.6	17.6	32.3	59.3	15.7	100.0
Divorced.....	84,237	0.2	(1)	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.3	114,677	0.5	0.1	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.7	100.0
Unknown.....	104,966	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3	39.1	47,782	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	18.9	100.0
White.....	34,201,735	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	32,667,461	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single.....	20,567,745	40.2	99.0	79.5	47.3	28.1	17.0	10.3	7.7	5.8	28.7	17,868,294	31.4	89.6	53.5	28.5	17.1	11.5	8.1	6.9	6.1	26.3	100.0
Married.....	12,456,349	54.6	0.9	19.8	51.3	69.0	79.1	82.5	80.0	66.9	28.5	12,322,097	57.3	10.1	45.2	68.5	78.5	80.3	74.8	61.2	34.7	37.2	100.0
Widowed.....	1,020,406	4.5	(1)	0.3	1.0	1.8	3.3	6.4	11.6	26.5	3.1	2,129,949	10.7	0.1	0.9	2.1	3.7	7.5	16.4	31.3	58.7	12.3	100.0
Divorced.....	72,766	0.3	(1)	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.3	91,754	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.5	100.0
Unknown.....	86,469	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	44.1	32,767	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	23.7	100.0
Negro.....	4,386,547	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	4,447,447	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single.....	2,786,580	39.2	97.9	64.3	32.9	21.0	13.2	7.2	5.3	4.6	28.2	2,559,682	29.9	83.2	39.7	20.6	12.9	8.0	5.1	4.1	4.3	21.5	100.0
Married.....	1,423,039	54.8	1.7	33.8	63.3	73.7	79.1	81.4	78.6	69.6	47.4	1,444,533	53.7	15.7	54.6	69.4	73.1	72.3	65.3	51.9	28.9	45.6	100.0
Widowed.....	151,245	5.8	(1)	1.1	2.8	4.3	6.7	10.5	15.3	25.0	5.5	414,151	15.4	0.9	4.7	12.4	14.4	18.3	28.6	43.2	66.0	23.1	100.0
Divorced.....	11,028	0.4	(1)	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.4	22,043	0.8	0.1	0.8	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.8	0.5	0.3	1.2	100.0
Unknown.....	14,655	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	18.5	7,038	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.5	8.6	100.0
Native white.....	28,686,450	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	27,908,929	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single.....	18,762,111	43.5	99.0	79.1	46.6	27.8	16.7	9.9	7.2	5.3	27.4	16,746,736	34.5	89.6	53.6	29.2	18.2	12.4	8.9	7.9	7.1	27.0	100.0
Married.....	9,106,725	51.8	0.9	20.3	51.9	69.7	79.1	82.9	80.9	68.6	21.5	9,407,043	55.5	10.1	45.1	68.0	77.3	79.3	74.9	61.7	34.1	36.4	100.0
Widowed.....	693,967	4.0	(1)	0.3	1.1	1.9	3.5	6.4	11.1	25.4	2.6	1,589,353	9.3	0.1	0.9	2.2	3.8	7.5	15.4	29.7	58.3	9.5	100.0
Divorced.....	59,419	0.3	(1)	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.3	79,236	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.5	100.0
Unknown.....	76,228	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	48.2	20,561	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	26.6	100.0
Foreign born, white.....	5,515,285	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	4,698,532	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single.....	1,893,634	29.4	99.1	82.3	49.8	29.0	17.8	11.4	8.7	6.7	35.3	1,121,558	19.6	88.9	53.3	25.4	13.1	8.4	6.0	4.7	4.1	23.2	100.0
Married.....	3,355,624	61.8	0.7	17.1	49.2	69.3	79.0	81.6	78.1	63.8	35.5	2,855,054	64.2	10.9	45.8	72.5	83.1	83.8	74.6	61.0	35.9	40.8	100.0
Widowed.....	326,439	6.2	(1)	0.2	0.6	1.3	2.7	6.4	12.5	28.8	5.7	702,596	15.8	(1)	0.6	1.7	3.4	7.4	18.9	34.7	59.5	24.6	100.0
Divorced.....	13,347	0.3	(1)	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	12,818	0.3	(1)	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.3	100.0
Unknown.....	16,241	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	23.2	6,266	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	11.1	100.0
Native white, both parents native.....	20,849,847	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	20,099,515	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single.....	12,956,535	39.7	98.7	75.9	42.1	24.4	14.7	9.3	6.7	5.1	26.4	11,428,302	31.0	87.4	48.7	25.2	15.7	10.9	8.5	7.8	7.0	25.6	100.0
Married.....	7,194,236	54.9	1.2	23.3	56.2	72.9	80.9	83.8	81.5	68.9	20.6	7,253,852	57.7	12.2	49.8	71.8	79.7	80.8	75.6	62.1	34.2	36.4	100.0
Widowed.....	587,910	4.5	(1)	0.4	1.2	2.1	3.6	6.5	11.0	25.3	2.5	1,332,393	10.6	0.2	1.1	2.3	3.8	7.4	15.1	29.5	58.3	9.5	100.0
Divorced.....	47,997	0.4	(1)	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.3	62,595	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.5	100.0
Unknown.....	63,169	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	50.2	22,373	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	28.0	100.0
Native white, one or both parents foreign born.....	7,836,603	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	7,809,414	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single.....	5,895,576	54.5	99.6	86.7	56.9	35.7	21.5	14.0	10.5	7.6	43.2	5,318,434	44.4	94.9	64.8	37.0	23.6	16.0	10.7	8.5	7.9	42.3	100.0
Married.....	1,906,489	42.7	0.3	12.9	42.0	62.2	74.5	79.0	76.7	65.4	30.1	2,213,191	49.4	5.0	34.3	60.2	72.1	75.4	71.5	58.8	32.3	36.4	100.0
Widowed.....	106,057	2.4	(1)	0.2	0.7	1.7	3.2	6.4	11.0	20.1	3.1	256,960	5.7	(1)	0.6	1.8	3.7	7.0	17.1	32.0	59.3	9.3	100.0
Divorced.....	11,432	0.2	(1)	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.6	16,641	0.4	(1)	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.3	100.0
Unknown.....	7,059	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	17.2	4,188	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	11.7	100.0

MARITAL CONDITION PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES
For every 1,000 Persons of Fifteen Years or Over
(From the Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich)

COUNTRY	MALES				FEMALES				TOGETHER			
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
Germany.....	405	547	45	1	352	519	124	3	378	533	86	2
Austria.....	419	535	44	.....	366	510	123	.....	384	529	86	.....
Italy.....	390	548	61	.....	317	548	134	.....	353	548	98	.....
Switzerland.....	453	487	54	4	409	459	123	7	430	473	89	6
France.....	374	551	72	1	313	537	147	2	343	544	110	2
Belgium.....	434	507	56	1	394	494	109	2	414	501	83	1
Netherlands.....	427	516	55	1	399	493	104	2	413	504	80	1
Denmark.....	395	546	56	1	375	502	119	2	384	523	89	2
Sweden.....	434	505	59	1	412	468	117	2	422	485	89	1
Norway.....	412	526	60	.....	414	469	115	.....	413	496	89	.....
England, Wales.....	411	536	52	.....	395	490	108	.....	402	515	81	.....
Scotland.....	470	477	51	.....	444	442	112	.....	457	459	83	.....
Ireland.....	559	382	58	.....	496	370	132	.....	527	376	96	.....
United States.....	402	547	46	3	312	570	112	4	358	558	78	4
Argentina.....	530	426	43	.....	419	470	110	.....	478	446	74	.....
Queensland.....	571	390	36	.....	373	547	78	.....	489	455	54	.....
New Zealand.....	528	432	38	.....	432	492	74	.....	483	460	55	.....

but the states which do give the following returns:

PROPORTION OF PERSONS MARRIED TO 1,000 OF POPULATION
Compiled from State Reports

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1905
Connecticut.....	18.0	15.2	16.8	14.2	16.0
Massachusetts.....	20.2	17.4	18.6	17.2	18.1
Michigan.....	16.4	18.2	17.8	19.2	19.6
Ohio.....	19.0	18.0	18.0	17.6	19.1
Rhode Island.....	21.6	20.2	18.4	18.4	19.9
Vermont.....	17.6	16.2	17.4	16.6	.....

MARSHALL, ALFRED: Professor of political economy; born in London, 1842; educated there and at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was elected fellow of his college in 1865, lecturer on moral science in 1868, which post he held till 1877, when he was appointed principal of University College, Bristol. In 1879 he published his "Economics of Industry," in connection with his wife (*née* Paley). In 1881 ill health sent him abroad; in 1883 he was appointed lecturer on political economy at Balliol College, Oxford; in 1884 he was elected to the chair of political economy at Cambridge University, formerly held by Professor Fawcett. His work, "The Principles of Economics," published in 1890-91, is considered by many economists the most important recent English treatise on the subject. In 1903 he issued "The New Cambridge Curriculum in Economics." Address: Balliol Croft, 6 Wadingley Road, Cambridge, England.

MARX, KARL: Philosopher; economist; Socialist; born in 1818 at Treves of Jewish parentage. Studying at Jena, Bonn, and Berlin, he attracted early attention by his attainments in philosophy, and became a devoted Hegelian. In 1842 edited the *Rheinische Zeitung*, of Cologne, till it was suppressed a year later for its radical utterances. Then went to Paris and made the acquaintance and friendship of Heine, Bakounin, Proudhon, Ruge, above all, of Engels. The two formed an intel-

lectual partnership, and until Marx's death in 1883 worked together in communistic agitation.

In Paris Marx undertook, with Arnold Ruge, the publication of an edition of Hegel's "Philosophy of Jurisprudence," besides other literary labors; but having employed a paper, *Vorwärts*, to attack Prussia, the Prussian Government in 1846 asked his expulsion from France, which was granted, and he went to Brussels. Here Engels joined him, and the two formed a German Working Men's Association, having as its organ the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung*. Their activity attracted the notice of a German communist league of Paris, which sent in 1847 to Marx in Brussels, and to Engels in Paris, asking them to enter the organization, and promising that a congress should be convened in London. The congress was held in the summer of 1847. As a result of this congress and of another held at the end of the year, the theories of Marx were generally accepted and he was asked to undertake with Engels the drawing up of a communist manifesto, which appeared early in the following year. (See MANIFESTO.) The manifesto was later adopted as the creed of the communists or Socialists.

The
Manifesto

In 1848 the February Revolution broke out. The Brussels authorities feared disturbance, and compelled Marx to change Belgian for French soil. Marx was not at all unwilling, and he proceeded to Paris. A manifesto was at once drawn up for circulation in Germany, in which seventeen demands were advanced by the Communist Party. These demands comprized the proclamation of a republic; payment of members of Parliament so that working men might be eligible for election; the conversion of "princely and other feudal estates," with mines, etc., into State property; the appropriation of all means of transport, as railways, canals, steamships, roads, and posts, by the State; the restriction of the law of succession; the introduction of heavy progressive taxes and the abolition of excise duties; the establishment of national workshops; State guaranty to all work people of an existence and provision for the incapable; and universal and free education. Shortly afterward Marx returned to Ger-

many, and along with Engels, Wolff, and Freiligrath founded the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* at Cologne, the first number appearing on June 1, 1848. For his utterances Marx had twice to appear at the Assizes, but he was each time acquitted. In May, 1849, there were risings in Dresden and the Rhine Province, and Marx was not slow to give them his editorial benediction. The newspaper was suppressed, and the last number appeared, printed in red ink, on June 19.

Expelled from Prussia, Marx first went to Paris, but, refused residence there, he went to England. His studies were frequently broken, for it was necessary to earn a livelihood, and the duties of correspondent to the *New York Tribune*, which Marx fulfilled for eight years, consumed a large part of his time. His "Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie" bears the date Jan., 1859, a work containing the principles which were afterward to be developed in "Das Kapital." While carrying on his studies Marx came again prominently to the front in 1863 and 1864, when new endeavors were made to unite the working classes of various countries. The result of the agitation was the formation on May 28, 1864, of the International Working Men's Association. (See INTERNATIONAL.) Three years later Marx published the first volume of his great economic work, "Das Kapital." Upon this work rests the reputation of Marx as a political economist.

Marx's later public life was identified with the International (*q.v.*), of which he was the first president. He became leader of the wing which favored the development of communism by the orderly political capture of the State, as opposed to Bakounin, the leader of the anarchist communist wing, which proposed to establish communism on the violent overturn of the State. (See ANARCHISM.) Out of Marx's policy has grown the German and now worldwide political Socialist movement, which, accepting the economics taught by Marx, looks to him as its founder. Some believe that this turning of the communistic movement into political channels will be looked upon as Marx's greatest deed—a deed more important than his economic teachings, which, however brilliantly stated, are not peculiar to him. The English-reading public, however, has never done justice to Marx's economic teachings, because it has derived its notion of those teachings mainly from the first volume of "Das Kapital," which was long alone of Marx's writings translated into English. This volume, tho brilliant, is almost purely analytic

and critical of the capitalistic movement and economics. His more constructive works are much less known. The reason for the first volume of "Das Kapital" being the one alone translated was that Marx never lived himself to edit the remaining two volumes, tho after his death they were published by Engels from Karl Marx's notes (the second volume in 1885, the third in 1895). Marx died in London, March 14, 1883. One of his daughters married the French Socialist La Fargue (*q.v.*), and the other the English Socialist Edward Aveling (*q.v.*).

The best brief account of Marx's economic teachings is to be found in Professor Laveleye's "Socialism of To-day" (chap. iv.). We refer the reader to the article CAPITAL for a critical review by Professor Böhm-Bawerk:

Marx bases his system on principles formulated by Adam Smith, Ricardo, Bastiat, and their followers.

In respect of value, says Marx, commodities intended for exchange are crystallized labor. The unit of labor is an average day's work, which varies in different countries and at different times, but which may be considered a fixt quantity in a given community. An article possesses economic or exchange value only because it represents labor. What can be obtained without labor, like air and water, has no exchange value.

How is the quantity of values of an article to be measured? By the quantity of labor that it contains. The quantity of labor is itself measured by the duration of the labor, by days and hours. Here Marx makes a correction in the theory of Smith and Ricardo, and forestalls an objection. It might be said that, if it is the duration of the labor that creates the value of the products, a coat which took a tailor twice as long to make as was necessary would therefore be twice as valuable. Not so, replies Marx; the measure of the value of things is the duration of the labor on the average requisite, performed with the average amount of skill and diligence, and in the normal industrial conditions at any given time.

From these premises our author concludes that labor becomes more productive and creates more utilities to no purpose; it does not produce more value. In fact, if labor measured by time is the sole source of value, articles manufactured in greater quantity in the same lapse of time, all put together, represent no more value, because each individual article is worth less. By the strictly logical chain of these

Analysis of Value

abstractions we arrive at this singular result, that all the inventions of science, all the improvements of manufacture, produce more utilities without increasing the sum total of exchange values. How, then, does the capitalist make money? First of all he buys machines, tools, raw materials, and then, in order to work up the materials, he purchases the workman's "labor force," *arbeitskraft*, the sole source of all value. He sets the laborer to work to change, by means of the tools and machines, the raw materials into manufactured articles, and sells them for more than they cost him to make. In this way he obtains a greater value, "surplus value" (*mehrwert*). The money, temporarily transformed into wages and merchandise, reappears under its original form, but more or less increased in amount; it has brought forth young—capital is born.

This would seem to conflict with the principle laid down above, that exchange does not create new value. The manufacturer has only made exchanges, and yet he finds himself in possession of a greater value. The explanation of the mystery is as follows: The capitalist pays for labor its exchange value, and thus obtains its value in use. Labor force has the unique characteristic of producing more than it costs to be produced. He who buys it and sets it to work for his gain enjoys then the source of all wealth. The capitalist pays for labor its value. What is the value of labor? Like all other merchandise, it is worth what it costs in time and trouble to be produced; that is to say, its cost of production. The cost of production of labor is the food and different commodities necessary to support the laborer and the children destined to succeed him. The value of all these commodities is measured in its turn by the time that it takes to produce them. In short, then, according to Marx, the value of labor is equivalent to the sum of hours required to create what the maintenance of the laborer demands. But to produce the commodities necessary for the existence of the laborer and his family during a day, a whole day's work is not needed. Marx supposes that five or six hours suffice. If, then, the laborer worked for himself, he could obtain all he needed in a half day, and the rest of his time he might devote to leisure or to procuring superfluities; but the slave of antiquity, the serf of the Middle Ages, when gaining his freedom in the existing social order, did not at the same time acquire property. He is therefore obliged to place himself in the service of those who possess the land and the instruments of production. These naturally require him to work for them the whole day of twelve hours or more. In six hours the laborer produces the equivalent of his subsistence; this is what Marx terms "the necessary labor"; during the remaining six hours he produces the "surplus value," the *mehrwert*, to the profit of his employers. The capitalist pays the laborer for his labor-power at its value; that is to say, by giving him the amount of money which, representing six hours' labor, permits him to buy the necessities of life; but as he thus obtains the free disposal of this productive force for which he has paid, he acquires everything it produces during the entire day. He therefore exchanges the produce of six hours against the labor of twelve hours, and puts in his pocket, as net profit, the produce of the six hours beyond the "necessary labor." From this surplus, pocketed by the employer, capital comes into being.

The Capital- ist Process

The capitalist has different methods of increasing his profits. The first consists in multiplying the number of his workmen. The second method is to lengthen the working-day. The longer the laborer works beyond the necessary time which represents his wages, the greater the profit he

brings to his master. The third method consists in diminishing the duration of the "necessary labor," the hours which the laborer must work to produce his maintenance. This is done by rendering the labor more productive. As hours of labor obtain the same price, no matter what they produce, if twice as many articles can be made in the hour, each article will cost one half less and the laborer will have one half less to spend on living; he will therefore be able to sell his labor force for a remuneration reduced by one half. All these deductions appear to be irrefutable, and we thus arrive at this singular conclusion, that the more the employment of machines and of improved methods increases the productivity of labor, the lower wages fall and the greater the profits of the capitalist become.

According to Marx, the capitalist régime is of recent origin. It dates from the sixteenth century, when the large proprietors, impoverished by the wars of the Middle Ages, gradually drove their retainers from the soil, and thus formed a landless proletariat compelled to compete for wages. History is to Marx a portion of natural history. He says in the preface to the first edition: "My standpoint from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is received as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creatures he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them."

According to Marx, the capitalistic era is a necessary epoch which must in time give place to communistic production. Capitalistic production, by compelling workmen to work for simply what is necessary to support life, cuts off its own market, since the workman has no money left to buy with! Hence capital is compelled to turn to commerce to supply it with ever new fields and markets for it to exploit. But this ends. There are no more new worlds for it to conquer, and so it is working its own ruin. Marx says: "One capitalist ever kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or the expropriation of many capitalists by few, are developed the cooperative form of the labor process—and that on a constantly increasing scale—the intelligent application of science to technical purposes, the systematic exploitation of the soil, the transformation of the means of labor into means of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use for production by combined social labor, the entwining of all nations in the net of the world market, and thus the international character of the capitalist régime. With the steady decrease of the capital magnates, who usurp and monopolize all the advantages of this process of transformation, the mass of want, oppression, servitude, degradation, and spoliation grows; but the revolt of the laboring class—swelling ever in numbers, and disciplined, united, and organized by the mechanism of the capitalist process of production itself—spreads at the same time. The capitalist monopoly becomes a fetter on the mode of production with and under which it has originated. The centralization of the means of production and the socialization of labor reach a point at which they become no longer compatible with their capitalist integument, and this is burst asunder. The last hour of capitalist private property strikes. The expropriators are expropriated."

The Present Situation

In the first case there is the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers, but in the latter the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people. Marx would make land and all the instruments of production collective and social property. He would go further; he would have all subjects of the State share equally in labor and the produce of labor. His future State is a Labor State in which labor will be compulsory on all who are capable. In "Capital" we find him developing the idea of uniting agriculture with industry, which is advanced in the Communist Manifesto written in 1847. He would have great variety in the labor of the individual, so that he may be as many-sided as possible.

On account of its intellectual brilliancy and acumen, and the influence it has had on Germans, it has been called distinctively "Scientific Socialism"; yet to-day it is not accepted by many scientific Socialists, much less other political economists. In its merciless logic and Hegelian dialectic, it is indeed scarcely possible to pick a flaw; but some Socialists say that it starts from a wrong premise. Marx's error is not his, but inherited from Adam Smith and Ricardo. Labor is not the only source of value. If Adam Smith and Ricardo are right in saying that it is, then Marxian socialism follows. It takes more than labor to produce value. Labor is only one of the elements. Socialists who do not follow Marx's economics arrive at his results, but through other channels. (See SOCIALISM; VALUE.) The acumen of Marx's analysis of the orthodox economics

and his contribution to the development of political socialism are, however, beyond all question. The best account of Marx is in Dawson's "German Socialism" (1888).

MASSONIUS, PIOTR: Polish member of the Russian Duma; born in 1862. Representative (autonomist) from Minsk government. He is a small landowner, and graduate of Minsk College, the School of Pure Science of Warsaw University, and Leipsic University with the degree of Ph.D. Massonius published a series of works on esthetic criticism and Polish history. For a time he was editor of the *Reforma*.

MASTERMAN, CHARLES FREDERICK GURNEY: English Member of Parliament; author; editor; lecturer; born at Rotherfield Hall, Sussex, England, in 1873; educated at Weymouth School and Christ's College, Cambridge. First class in natural sciences tripos, 1895; first class in moral sciences, 1896. President of the Cambridge Union, 1896; fellow of Christ's College, 1900. Elected to Parliament as a progressive Liberal from West Ham, 1906. Literary editor of London *Daily News*; writer for *The Independent Review*; *Speaker Contemporary*. Active in the Christian Social Union. Lecturer for the Cambridge and London University Extension Societies; served as secretary for Children's Country Holiday Fund and as a Guardian of the Poor for the District of Camberwell. Author: "Tennyson as a Religious Leader," "The Heart of the Empire," "From the Abyss," "In Peril of Change." Address: 10 Addington Square, Camberwell, London, S. E.

MAURICE, JOHN FREDERICK DENISON: Founder of Christian Socialism; born Normanston, Suffolk, England, 1805; son of a Unitarian minister. Graduating at Trinity, Cambridge, he took a degree in law, but early devoted himself to writing on religious and social questions, particularly in *The Athenaeum*. In 1831 he entered the Church of England, and went to Oxford and obtained a second class in classics in 1831. His first curacy was at Bubbenhall, Warwickshire, but from 1836-46 was chaplain at Guy's Hospital, London. His writings were already attracting attention. In 1835 he wrote "Subscription vs. Bondage," and an article subsequently enlarged into his "Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy" (1850-57). In his "Kingdom of Christ" (1838), "Lectures on Education" (1839), "Reasons for not Joining a Party in the Church" (1841), he laid the foundations for the theological views of which in the present century he is undoubtedly the great master, with his high conception of the Church and the nation, and yet with a catholic conception of Christianity that found room in it for what—tho he himself repudiated the name—has been later called "Broad Church" divinity. He was chaplain at Lincoln's Inn 1846-59; it is to this period that his Christian Socialist activities belong. (For a full account of this movement, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) His attention was first prominently called to socialism and its moral significance by Ludlow, but Maurice became the "master" of the little school of thinkers and workers that gathered round, and he proposed the name Christian Socialism, saying that it was the only name that would deliver us to the conflict we must sooner or later wage with unsocial Christians and with unchristian Socialists. He contributed largely to the literature

of the movement, and entered earnestly into the practical details of establishing cooperative tailors' stores; but when this movement had become somewhat established (see COOPERATION) he withdrew to devote himself more purely to educational and intellectual work. He was one of the prime movers in establishing the Working Men's College and the Queen's College for Women and in 1854 became principal of the former. In 1840 he had been made professor of English literature and history at King's College, and in 1846 professor of divinity, but in 1853 he was deprived of his chair because of his theological and social views. 1860-69 he was incumbent of St. Peter's, De Vere Street. In 1866 he was chosen professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge, whence he published "Social Morality" (1869). Died in London in 1872. His writings were numerous and varied. Those bearing directly on social themes we have mentioned. His "Life," edited by his son, appeared in 1884.

MAXWELL, GEORGE HEBARD: Executive chairman of the National Irrigation Association and American Homecroft Society; born 1860, Sonoma, Cal. From 1879 to 1882 he was official stenographer United States Circuit Court and Superior Court; admitted to the bar 1882; in active law practise in California for seventeen years; organized the National Irrigation Association in 1899, and managed campaign for national irrigation ending in passage by Congress of National Irrigation Act in 1902. He organized the Homecrofters' Guild of the Talisman, 1906, and American Homecroft Society, 1907, to accomplish the slogan of the Homecrofters, "Every child in a garden—every mother in a homecroft—and individual industrial independence for every worker in a home of his own on the land."

He is author of "The First Book of the Homecrofters," and "Lectures and Public Addresses." Address: 1409 Fisher Building, Chicago, Ill.

MAYOR AND MAYORALTY: The mayor is the governor of a city. The word is said to have been first used in 1180, when Richard I. substituted a mayor for the two bailiffs of London. In Europe the mayor is not usually elected by the voters, but by the City Council. In England he is usually chosen only for one year. In Germany he may be elected for life, and may be chosen from any city; so that the mayor of a large city is usually one who has shown ability in a smaller city. In Paris the prefect of the Seine corresponds to the mayor, tho there are *maires* of each *arrondissement* in the city. (See PARIS.)

In America the mayors were chosen by the Council in New York till 1834; in Philadelphia, till 1839; but at present most mayors are elected by the people. Their terms of office vary from one year to four years. Their powers, too, materially vary. They usually have a veto power in the Council, the power of appointment and removal, with the consent of the City Council; but in 1882 Brooklyn, under Mr. Seth Low, commenced allowing the mayor to make his own appointments—thinking thus to fix responsibility—and for a while there was a general tendency to increase the power of the mayors. Under a good mayor it worked well. But under a bad mayor it works ill, and the general tendency at present is to put more power in the Council and less power with the mayor. (See CITY.)

MAZZINI, GIUSEPPE: Italian patriot; born Genoa, Italy, 1808. His first tutor was an old priest who taught him Latin, but his omnivorous reading was not directed by any master. At the age of thirteen he attended classes in the faculty of arts at the university, later studied anatomy to follow his father's profession, but finally (1826) graduated in laws, and for some time was occupied in the *Ufficio dei Poveri*. From birth sentiments of social equality were engendered in him by the example of his parents; and very early the degraded political condition of his country began to prey upon his mind. Patriotic enthusiasm gained absolute sway over his spirit, and led him to renounce his cherished idea of a life of literature for the political arena. But in the mean time the "republican instincts," which he tells us he had inherited from his mother, had been developing. His articles accordingly became more and more suggestive of advanced liberalism in politics, and led to the suppression by government of the *Indicatore Genovese* and the *Indicatore Livornese* successively. Mazzini joined the Carbonari, and was entrusted with a secret mission in Tuscany, but in 1830 was betrayed. He was imprisoned in the fortress of Savona on the western Riviera for about six months, when, through deficiency of evidence, he was released, but upon conditions involving so many restrictions that he preferred to leave the country. He went accordingly to France, living chiefly in Marseilles. Here, in presence of "those symbols of the infinite, the sky and the sea," and having access to no books but "a Tacitus, a Byron, and a Bible," he conceived the great mission or "apostolate" (as he himself called it) of his life, and organized a society destined to become famous throughout Europe, *La Giovine Italia*, or Young Italy. Its avowed aims were to be the liberation of Italy, both from foreign and domestic tyranny, and its unification under a republican form of government; the means to be used were education, and, where advisable, insurrection by guerrilla bands; the motto was "God and the people," and the banner was to bear on one side the words "Unity" and "Independence" and on the other "Liberty," "Equality," and "Humanity." In April, 1831, Charles Albert succeeded to the Sardinian throne, and Mazzini, as he afterward confessed, "the interpreter of a hope which he did not share," wrote the new king a letter, urging him to take the lead in the impending struggle for Italian independence. Its bold and outspoken words produced a great sensation, but so deep was the offense it gave to the Sardinian Government, that orders were issued for the immediate arrest and imprisonment of the author should he attempt to cross the frontier. Toward the end of the same year appeared the important Young Italy manifesto. "Congregations" were formed at Genoa, Leghorn, and elsewhere. Banished from Marseilles in consequence of the extensive operations of the society, Mazzini resorted to concealment for several months, principally in Switzerland.

The first fruits of *La Giovine Italia* was the revolutionary expedition of Savoy, organized by Mazzini at Geneva, but defeated by the royal troops. Sentence of death, *par contumace*, was recorded against Mazzini in the Sardinian courts for his participation in the affair; but he soon recommenced with increased vigor his revolutionary operations. A new association, entitled "New Europe," and based on principles of European

rights and enfranchisement, was inaugurated by the exertions of Mazzini in Switzerland. In 1837 Mazzini quitted Switzerland for England, and finally took up his abode in London, where for many months he had to carry on a hard fight with poverty. Ultimately he was able to earn a livelihood by writing review articles, some of which have been reprinted, and are of the highest order of literary merit; they include papers on "Italian Literature since 1830," "Lamennais," "George Sand," "Byron and Goethe," "Lamartine," "Carlyle," and "The Minor Works of Dante." In 1839 he entered into relations with the revolutionary committees sitting in Malta and Paris, and in 1840 he originated a working men's association, and the weekly journal entitled *Apostolato Popolare*, in which the treatise "On the Duties of Man" was commenced. Among the labors undertaken by Mazzini was a free evening school conducted by himself and a few others for some years, at which several hundreds of Italian children received at least the rudiments of secular and religious education. Mazzini did not share the enthusiastic hopes raised in the ranks of the Liberal Party throughout Europe by the first acts of Pius IX., in 1846, but at the same time he availed himself of the opportunity to publish a letter address to the new Pope. The revolutionary leaders had long been in correspondence with Mazzini, and their action, along with the revolution in Paris, brought him to Italy, where he took an active part in the events which dragged Charles Albert into an unprofitable war with Austria; he actually for a short time bore arms under Garibaldi immediately before the reoccupation of Milan, but ultimately, after vain attempts to maintain the insurrection in the mountain districts, found it necessary to retire to Lugano. In the beginning of the following year he was nominated a member of the short-lived government of Tuscany formed after the flight of the Grand Duke, and almost simultaneously, when Rome had, in consequence of the withdrawal of Pius IX., been proclaimed a republic, he was declared a member of the constituent assembly there. A month afterward Mazzini was appointed a member of the triumvirate, with supreme executive power. His tenure of supreme authority was marked by wisdom, moderation, and success. On the surrender of Rome, by Mazzini's advice, however, he quitted the city, and subsequently returned to London. At his instigation risings in Milan (1853) and in Piedmont (1857) were attempted. The Sicilian expedition of 1860 owed as much to the organization of Mazzini as to the command of Garibaldi. In 1865 he was elected by Messina deputy to the Italian Parliament; but the election, to which he himself as a republican would have declined to accede, was canceled by the Parliament. In 1865, after the session of Venice to Italy, his sentence of death was at last removed, but he declined to accept such an "offer of oblivion and pardon for having loved Italy above all earthly things." In 1870 he set out for Sicily, but was arrested at sea and carried to Gaeta, where he was imprisoned for two months. Events soon made it evident that there was little danger to fear from a contemplated rising, and the occasion of the birth of a prince was seized for restoring him to liberty. The remainder of his life, spent partly in London and partly at Lugano, presents no noteworthy incidents. For some time his health had been far from satisfactory, and he died at Pisa,

March 10, 1872. The Italian Parliament by a unanimous vote expressed the national sorrow; an eloquent tribute was pronounced by the president, and a public funeral took place at Pisa, his remains being later conveyed to Genoa. Mazzini said of himself, "I am but a voice crying *action*," but he was in very deed far more. In his "Duties of Man," address to working men,

His Views

he gives perhaps the fullest expression to thoughts which make many consider him the greatest prophet of the nineteenth century. His watchwords were "duties," and not "rights"; self-sacrifice, and not self-seeking; association, and not competition; democracy, and not government; humanity, and not the individual; God, and not the opinions of mankind. Opposing both socialism and Christianity as they were presented to him, he said:

Working men, brothers! When Christ came and changed the face of the world. He spoke not of rights to the rich, who needed not to achieve them; nor to the poor, who would doubtless have abused them, in imitation of the rich; He spoke not of utility, nor of interest, to a people whom interest and utility had corrupted; He spoke of duty. He spoke of love, of sacrifice, and of faith; and He said that they should be first among all who had contributed most by their labor to the good of all. And the word of Christ breathed in the ear of a society in which all true life was extinct, recalled it to existence, conquered the millions, conquered the world, and caused the education of the human race to ascend one degree on the scale of progress.

REFERENCES: A translation of his main writings appeared in 1891. There are cheap editions of his *Duties of Man*, of his *Thoughts on Democracy in Europe*, and his literary essays.

MEAD, EDWIN DOAK: Author; editor; born in 1849 at Chesterfield, N. H. He spent his boyhood on a farm and in the village store, but in 1866 entered the employ of Ticknor & Fields, publishers, of Boston. From 1875 to 1879 he studied at English and German universities and returned to America in 1879, since which time he has been engaged in lecturing and other literary work. He was editor of *New England Magazine* 1889-1901; for several years president of Good Citizenship Society and the XXth Century Club of Boston. At present is director of Old South Historical Work in the city of Boston, and editor of the *International Library*. Greatly interested in the movement for universal peace, he was appointed delegate for American Peace Society to the congresses held in Glasgow, Rouen, Lucerne, and was chairman of the executive committee at the congress held in Boston in 1894. Mr. Mead is especially devoted to the better organization of the world and the using of the enormous amounts of money now wasted on great armaments in constructive efforts for the education and general welfare of the people. He works for free trade and for the public control of transportation and other important interests. He is author of "Martin Luther: A Study of the Reformation," "The Philosophy of Carlyle," "The Roman Church and the Public Schools," "Organize the World," "The Influence of Emerson," "The Principles of the Founders," etc. Address: 39 Newbury Street, Boston, Mass.

MENNONITES: A sect of Anabaptists (*q. v.*), followers of Menno Simons, and found in Switzerland, Germany, France, Russia, and America. First appearing in Switzerland in 1525, in 1683 a colony was established at Germantown, Pa. In 1871 many of them fled from Russia to America. At first they refused to swear in courts or bear arms, and lived a quiet industrial life. They have

now abandoned any unusual social views. (See ANABAPTISTS.)

MERCANTILISTS: Mercantilists is the name given to a school of political economy, if it can be called a school, which advocated the belief generally held till the end of the last century that wealth consists in gold and silver, and that therefore the importation of gold and silver and exportation of goods to obtain gold should be encouraged by the State, and the exportation of gold and silver and importation of goods should be discouraged as much as possible. How this leads to the balance-of-trade theory (*q. v.*) is at once apparent.

The mercantile system, also called Colbertism, restrictive system, and commercial system, obtained from the early part of the sixteenth century until late in the eighteenth century, and its influence is still felt. Most prominent among the statesmen who were mercantilists may be named Colbert, of France; Frederick the Great, of Prussia; and Cromwell, of England. Serra, an Italian, early in the seventeenth century presented a moderate and systematic statement of their views in a work entitled "A Brief Treatise on Causes which make Gold and Silver Abound where there are no Mines." Thomas Mun, in England, a generation later, wrote a valuable treatise from the standpoint of the mercantilists, called "England's Treasure by Foreign Trade; or, the Balance of our Trade the Rule of our Treasure," while Sir James Steuart's "Inquiries into the Principles of Political Economy," published in 1767, may be regarded as closing the development of the theory of mercantilism.

To-day no one holds this view to be correct. (See BALANCE OF TRADE; FREE TRADE; PROTECTION.)

MERCER, JOHN EDWARD: Bishop of Tasmania, Australia; born in 1856 at Bradford, England; writer on sociological topics; educated at Rossall School, Lancashire. He was the first Rossall School missionary to Newton Heath, Manchester, where he stayed for seven years. Later he had a parish for the working classes in the outskirts of Manchester for five years. He was vice-chairman of the Manchester branch of the Christian Social Union, and chairman of the Manchester Social Club; also honorary life member of the Manchester Statistical Society. He is in sympathy with the modern "Social Movement" in the direction of securing greater equality of opportunity and a more equitable distribution of wealth. Author: "Conditions of Life in a Manchester Slum"; "Social Equality"; "What is the World External to Mind?" He was Moorhouse lecturer for 1906-7 on "The Soul of Progress." Address: Bishops court, Fitzroy Place, Hobart, Tasmania.

MERCHANTS' GILDS. See GILDS.

MESLIER, JEAN: French priest and Socialist; born at Mazeray-en-Champagne, 1664. The son of poor parents, he attracted the attention of a priest who taught him Latin, and secured him a free scholarship. On obtaining his theological degree, he was ordained priest of Etrépigny, where he officiated until his death in 1729 or 1733. It was rumored that he committed suicide.

Meslier served the Church faithfully, and did not deem it consistent with his clerical duties to

voice his socialistic views. Upon his death, however, a "testament" was found in which he set forth his political creed. "I have seen and learned the mistakes, abuses, vanities, follies, and sins of humanity, and I have hated them and abhorred them. During my life I have not dared to speak my thoughts, but I will at least voice them dying." After criticizing religion, and especially the Christian Church, whose founder he considered an impostor, Meslier points out the great disparity between the conditions of men, arguing throughout in favor of the lowly and oppressed, and advising them to stand shoulder to shoulder against the tyrants of the earth.

Meslier's "testament" attracted great attention, especially through Voltaire, who, in 1762, made an abstract of the work. The entire work appeared in three volumes (Amsterdam, 1864) under the title "Le Testament de Jean Meslier."

METAYER, THE (from Latin *medieta*, half), is one who cultivates a farm or land for the owner on condition of retaining a portion, usually one half, of the produce, the owner generally furnishing the stock and tools. *Meiayage*, or the metayer system, prevails in Italy, southern France, and to a large extent in the south of the United States.

METHODISM AND SOCIAL REFORM: The evangelization of the masses was the distinctive purpose of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism; but unintentionally and unconsciously to himself, for the fact was not recognized during his lifetime, John Wesley became not only the greatest social reformer of the day, but possibly the greatest in all the history of England. The influence of his work is felt to this day not only in the country where Methodism was born, but in every land where Methodists dwell.

Tribute to the influence of Methodism as a factor in social reform has been paid by the foremost historians. "The man who did most to reform the social life of England in the last century was John Wesley," writes W. Moore Ede, in his history of "The Attitude of the Church to Some of the Social Problems of Town Life." "The Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival," writes J. R. Green in his "History of the English People." "The noblest result of the religious revival," continues Green, "was the steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the physical suffering, and the social degradation of the profligate and the poor." Thomas C. Hall, in his work on "The Social Meaning of Modern Religious Movements in England," says: "Probably no factor, nay no four or five factors together, may be said to have had the same social influence for the future of England's empire as the Methodist phase of the evangelical revival. One of the great blessings of this social activity of the evangelical political party was the close union brought about by it with the rising trade-unions of England. There is no prouder chapter in the history of the working democracy than the history of trade-unionism. Its quiet, steady, temperate, cautious advance has been largely due to the character of the men whom Methodism trained, and the sympathy and support extended by men who dared the reproaches of their own class in society and struggled for their brethren against selfishness, prejudice, and slander to secure justice and righteousness.

The results of Methodist activity to which these historians bear tribute were due to the influence upon the character and life of his followers of the type of religion which John Wesley preached, to the interest of the Methodists in the poor and ignorant, and especially to the two institutions which were distinctive of Methodism—the class meeting and the local or lay preacher.

John Wesley was in very truth "an apostle of the poor."

His interest in the relief of the poor began while he was a fellow at Oxford University. One of the rigidly observed, if not required, rules of the Holy Club was that its members should give away in relief of the poor all they had left after providing for their own necessities. Wesley in later years wrote: "One of them had £30 a year. He lived on £28 and gave away 40 shillings. The next year, receiving £60, he still lived on £28 and gave away £32. The third year he received £90 and gave away £62. The fourth year he received £120; still he lived as before, on £28, and gave to the poor all the rest." This "one" was John Wesley; and the rule here laid down he observed to the end of his life, never spending upon himself more than £28 a year. As his private income increased his charities increased. His private charities during his lifetime aggregated to \$150,000.

Early in the history of the Methodist movement Wesley began to utilize his societies (his organizations were not recognized as churches until after his death) for the relief of those in need and the distressed. He began systematic relief work as early as Nov., 1740. Under date of Nov. 3, 1740, he writes in his journal, that in order to aid those who are out of work he took twelve of the poorest and a teacher into the society room where they were employed for four months in carding and spinning cotton. He divided London into twenty-three districts and appointed two persons to visit the poor and sick in each district and relieve their need. The visitors were enjoined to observe strictly four rules: "(1) Be plain and open in dealing with souls. (2) Be mild, tender, patient. (3) Be cleanly in all you do for the sick. (4) Be not nice." Wesley never exhibited greater sagacity than in these four rules, "Upon reflection," wrote he, "I saw how exactly, in this also, we had copied after the primitive Church. What were the ancient deacons? What was Phœbe, the deaconess, but such a visitor of the sick?"

Out of the work performed by these visitors has come the organization and the work to-day of the "sisters" in the Wesleyan Church in England and the deaconesses in the Methodist Church in America. The first Methodist deaconess was Mary Bosanquet, afterward the wife of the eminent John Fletcher. She also founded the first Methodist orphanage, which was the forerunner of many similar institutions in England, Canada, and 14 in the United States, conducted by the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Methodist Episcopal Church also has 57 deaconess homes, 24 stations in this country, 19 deaconess homes in Europe, 9 in India, 2 in China, and 1 in Africa, employing in 1907 792 deaconesses and 436 probationers who are preparing to become deaconesses. These deaconesses during the year made over 418,000 visits to the poor in their homes, nursed 5,500 sick in their homes and 12,000 sick in hospitals.

As a result of his efforts to help the poor and the sick, Wesley started, in connection with his

headquarters in London called the Foundry, a medical dispensary—the first free dispensary—after which the Finsbury Dispensary in London, twenty years later, was modeled. The expense of relieving the poor at their homes became so great, and the profit was, comparatively, so little, that Wesley resolved to try whether they might not receive more benefit in the hospitals. He found hospital treatment to be less expensive; but no more good was done than before. He asked the advice of several physicians for the sick, but without advantage. He saw the poor people pining away, and several families ruined, and that without remedy. Finally, as a desperate expedient, he said: "I will prepare and give them physic myself." This he was competent to do. For more than twenty-five years he had made anatomy and physic the diversion of his "leisure hours." His knowledge of medicine was extensive, and his common sense made it of practical value to many persons. His "Primitive Physic," of which at least twenty-three editions were issued before his death, grew out of his medical efforts for the relief of the poor. Medical aid to the poor has always been a distinctive feature of Methodism. Under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church alone in this country there are twenty-five hospitals, much of the service in which is free to poor patients. There are besides hospitals and free dispensaries in foreign lands.

One of Wesley's earliest charities was a widows' home. He had observed for some years many who, altho not sick, were not able to provide for themselves and had no relatives or friends who took enough interest in their welfare to provide for them. These persons were chiefly feeble, aged widows. Wesley leased two houses near by and fitted them up so that they were warm and clean. He took in as many widows as there were room for and provided them with things needful for the body. There are now many Methodist old people's homes, ten of them in American cities under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Methodists were the first to provide schools in England on an extensive scale for the education of the children of the poor. F. V. P.

Popular Education Painter, in his "History of Education," says: "Prior to the beginning of the present century (1800) the education of the masses of England was almost entirely neglected. To

Robert Raikes, the founder of the Sunday-school, belongs the honor of having first awakened an interest in popular education." But it was a Methodist woman, Sophia Cooke, afterward the wife of Samuel Bradburn, one of Wesley's preachers, who suggested the idea of the Sunday-school to Robert Raikes, and fourteen years before Raikes began his school at Gloucester, Hannah Ball, a young Methodist lady, had a Sunday-school at High Wycombe. Forty years before Raikes began his Sunday-school, the Methodist colliers at Kingswood, after a sermon preached by George Whitefield in an open field, contributed \$100 toward the erection of a school. Four days later the foundation was laid. Whitefield collected \$200 and Wesley raised the balance. The Kingswood school is one of the historic Methodist institutions. John Wesley also established a school in his own house in London, in which were gathered sixty children over six years of age. Schools were a part of the work of many of his societies in all parts of the country.

The educational spirit displayed by Wesley and his followers in England was early manifested in America. In 1780 small subscriptions were secured for a seminary, and at the General Conference of 1784, at which the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, Cokebury College was provided for, and Sept. 17, 1787, it was opened. Connected with this mother Methodist Church there are 192 schools—54 colleges and universities, 47 classical seminaries, 12 institutions exclusively for women, in the U. S.; 55 foreign mission schools, and 24 theological institutions. In these schools during the year 1906-7 there were about 57,000 students. There are fifteen other branches of American Methodism, and these together have probably as many more schools with perhaps as many students. Of these other Methodist churches the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, conducts 190 schools with about 34,500 students.

John Wesley also provided a literature for his people. Indeed he may be said to have been the father of cheap literature. He wrote or compiled hundreds of volumes, including pamphlets, books, and magazines. Many of his publications were in the form of penny tracts. By these publications he created an appetite for reading among his followers. His publications were the beginnings of the Wesleyan Book Rooms in London and Toronto and the Methodist Book Concerns in New York, Cincinnati, and Nashville. The establishments in New York and Cincinnati are the largest denominational publishing houses in the world. They have a capital of \$4,200,000 and their annual sales aggregate about \$2,500,000.

In the course of his labors John Wesley found many who were not, strictly speaking, so poor that they needed alms, but yet frequently were in want of a small supply of money. Some of these persons were in business and a small loan for a few weeks or months would tide them over difficulty. But there was no one of whom they could borrow, except the pawnbroker, and to place themselves in his debt was almost to abandon hope. Wesley resolved to try in some way to help such persons. So he devised the scheme of a loan fund. This was started in 1746, about 150 years before a similar scheme was begun by a philanthropic gentleman in New York. John Wesley exhorted those who had an abundance of this world's goods to assist their needy brethren. Fifty pounds (about \$250) were contributed. This sum was placed in the hands of two stewards, who were present every Tuesday morning in order to lend to those who desired any small sum, not exceeding twenty shillings (about \$5), which was to be repaid within three months. The amount which one person might borrow was afterward increased to five pounds (about \$25). Out of this loan fund no less than 255 persons were relieved in eighteen months. This loan fund, or "lending stock," as an institution of the Methodist societies continued for a number of years. Among its beneficiaries was a cobbler named James Lackington, who in 1775 borrowed £5 with which to start a second-hand book shop in connection with his shoe shop. This new business grew more rapidly than his cobbling and in the course of time he gave up the latter. The book business developed into the largest second-hand book store in London, if not in the world. It made its proprietor immensely wealthy, and the year Wesley died, Lackington's profits from his business amounted to \$25,000.

Early in his career Wesley became a pronounced opponent of African slavery. In 1758 a Mr. Gilbert of Antigua visited England, bringing with him four slaves. Two of these were converted under Wesley's preaching, and laid the foundation of the Wesleyan missions in the West Indies, which did much to prepare the slaves of those islands for emancipation. Wesley and the Methodists and the forces which the revival movement called into being were the power which enabled Wilberforce and his associates to compel Parliament to abolish slavery in the English possessions. Wesley denounced American slavery as "the vilest that ever saw the sun." His hostility to slavery was expressed in a volume entitled "Thoughts on Slavery." It was scattered widely in Europe and America, and probably exerted a greater influence upon the public conscience than any other book ever written. The Methodist Episcopal Church at its first conference, in 1784, pronounced slavery to be "contrary to the golden law of God . . . and the unalienable right of mankind, as well as every principle of the Revolution." The first person arrested in America for utterances against slavery was a Methodist preacher, the Rev. Jacob Gruber. Slavery divided the Church in 1846.

Among the most important contributions of Methodism to social reform has been its relation to the trade-union movement. But for the Methodist revival the trade-union as it is known to-day in England would have had no existence.

The miner is the pioneer of the Labor movement. In Methodism he found a faith in keeping with his sturdy, hopeful nature. His attachment for

Labor Leaders

that church is of long standing, and dates back to the time when Wesley discoursed to the pitmen of Northumberland and Durham, who received him with open arms. With the conversion of their souls, many of the miners seemed to receive the gift of tongues and not alone power to tell of the experience of salvation in their hearts, but a consciousness of the social and industrial wrongs of which they were the victims, and to protest against them. Soon they began to organize, and found their leaders among their class leaders and local preachers, who in the class meeting and pulpit had learned to think on their feet and express themselves from the platform in forcible speech. They learned also in their religious meetings the power of organization. "Can there be any more striking tribute to the influence of Methodism upon the mining community," wrote Mr. T. R. Threlfall, secretary of the Labor Electoral Association in 1890, "than the fact that the five miners' members in the House of Commons have all been trained in the Methodist Church, four being past or present local preachers? In the Parliament of 1885 there were six." Mr. Threlfall stated that of the delegates attending the great miners' conferences, when from three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand men are occasionally represented, "it is no exaggeration to say that fully one half served an apprenticeship as local preachers."

The first Labor member of Parliament and the longest in service, Mr. Thomas Burt, is the son of a Methodist miner and local preacher. Next to Mr. Burt the most noted and influential labor leader has been Joseph Arch, organizer of the Agricultural Laborers' Union. He was a local preacher of the Primitive Methodist Church, and his power was due to that fact. Thorold Rogers,

in his great work, "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," says: "I do not believe that the mass of peasants could have been moved at all had it not been for the organization of the Primitive Methodists."

That the Methodist Episcopal Church retains its interest in the conflict between capital and labor is indicated by the following from the address of the Board of Bishops to the General Conference of 1904: "In all this contention (between employers and employees) it need hardly be said that the sympathy of the Church must, to a large extent, be with those concerning whom Abraham Lincoln quaintly said, 'The Lord must like the common people, else He would not have made so many of them,' doubtless having in mind the fact that when Jesus was on earth 'the common people heard Him gladly.' In spite of all the blunders made by labor leaders and the indefensible acts of their followers, philanthropic men must wish them success in every lawful effort to better their condition and secure their rights. But they must learn from their real friends that every act of violence hurts their cause and that law and order must be maintained at all hazards."

Methodist laymen and local preachers are still among the foremost labor leaders in England, and not a few Methodists are leaders in the Labor movement in America. The first two parliamentary secretaries of the Trade-Union Congress of England, Henry Broadhurst and Charles Fenwick, were Methodists. Mr. Broadhurst was also the first representative of labor to hold a cabinet position. The first representative of labor to be knighted by the king, Edward VII. (1907), Sir W. S. Crossman, a working stone-mason, is a Methodist belonging to the United Methodist Church.

Methodist labor leaders, like their founder, John Wesley, are almost invariably ardent advocates of temperance. In the temperance movement Methodists have always been active and are so to-day. No Methodist minister could habitually use alcoholic liquors as a beverage and remain in the ministry. Indeed there is no vice or evil which affects society injuriously to which Methodism is not strongly antagonistic.

D. D. THOMPSON.

MEXICO: A federated republic, its present constitution dating from 1857. Composed of 27 states and 3 territories. Area, 767,080 sq. m., with a population (1900) of 13,606,000, or 17.7 per square mile. Of these 19 per cent only are white, 48 per cent of mixed race, and 38 of Indian race. Of the mixed and Indian races few can be called civilized. Foreigners number 57,507, of whom some 16,000 were Spanish and 15,000 of the United States. There are about 2,000,000 educated whites. The capital of Mexico has a population of 400,000; Guadalajara, 101,000; Leon, 63,000; Monterey, 62,000; San Luis Potosi, 61,000.

The prevailing religion is Roman Catholic, but there is no State Church and all religions are tolerated. Education is backward, tho it is now free and compulsory and much progress is being made.

Statistics

There were (1904) 9,194 government schools (besides infant schools) with 620,476 pupils, 382,507 boys and 237,969 girls. Industry is backward and agriculture very primitive. Mining employs 100,000, the mineral wealth being very great, particularly of gold and silver. Mexico is the largest silver-producing country

of the world. The total mineral output was over \$100,000,000 in 1904. Coffee and cotton are cultivated to a considerable extent, tho the chief agricultural products are wheat and sugar, and to a less extent pinequin, oranges, dyewood, maize, rice, and tobacco. In 1904 there were 119 cotton factories with 27,706 employees, and 466 tobacco factories. The exports, including bullion, in 1906, were \$135,027,000 (\$92,633,000 to the U. S.); the imports were \$109,884,000 (\$72,509 from the U. S.). Mexico had, in 1906, 13,515 miles of railway. The Tehuantepec Railway, now completed, connecting the two oceans, will compete with the Panama Railway; there are 34,996 miles of telegraphs, 2,466 post-offices, transmitting 77,807,143 newspapers or printed materials, 64,752,789 letters or cards. The mercantile marine comprises 32 steamers and 29 sailing vessels.

The government of Mexico is in general similar to that of the U. S., with executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The president is elected for six years by electors chosen by popular vote. The Congress consists of a House of Representatives elected biannually by adult male suffrage and senators similarly chosen, two for each state. Each state has its own constitution and local government. The revenue (1906) was \$51,269,008; expenditure, \$48,314,646. The funded debt, 445,899,901 Mexican pesos (about \$220,000,000), at 3-5 per cent. The peace strength of the army is 34,500 (officers and men), with a nominal war strength of 79,600. There is a small fleet navy of 4 gunboats and a few other vessels, manned by 198 officers and 965 men. Army and navy are being strengthened. (For general industrial conditions, see LATIN AMERICA.) Rapid progress, however, is now being made under the present generally satisfactory and stable administration of President Diaz, who has been in power almost continually since he began in 1875 as a military dictator. Currency questions which have long been unsettled are being settled and a gold reserve accumulated. Large loans have been favorably located abroad. Railways are extending, new factories being built, and many new colonies receiving concessions from the government. Fear of yellow fever and bubonic plague has been mainly banished by efficient government action.

MICHAELIS, OTTO: Editor; born at Lubeck, Westphalia, 1826. Studied law at Bonn and Berlin; was deprived of his position in consequence of the excitements of 1848. Then betook himself to Berlin, where he became assistant editor of the *Abendzeitung*, and after its suppression, editor of the *Nationalzeitung*. In 1861 was elected to the Prussian House of Deputies; 1867 to the North German Reichstag. He held several political posts, but as his free-trade principles brought him into conflict with the financial policy of the government, he retired. Died Dec. 12, 1890.

MICHEL, LOUISE: Anarchist; born Veoncourt, Haute-Marne, France, 1839. Winning distinction by musical and poetical talents, she opened a school at Montmartre, Paris, in 1860, but early became an active revolutionist. During the Commune worked on committees and fought at barricades in man's uniform; was captured and condemned to death, a sentence changed to transportation; went through all the horrors of the Versailles prisons, and was transported to New Caledonia. After nine years the

amnesty allowed her to return, a more determined anarchist than ever. Several times imprisoned, she escaped to London, and started an international school in Fitzroy Street. A remarkable speaker, she was often heard in London, addressing Hyde Park meetings and venting in vehement French her hatred of the bourgeoisie, who shed the blood of her comrades. She died in 1905. She was author of "Memoirs" and "The Microbes of Society," a novel.

MIDDLE AGES: The Middle Ages, which are usually made to reach from about the fifth century to the thirteenth, form a period of great economic and sociologic importance. Dr. Ingram, in his "History of Political Economy," says of the Middle Ages:

They represent a vast transition, in which the germs of a new world were deposited, but in which little was fully elaborated. There is scarcely anything in the later movement of European society which we do not find there, tho as yet, for the most part, crude and undeveloped. . . .

(For details, see **CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM**; **CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM**; **FEUDALISM**; **GILDS**; **LAND**; **MONASTICISM**; **EDUCATION**; **FAMILY**; **SERFDOM**; **SLAVERY**; **WOMAN**, etc.)

MIKHAYLITCHENKO, MITROFAN IVANOVICH: Russian member of the Duma; born in 1871; representative (Social Democrat) from the Yekaterinoslaf province for the first Duma; peasant of the village Uritzovo, Voronezh Province; graduate of a Zemstvo school. Served in different estates as manual laborer or clerk, afterward as miner in Shcherbinsk mines. When elected he was working at the Voznesensk mines as a locksmith.

MILITARISM (for the movement against militarism, see articles: **PEACE MOVEMENT**; **INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION**; **INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION**; **AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY**; **PEACE SOCIETY**, English. See also **NAVY**): The following table, with its enormous total of \$1,781,663,179,

THE MILITARISM OF THE WORLD

COUNTRY	ARMY			NAVY			Total annual expenditure	Expenditure per capita
	Peace strength	War footing	Annual expenditure	Peace forces	War forces	Expenditure		
Russian Empire.....	1,200,000	4,000,000	\$189,038,557	69,000	100,000	\$58,347,212	\$247,385,769	\$1.73
France and colonies.....	662,000	1,290,000	155,997,227	53,247	102,500	62,433,963	218,431,190	5.58
Germany.....	614,000	1,760,000	186,774,500	33,500	143,500	58,223,500	244,998,000	4.06
Austria-Hungary.....	387,452	1,234,000	65,065,000	8,318	11,993	5,920,124	70,985,124	1.44
Italy.....	260,000	6750,000	55,421,034	27,000	.....	24,676,794	80,098,428	2.36
Turkey ³	235,200	6800,000	627,500,000	31,000	.....	67,500,000	35,000,000	1.40
India ⁴	229,000	6401,097	100,391,365	.....	.....	.....	100,391,365	0.43
Japan.....	220,000	800,000	25,230,192	36,080	.....	14,457,036	39,687,228	0.78
Great Britain ²	204,100	6800,000	133,256,500	129,000	152,000	147,044,000	280,300,500	6.41
China (old) ⁴	170,000	800,000	626,250,000	.....	.....	.....	26,250,000	0.06
Spain.....	120,000	300,000	31,824,700	25,700	.....	7,293,400	39,118,100	2.03
United States ⁵	75,557	200,000	103,686,775	46,050	.....	102,091,680	205,778,455	2.45
Belgium.....	50,000	143,000	See total	1,150	.....	See total	12,812,421	1.78
Bulgaria.....	47,520	112,000	5,700,000	No navy	.....	.....	5,700,000	1.54
Holland.....	41,055	108,000	10,850,000	10,760	25,000	7,082,265	17,932,265	3.26
Rumania.....	36,410	136,000	9,000,000	No navy	.....	.....	9,000,000	1.40
Sweden.....	35,000	110,000	11,420,400	8,000	.....	3,752,000	15,172,400	2.86
Portugal.....	33,446	111,000	7,992,540	3,200	5,000	4,023,604	12,016,144	2.02
Persia.....	30,000	75,000	67,800,000	No navy	.....	.....	7,800,000	0.82
Greece.....	29,000	62,000	3,656,500	4,000	7,300	1,516,673	5,173,173	2.15
Brazil.....	29,000	.....	14,268,256	8,500	.....	9,471,250	23,739,500	1.30
Servia.....	27,500	110,000	4,062,330	No navy	.....	.....	4,062,330	1.56
Mexico.....	26,600	75,000	8,826,380	1,400	.....	See total	8,826,380	0.65
Argentina.....	18,000	120,000	8,127,000	6,000	.....	6,317,033	14,444,033	2.52
Norway.....	18,000	70,000	3,275,000	2,000	4,600	1,246,590	4,521,590	1.96
Egypt ⁷	16,000	.....	3,000,000	No navy	.....	.....	3,000,000	0.30
Chile.....	15,000	34,000	5,054,669	7,000	.....	5,453,348	10,508,017	3.28
Denmark.....	14,000	50,000	3,082,884	4,000	6,800	2,620,853	5,703,737	2.11
Venezuela.....	10,000	50,000	2,210,913	No navy	.....	.....	2,210,913	1.61
Uruguay.....	5,800	35,000	2,235,000	No navy	.....	.....	2,235,000	2.23
Colombia.....	5,000	.....	1,775,582	600	700	See total	1,775,582	0.41
Peru.....	4,000	25,000	See total	1,245	.....	See total	2,457,330	0.52
Bolivia.....	2,430	60,000	1,336,358	No navy	.....	.....	1,336,358	0.58
Switzerland.....	142,000	235,000	7,912,431	No navy	.....	.....	7,912,431	2.39
Canada.....	55,765	167,295	4,196,000	No navy	.....	.....	4,196,000	0.78
Montenegro ⁸	25,000	30,000	40,600	No navy	.....	.....	40,600	0.88
Australia.....	16,589	69,474	5,184,410	900	1,185	See total	5,184,410	1.27
New Zealand.....	11,000	18,545	1,172,450	No navy	.....	.....	1,172,450	1.32
Transvaal Colony.....	9,346	.....	2,223,000	No navy	.....	.....	2,223,000	0.95
Natal.....	6,336	13,000	727,450	No navy	.....	.....	727,450	0.65
Cape Colony.....	2,500	8,000	1,355,500	No navy	.....	.....	1,355,500	0.50
Total all countries ⁹	5,089,606	15,162,351	\$1,236,922,103	517,650	.....	\$529,471,325	\$1,781,663,179	\$1.765

¹ Cost and number of native troops, under chiefs and rajahs, not included.

² The report of Great Britain includes the minor colonies, not mentioned separately, e. g., Ceylon, Hongkong, etc.; the expenses of which are borne chiefly by the mother country; the small contributions of these countries toward military expenses are included under Great Britain.

³ Turkey does not publish its budgets; the expenses here given are estimates of the ministry of war for 1907 and 1908.

⁴ The army of China is being reorganized; the old army is that of 1905; the new one, as planned, will have 432,000 men.

⁵ The army of the U. S. as given includes native troops in the Philippines and native and Indian scouts. The appropriations of the states for their militia are not included in this expenditure.

⁶ Estimated.

⁷ War expenditure includes £100,000 for English army of occupation (4,880 men in 1906).

⁸ The tribesmen and clansmen furnish their own arms; that is the reason why the expenses of the State for the militia are so low.

⁹ The two columns for expenditures added do not make the grand total as given, because the army and navy expenses for Belgium and Peru are found combined under total expenditure of their respective columns only.

shows the extent to which the world lies burdened under a load of militarism. Yet it must be remembered that this is only the direct annual expenditure for armies and navies. To this vast sum must be added a very large portion of the national debts of the world, which to a large extent, particularly with the larger debts, and, not seldom absolutely wholly, may be considered war debts. To this must still be added the enormous sums spent, e. g., in the United States, for pensions to officers and soldiers, which are not included in the table. And these are only the public costs. Besides this are the private losses, of life and health and property, incurred by war, besides the incalculable economic loss involved in the diversion of millions of people, in times of peace as well as of war, to the service of the army and navy, a burden which robs many a country for years of its best young manhood and to escape which much of the best young blood of Europe emigrates to the New World. Moreover, no European country pays its soldiers sufficient wages for them to live, save for the barest necessities, without more or less support from their family—estimated in the case of Germany, e. g., to amount at the very least to 100 marks per year, or \$15,000,000 annually. The table also indicates to an extent the uselessness of all this enormous waste if only international agreement as to disarmament can be reached, because in this list will be found countries like Switzerland with

Explanation of Table

no standing army, save a militia, and countries with practically no navy, like Belgium; which, altho adjoining countries bristling with guns, are as safe or safer than those countries, simply by virtue of international agreement. In making comparisons, however, between countries, even as to the per-capita military expenditure, the circumstances of each country must be remembered. The U. S., for example, in proportion to the size of its standing army has a much higher expenditure than Russia, because in the U. S. wages are high, and the U. S. pays her soldiers a respectable European wage besides their living, while Russia virtually pays her million soldiers nothing besides maintenance. Other differences between countries must be taken into account. The same amount of money represents very different values in different countries. Nations differ still more in their ability to pay the same per-capita expenditure. Still other differences exist. Only in a very general way can the statistics be considered comparable. We have grouped at the end those countries which on the whole may be said to have no standing army, but depend only on a constabulary or militia. Yet in other countries, which are generally considered to have a standing army, the army really amounts to little more than a constabulary. Again, different countries have very different systems of reserves. Generally speaking, in this table we have only enumerated for their war strength reserves to the age of thirty-two or thereabouts. The real fighting strength of countries like the U. S., with small standing armies and depending in case of war largely on volunteers, it is impossible to estimate. Extraordinary expenses have been averaged. Yet when all is said such a statement, particularly of the per-capita expenditure, and still more of the final totals, have deep significance.

One fact that stands is the very great cost of navies compared with armies, an expenditure in which the U. S. now figures very high.

MILITIA (from Latin *miles*, a soldier) is that portion of the military strength of a nation enrolled for discipline and practise, but local in organization, and only called into actual service when necessary. It is the organized national reserve, and includes the "voluntary" organizations of Great Britain and the United States, the National Guard of France, and the Landwehr and Landsturm of Germany. The British system of volunteers originated in the old Anglo-Saxon *fjrd*, and the warlike features of the ancient *posse comitatus*. The British Government appoints lord-lieutenants of counties empowered to command voluntary organizations or to place a levy by ballot upon all non-exempted persons. As a matter of fact, the volunteers are usually sufficient. The militia of the United Kingdom in 1907 (including the militia reserve, 7,700; yeomanry, 27,638, and volunteers, 337,972) is 495,447.

In the U. S. the militia is under the control of Congress in time of war, and in time of peace under the states, subject, however, to the consent and general control of Congress. As a matter of fact the only effective militia are the uniformed voluntary organizations maintained in many of the states as National or State Guards.

In the War of the Revolution there were 231,971 continentals or regulars and 56,163 militia. In the War of the Rebellion there were received into service 2,690,401 men; when hostilities ceased there were 1,000,516 men in service, of whom 978,000 were volunteers, and the national enrolment at the same time exhibited an available reserve of 2,254,063 men. In 1907 the National Guards numbered about 115,000 officers and men. The number liable to serve is about 16,000,000, but are untrained.

MILL, JAMES: Man of letters; economist; born near Montrose, Scotland, 1773; educated at the University of Edinburgh. Was licensed as a preacher in Scottish National Church, 1798; but, changing his religious views, became a tutor in the family of Sir John Stuart, and accompanied him to London in 1802 to begin a literary life.

His first venture was a periodical entitled *The Literary Journal*, in 1803, continued under his editorship till the end of 1806.

In 1806 he commenced his "History of British India," which he carried on along with other literary work, and published in the winter of 1817-1818. The impression produced by this history was such that, in 1819, he was appointed to the post of assistant examiner of Indian correspondence. In 1832 appointed head of the examiner's office, where he had the control of all the departments of Indian administration—political, judicial, and financial—managed by the secret committee of the court of directors. Shortly after appointment to the India House he contributed the articles on government, education, jurisprudence, law of nations, liberty of the press, colonies, and prison discipline to the "Encyclopædia Britannica." In 1821-22 he published his "Elements of Political Economy," a work prepared primarily with a view to the education of his son, John Stuart Mill.

In 1808 he became acquainted with Jeremy Bentham, and was for many years Bentham's chief companion and ally; he was not, however, a mere disciple of Bentham, but a man of profound and original thought and learned in all the departments of philosophy. Between 1806 and 1818

he wrote a great many articles for various periodicals, his principal topics being education, reform, freedom of the press, prison discipline. He contributed largely to the *Westminster Review*. In 1829 published "An Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind." Died at Kensington, 1836.

MILL, JOHN STUART: Philosopher; economist; born in London, 1806; son of the Benthamite philosopher, James Mill (*q. v.*). Educated by his father, he showed phenomenal precociousness, tho subjected to the strictest mental discipline; he is said to have begun Greek at the age of three, and by the age of twelve to have read most of the leading Greek and Latin authors. At the age of fourteen he took a complete course in political economy and then had a year's travel in Europe, and returned to aid his father in literary work, imbibing his father's liberalism and skepticism. He studied law with John Austin, another Benthamite. In 1823 became clerk in the India House, and remained thirty-seven years, rising from grade to grade. The *Westminster Review* was established in 1823 as a Benthamite organ, and Mill began contributing to it at once. In 1843 he published his "Logic" in two volumes; "Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy" (1844); "Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy" (1848), an epoch-making book. In it political economy is no longer "the dismal science" of cold theory, but the practical study how to cure economic evils; tho on the whole of the orthodox school, it is, nevertheless, progressive. In 1859 he published "Liberty," also "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform," "Representative Government" (1861); "Utilitarianism" (1862). "Subjection of Women" was Mill's next work, tho not published till 1869. In 1865 appeared his "Examination of Hamilton's Philosophy." The same year he was elected to Parliament for Westminster, tho he refused to make any canvass for the office. His parliamentary career, however, was short and not marked. His subscription to the election expenses of Mr. Bradlaugh and other independent acts cost him his seat in 1868, and he retired to literary life at Avignon. Here he wrote many articles and essays, and for his last public work was engaged in the starting of the Land Tenure Reform Association. His "Autobiography" appeared in 1873, and created great interest; and in it Mill relates, step by step, the development of his views. Beginning as a Benthamite, and working for the utilitarian greatest good of the greatest number, in the autumn of 1826, he tells us, he suddenly asked himself the following question: "Suppose that all your objects in life were realized; that all the changes in institutions and opinions which you are looking forward to could be completely effected at this very instant—would this be a great joy and happiness to you? and an irrepressible self-consciousness distinctly answered No! At this my heart sank within me. The whole foundation on which my life was constructed fell down." From that change he went on, he tells us, to materially change his views. He adopted what he later found was Carlyle's anti-self-consciousness theory, of happiness not as an end, but to be attained only by having another aim, the happiness of others, or some art, etc. He learned to add the susceptibilities to intellect culture. He came also finally to change his social views to a position where he could say of himself and his wife: "Our ideal of ultimate im-

provement went far beyond democracy, and would class us decidedly under the general name of Socialists. . . . The social problem of the future we considered to be, how to unite the greatest liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all the benefits of combined labor" ("Autobiography," 1873). He died at Avignon in 1873. After his death his essays on socialism were published.

MILLIONAIRES. See WEALTH.

MILLS, BENJAMIN FAY: Social and ethical reform worker; born at Rahway, N. J., 1857; educated at Phillips (Andover) Academy; first graduate of Lake Forest University, Ill.; ordained to ministry in Congregational Church, 1878; pastor Rutland, Vt.; a very prominent revivalist, 1886-97; withdrew from orthodox church, 1897, on account of liberal views; conducted independent religious movement in Boston, Mass., 1897-99; minister of Unitarian Church, Oakland, Cal., 1899-1903; founder and first permanent minister of a new religious organization, the Los Angeles Fellowship, "an Association for the Encouragement of Trustful and Unselfish Living." Editor of *The Fellowship Magazine*. Mr. Mills delivers frequent addresses along constructive religious and sociological lines. He is author of "Twentieth Century Religion," 2 vols.; "The Divine Adventure," "Power from on High," "Victory through Surrender," etc. Address: Los Angeles, Cal.

MILLS, DARIUS OGDEN: American financier; philanthropist; born in Westchester County, N. Y., Sept. 5, 1825. Started on a commercial career in New York City when seventeen years old. He went to Buffalo in 1847 and was appointed cashier of the Merchants' Bank of Erie County. Two years later he removed to San Francisco, whence he traded with the different mining districts. Subsequently he settled as a general merchant in Sacramento, and also bought gold dust. Later he established the banking firm of D. O. Mills & Co., now the leading bank of inner California. From 1864 to 1873 he served as president of the Bank of California. Soon after his retirement his successor caused its wreck and he was called upon to reestablish it. This he achieved within three years. He then returned to New York, where he engaged in real estate and built the Mills Building on Broad Street and three Mills Hotels—establishments where food and lodging can be obtained at a minimum cost.

MILLS, HERBERT ELMER: Economist; born at Salem, N. H., 1861; educated at Universities of Rochester and Cornell. He is author of "The French Revolution in San Domingo" (1891); "Practical Economic Problems" (1893); "The Labor Problem" (1895). Since 1890 Professor Mills has held the chair of economics at Vassar College. Address: Academy Street, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

MILLS, HERBERT V.: Unitarian minister; born 1856, in Accrington. Apprenticed as an engineer, he left this position and eventually became a Unitarian minister, with a chapel at Hamilton Road, Liverpool, and more recently at Market Place, Kendal. He founded the Home Coloniza-

tion Society in 1887, and is now a leading director of the Starnwaite Colony, an experiment at employing the unemployed. (See *LABOR COLONIES*.) Author: "Poverty and the State," and other books and essays.

MINERS' UNIONS (for the United States, see articles *UNITED MINE WORKERS*; *WESTERN FEDERATION OF LABOR*): In Great Britain the miners' unions are among the strongest trade-union bodies. There were in 1904 some 69 unions (50 registered), with 2,197 branches and 501,248 members. Of these the strongest unions are the Durham miners (89,914 members), organized in 1869; the Yorkshire miners (56,690), 1858; the Northumberland miners (23,364), 1863; the Derbyshire miners (24,429), 1880; the Nottingham miners (20,982), 1880; the Lanarkshire, Scotland, miners (25,500) and the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation (33,301), 1897; and the large South Wales Miners' Federation (117,097), 1898. A general (British) Miners' Association was formed as early as 1841, but did not endure, tho for a time largely influential. The present Miners' Federation of Great Britain (organized 1887), including the large majority of the miners, and is one of the strongest trade-union bodies in the world. By its size and strength it plays a leading part in the British Trade-Union Congress and has developed international relations with Continental miners. Historically the miners have always been somewhat in the lead, in reaching early effective organization, in getting the sliding scale and arbitration, in entering political activity, altho doing this before the present socialistic movements, their representatives were elected largely as Liberals, and many of the unions have so continued, so as to form a class by themselves known as miners' members, distinct from the Labor Party, and on most points less radical. (For other countries, see those countries.)

MINIMUM WAGE: On July 18, 1874, Mr. Lloyd Jones, a journalist in active touch with trade-unionists, wrote in *The Beehive*, a labor paper, against the sliding scale then prevalent in many industries, particularly in the Northumberland mines. He declared the sliding scale dangerous and demanded that a minimum wage should be fixed, below which wages should not fall under any conditions. Other writers, notably Professor Beesly, supported Mr. Jones, and ever since the minimum or living wage has been much discussed, and recently widely advocated, especially in England. One of the points in the early discussion was the question whether the State had any right to interfere with the private compensation between employer and employee. This seems no longer a questionable matter since the State has enforced a number of laws embodying this principle—laws passed by legislative bodies in very many countries.

It appears from the studies of Charles Booth in London, and Mr. R. S. Rowntree in York, that about 12,000,000 people in Great Britain alone are living just on or below the level of bare subsistence. The agitation in behalf of a minimum wage has already such an effect that public authorities in England, both central and municipal, have introduced clauses into their contracts to the effect that wages must not fall below a certain standard for specified work. Investigations, however, soon brought out the fact that the law was circumvented, not directly but indirectly, by

the contractors paying a correspondingly lower price on work done for private customers, for instance in the tailor's trade.

The agitation in England is now occupied with the education of the public in this respect and with the passing of laws which will obviate the possibility of acts of injustice like the one just mentioned. It is proposed that all employers be compelled to pay a minimum wage, not in one locality only, not in one line of industry only, but everywhere and in all lines of work. The agitators have found, however, that all well-organized trades had already largely taken care of this matter as far as they were concerned. The question narrowed itself down, consequently, to the unorganized trades and to women wage-earners. The discovery was made, moreover, that the cost of food and clothing was practically the same all over Great Britain, but that rents varied greatly. The agitators propose, therefore, that a central board should be appointed for the purpose of finding out what wages will suffice to maintain workers in physical and mental health in the different localities, and to fix the minimum wage accordingly. It is proposed that local boards will be entrusted with the administration of the Minimum Wage Act—to be passed upon the recommendation of the central board.

The advocates of this plan point to the great success which similar laws have had in Australasia, especially in Victoria and New Zealand, where wages have risen all around instead of the minimum wage becoming the standard wage as some people feared. They point also to the fact that, since the real difference in the cost of living is *rent*, both employers and employees would be willing to go to the country, where this item is so much lower. The direct benefit of such a law would be the decrease of pauperism; the indirect but vastly more important one the increase of physical and mental efficiency of the working men.

Concerning the working of the Australasian minimum wages laws Fabian Tract on "The Case for a Legal Minimum Wage" says:

The New Zealand Arbitration Acts, the effect of which has been the institution of legal minimum rates of wages on the basis of what each trade arbitrated upon will bear, entails upon the members and officials of the Conciliation Boards and the Court of Arbitration a vast amount of labor in settling multitudinous points of great difficulty which would not arise here under a minimum wage law. Some idea of what those labors have been may be formed from the following quotation from "State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand," by the Hon. William Pember Reeves:

"The trades that have come under the awards of the tribunals have been those of the bootmakers, seamen, gold-miners, coal-miners, printers, tailors, millers, carpenters, plumbers, painters, molders, drivers, saddlers, tailors, dressmakers, sawmillers, engineers, ironworkers, furniture-makers, bakers, confectioners, butchers, grocers' assistants, and others of less importance. The questions arbitrated upon have already included most of the hard nuts which students of labor conflicts know so well. Among them are hours

of labor, holidays, the amount of day wages, the price to be paid for piece-work, the proportion of apprentices, the facilities to be allowed to trade-union officials for interviews with their men, the right of employers to engage non-unionists, or to discharge or refuse to engage unionists, the conduct of unionists in refusing to work side by side with 'free laborers,' and pressure exerted by employers to induce them to join a private benefit society."

Yet, in spite of the hardness of the nuts mentioned by Mr. Reeves, they have been successfully cracked without any serious strain upon the machinery provided for the purpose, or any strong or widely spread dissatisfaction arising with the methods adopted.

Again, the Shops and Factories Act of the State of Victoria, Australia, which so far is the boldest experiment entered upon for the stamping out of sweating and industrial parasitism, necessitates an elaborate system of inquiry and inspection

Australian Laws

in each trade brought under the act. The measure, besides being one for the regulation of factories and shops on the ordinary lines, also contains clauses which make it an actual minimum wage law, and accordingly deserves special attention.

The act as passed in 1896 provided for the appointment of special boards to fix wages and piece-work rates for persons employed either inside or outside factories in making clothing or wearing apparel or furniture, or in breadmaking or baking, or in the business of a butcher or seller of meat. Special boards might be appointed for any process, trade, or business usually or frequently carried on in a factory or workroom provided a resolution had been passed by either House of Parliament declaring it to be expedient to appoint such a board. The special boards were to consist of not less than four or more than ten members and a chairman, and to hold office for two years. Half the members (elected as prescribed) were to be representatives of employers and half of employees. If the employers' or employees' representatives were not elected the Governor in Council was given the power to appoint representatives. He was also empowered to fill all vacancies. The members of a board might elect a chairman (not being one of such members); if they did not elect a chairman the Governor in Council might appoint one. The members of these boards were to be paid 10s. per full day, 5s. per half day, the chairman £1 per day with traveling allowances. A board might fix either time rates or piece-work rates, or both; might also fix the hours for which the rate of wages was determined, and the payment for overtime, and in fixing wages might take into consideration the nature, kind, and class of work, and the mode and manner in which the work was to be done, the age and sex of the workers, and any matter which might be prescribed by regulation. A board could settle the proportion of apprentices or improvers to be employed in any process, trade, or business, and the wage to be paid to them; and in fixing such wage might consider age, sex, and experience. The determination of a special board was to apply to every city and town and might be extended by the Governor in Council to any borough or shire or part of a shire. A board could determine that manufacturers might be allowed to fix piece-work rates based on the minimum wage. That is to say, the board, after fixing time wages itself, might leave it to employers to pay a fair equivalent to their piece-workers. The Chief Inspector might, however, challenge any rate so paid, and the employer might have to justify it before the board.

The boards set up for the baking, clothing, bootmaking, shirt-making, and underclothing trades, in spite of intricate complications, found it possible to arrive at determinations which have given general satisfaction. The furniture trade board had the most onerous task, as certain sections of the trade are in the hands of the Chinese, whose idea of honoring factory acts of this kind is to contravene them. Though collusion between Chinese masters and their Chinese work-people to outwit the inspector in matters of wages and hours was glaringly obvious, the cunning of the yellow man was too often superior to that of the representative of the law when it became a question of securing legal proof that the regulations had been broken. Yet even here sweating has been checked to a very great extent, and the conditions of the trade in 1901 were reported as far superior to those prevailing before the establishment of the wages board.

It is important to note that the alleged tendency of a minimum wage to become the maximum has not shown itself. In May, 1902, the Chief Inspector asserted that whereas in the clothing trade, in 1901, the minimum wage for adult males was 45s. per week, the average paid was 53s. 6d. For adult females the minimum was 20s., the average, 22s. 3d. He instanced similar differences in the boot, furniture, and shirt-making trades.

Owing to the favorable results of the working of these six boards, twenty-six other trades have been brought under the operation of the act—among others, the aerated water trade, artificial manure making, bedstead making, brassworking, brewing, brickmaking, coopering, dressmaking, jam-making, iron-molders, pastry cooks, plate-glass making, stonecutting, tinsmithing, woodworking, etc., etc.

By the end of 1904 determinations had been made by the above thirty-two boards, except in the case of the tinsmiths, where the fixing of piece-work rates caused delay. In all cases rises in wages had been made, and in nearly every instance the staff of inspectors reported that the decisions of the boards had been acted upon without any serious friction taking place. In two industries only does it appear that trouble arises. One is the furniture trade, which suffers from the blight of yellow labor. According to the Chief Inspector's report of Dec., 1904, a case of evasion by a white firm engaged in the furniture trade was discovered, and the employer was compelled to hand over to his underpaid workmen the sum of £40 each. It should be mentioned in passing that a weakness of the act is that no provision appears to be made for punishing the men as well as the employers in a case of collusion. The other of the two troubled trades is that of dressmaking. Here dissatisfaction has been caused by the low minimum wage fixt by the board, which, following the example of all the other boards, based its award upon the principle of giving what the trade would bear.

In 1903 a court was created in order that appeals against

the determinations of the wages boards might be heard. By Dec., 1904, only one case had come before the court—an appeal by the employers in the artificial manure industry against a decision fixing a minimum wage of 40s. 6d. The employers were successful, the award being reduced to 36s. This dearth of employment for the Appeal Court may fairly be taken as further evidence that the act is working smoothly.

The Victorian Act, 1896, was intended as an experiment to be tried for three years only. In 1899 it was amended slightly and extended for two years plus a session of Parliament. In 1902, when a sudden dissolution of the Victorian Parliament endangered it, an act was got through again extending its life, this time until 1905. The Chief Inspector of Factories, in Dec., 1904, reported strongly in favor of the act being made a permanent one. Last year (1905) the act was again renewed.

REFERENCES: *Fabian Tract* 128 (1906); Parsons, *The Story of New Zealand*, pp. 787-790.

MINING (for statistics of production, see articles COAL; GOLD AND SILVER; IRON. See MINERS' UNIONS; UNITED MINERS OF AMERICA; WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS):

The following article, contributed by Mr. Peter Roberts, presents the economic and industrial conditions in coal-mining in the United States. (For other countries, see those countries; also WAGES, etc.)

The value of a mine depends upon the cost per ton the coal can be produced, which varies in every mine. In no industry are fortunes made more rapidly and in none are they lost as quickly if conditions are unfavorable. Cost of mining depends upon the depth at which coal is found, the capital necessary to develop it, the purity and thickness of the seam, the ease or difficulty in developing the mine, the amount of water encountered, the character of the floor and roof, the amount of gas encountered, the presence of faults, and the market reputation of the coal. Another item that must be considered is the labor-supply and the quality of the men available.

The capital sunk in the 6,000-odd mines in the U. S. cannot be accurately estimated. In the anthracite industry it takes \$500,000 to sink shafts, develop the mines, and build the necessary equipment to get out the coal and prepare 2,500 tons per day for market. A bituminous mining-plant is not as expensive; the average bituminous plant of the above capacity would not cost more than half the above sum. Of course, it largely depends upon the geological conditions of the coal-fields to be developed. Taking the coal industry in general, it requires a capital of \$2.50 for every ton of coal marketed.

The item of labor expenses is by far the most important in the coal industry. The wages of the mine employees depend upon the price paid per ton and the number of tons mined. Those paid by the day depend upon the amount paid per day, and the number of days worked in the year.

The contests about wages have been long and often. The lowest point reached per ton, in modern times, was in 1897, when miners were paid about forty-five cents per ton for mining bituminous coal. The rate to-day is double that. The wage of day-workers is regulated by the price paid per ton for mining. Skilled workmen get from \$2.50 to \$3 a day, helpers from \$1.75 to \$2. Wages in the anthracite and bituminous mines are about the same to-day, but the length of the work-day in the former is nine hours and in the latter, where the United Mine Workers' Association is dominant, eight hours.

The bane of mine workers is intermittent labor.

Taking the employees as a whole, the average year would not give them 220 days' employment, while years of industrial depression cuts the figure down thirty or fifty days. This is inevitable and caused by the average atmospheric temperature of the year, the change of the seasons, the variation of industrial activity, and the excessive development of mining-plants beyond market capacity.

Intermittent labor is the cause of industrial friction. Three dollars a day for eight or nine hours is good pay for men of the skill and training needed in mining, but as they get only 200 days' work in the year, the annual wage is hardly enough to meet the requirements of a family living according to the American standard of living. If the wages fall from 20 to 30 per cent and coincident with the fall of wage, fewer days' employment at the mines, we see that the \$600 a year may easily be cut one half. These conditions have occurred and may yet occur in the industry and produce the grave crises which have attracted world-wide attention.

Another fact that has aggravated labor conditions in this industry is the advent of so many foreign-speaking men into the industry. More than 60 per cent of the labor employed in the mines of Pennsylvania is non-English-speaking. The Slav, Lett, Italian, and Magyar have a standard of living much lower than the American, hence they are able to work for lower wages, and still save money to enable them to live during days of idleness. This replacement of English-speaking employees has gone on for the last twenty years, so that to-day the majority of the labor force in the industry is from the south-eastern countries of Europe. The competition between these two elements of the mining labor force goes on daily. The mining of coal becomes daily more difficult and the English-speaking miner cannot compete with the Slav or Italian; the one pushes out the other, and mining communities that were once abodes of prosperous English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and German wage-earners are to-day wholly given over to the "foreigners."

The recent immigrants from southeastern Europe have sturdy bodies and willing hands, but they are ignorant, superstitious, unclean, and intemperate. These qualities are prominent in communities settled by them, so that their homes are far from what American homes are, the prevalence of the saloon is astounding, and the record of crime is appalling.

The "foreigners" are found not only in Pennsylvania, but in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Colorado, and West Virginia. Farther south in the Appalachian fields, in Kentucky and Tennessee and Alabama, the presence of the negro and mountain white—men who work for seventy-five cents and \$1 a day—keeps out the "foreigner." Another cause is that, coming to the states above mentioned, the "foreigner" who knows not a word of English can earn from \$1.75 to \$2 a day as soon as he enters the coal-fields.

The truck system is found in many coal operations. It is invariably the accompaniment of individual operators; large corporations, when they come into control, do away with it and run their collieries on a cash-payment basis. The truck system is often a necessity. An operation opened in the mountains of West Virginia, far from towns and inhabited localities, must introduce the truck system. The operator must not

only open the mines but he must also build houses for his employees, secure them the means of subsistence, and keep on hand the articles of comfort and luxury needed by the families. The operator often builds the house of worship and the schoolhouse; every inch of land is owned or leased by him, which is the first condition of the operation. If the operator wishes to exploit his workmen, there is nothing to stop him under these conditions. That operators do so is too well known, but it should also be known that some of the best examples of capitalists' generous dealing toward their employees is found in the coal industry.

The curse of the truck system has been justly denounced and legislated against in many states in the Union, but it should be known that it is found in its worst forms under individual operators, and whatever evils may be charged against large corporations that come into control of large areas of the coal-fields, it should be said to their credit that coincident with their control the truck system is discontinued.

The anthracite coal-fields are practically all under the control of a monopoly. The product is a natural monopoly, and the eight railroads that tap the territory are bound together by a community of interest that makes their policy one.

Railroad interests also control the coal industry in Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Illinois, as well as large portions of Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. The drift of modern times is toward monopolistic control of the coal-fields of the U. S., and what has taken place in the anthracite field will ultimately come to pass in the bituminous fields.

The evils of monopoly are so well known that the average reader can count them on his fingertips. There is another side to the question. Unrestricted competition of coal operators in the anthracite fields was the curse of the industry. Auction sales of coal in New York were common, and the price realized did not pay the cost of mining. The individual operators who sold out to the Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Company in the early seventies of the eighteenth century were bankrupt because of free competition, and the mines were idle when the large corporation took up the properties. The same is true to-day in the bituminous fields where free competition prevails. I know men who have mined coal at a loss, and others who have not made more than three cents a ton on their operations. The system is also wasteful. Under the frenzy of the struggle for existence, individual operators produce recklessly, having no thought of the demand of the market, and thus one of the most precious resources of the country is thrown on the public at prices that make economy impossible. This fuel supply of the U. S. is to secure her the empire of the world in the near future, and altho the present supply is fabulous, yet a thousand years in the life of a nation is not great, and we should mine to-day looking to the interests of the generations yet unborn and the glory yet to be realized in our beloved country. There is no paganism as fatal as that included in the policy "after us the deluge."

If then this source of power is to be conserved for the greatest possible use for the nation, some system should be devised that will eliminate the evils of free competition as well as those of crushing monopolies.

Intermittent Labor

Truck System

Monopolistic Control

Foreign Laborers

The trade of anthracite coal is in a healthful condition and will possibly continue so to the end.

The Coal Trade

The production of the anthracite collieries is at its maximum and it hardly meets the market demand. The latter continues to grow with the increase of population in the New England States, in New York, Delaware, New Jersey, and eastern Pennsylvania; but the production of the collieries will not rise to any appreciable extent, and after staying at the maximum for a time, it will decline. This puts a premium upon anthracite coal, the domestic fuel par excellence, and the future is full of promise to those who hold large areas of the tonnage still to be mined in northeastern Pennsylvania.

The bituminous trade is far from being in a like condition. Competition prevails and prices are often fatal to operators who work their mines on very small margins. The natural tendency in the competitive districts—those of the northern section of the Appalachian fields, and the eastern and western interior—is to drive out the individual operator and bring in the strong corporation. The individual cannot stand the strain of conflict, and the giants invariably agree to divide the prizes.

It is highly important that our industries and manufacturers should have cheap fuel, but it is also important that the contents of our coal-fields should be paid for, that the wear and tear in men and machinery be replaced, that the loss incident to the maiming of some 8,000 persons, and the killing of about 2,000 persons, each year, should be paid for by those who depend for their comfort in homes, and their power in shops and factories, upon the product of the mines in which these men are injured.

PETER ROBERTS.

MIR, THE (from Russian *miru*, concord, peace), is the name of the Russian community of peasants. From the most ancient times the rural population of Russia has been organized into these *mir*s. The land of the *mir* is held in common, the part of it devoted to cultivation being allotted by general vote to the several families on varying terms. Redivisions and equalizations of lots are made periodically; the portion used for dwelling portions is usually theoretically held in common, but practically divided for long periods; the land for grazing is usually undivided. Each *mir* governs itself in all local matters through its elected officers. Widows or women temporarily deprived of their husbands may vote. The land is divided with attempt at equality in proportion to the needs and abilities of each family. Adjacent *mir*s are united into *volasts* or small cantons. The system, however, is changing. (See RUSSIA.) The freeing of the serfs and division of the soil gave each too little land to enable him to live, and the lords are gradually buying or getting it back. The great difference between the *mir* and the *mark* (*q. v.*) is that the members of the *mir* had no voice in the general government. (See MARK; MANOR; PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.)

MITCHELL, JOHN: President of United Mine Workers of America; born at Braidwood, Ill., 1870. Attended, at intervals, the district school. At the age of thirteen worked in the mines; when sixteen he joined the Knights of Labor. During this period he became deeply interested in social and economic subjects and

gave much time to reading, gaining information concerning them. Prominently identified with the United Mine Workers of America shortly after the formation of the association in 1890, he was made an officer for the Illinois district. A member of the legislative committee of the Illinois miners, he assisted in securing the passage of "Gross Weight" and other important mining laws. Elected national vice-president of United Mine Workers in Jan., 1898, in September of that year he was appointed acting president. In 1899 was elected president of the mine workers, and, without opposition, has been reelected to the position every year since; is also second vice-president of the American Federation of Labor. In the great anthracite coal strike of 1902 Mr. Mitchell did splendid service to the cause of labor, and gave to the people of the United States a new conception of the real work and mission of a labor leader. (See COAL STRIKE.) Mr. Mitchell believes in independent political action by wage-workers and trade-unionists, and is a strong advocate of the management of industry through joint trade agreements. He is the author of "Organized Labor; Its Problems, Purposes, and Ideals." Address: State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

MODEL VILLAGES: A term now generally applied to villages or groups of houses, more or less conveniently and attractively built and in more or less attractive surroundings, to provide housing for working people, the houses being either built by some employing firm and leased to their employees, or built by the employees themselves on land sold to them by the firm, or through the aid of some loan fund provided by the firm. The first-named system, whereby the firm owns and leases the houses on favorable terms to its employees, is much the most common system, but model villages based on very various relations between firms and their employees can be found. We give below only examples from such villages which are continually developed.

I. EUROPE

The first model village was probably that of Bessbrook, near Newry, in Ireland, built in 1846 by Messrs. Richardson for the 2,500 workers in their linen-mills. It was a great advance on the hovels of most Irish laboring folk of the day, and many social and educational features with a hall and library were introduced. It has, however, been largely neglected by the present management, tho good houses of 4 rooms can yet be had there for 3s. a week, and 2-room houses for 1s. 6d. a week. The once famous Saltaire, built in 1853, on the outskirts of Bradford, by Sir Thomas Salt, for the 3,000 to 4,000 employees in his woolen-mills, is also now much neglected. Its 1,000 stone houses, built on rectangular lines, on narrow stone-paved streets without any trees, make it far below present ideals, but it, too, was a great advance for its day. A park of 14 acres adds some beauty, and houses with 3 or 4 rooms, scullery, and small back yard can be had for 3s. 6d. Very different, far more attractive, and almost ideal model villages are those at Bourneville, near Birmingham, commenced in 1879 by George Cadbury, Port Sunlight, near Birkenhead, founded by W. H. Lever in 1888, and Earswick, near York, more recently begun by Joseph Rowntree. But these are of

Great Britain

importance enough to merit special articles. (See BOURNEVILLE; PORT SUNLIGHT; ROWNTREE.) Other less ambitious English model villages are Street for the boot factory of the Messrs. Clark, near Glastonbury, with attractive houses with 5 rooms and a good garden for 4s. to 5s. per week, having also a fine village institute, gymnasium, library, and temperance inn. Messrs. Chivres, at Histon, near Cambridge, are doing much the same thing. The 2,000 houses of the Westinghouse Company near Manchester are much less attractive, tho with more improvements (hot and cold water, electric light, etc.), for 6s. to 9s. per week, and with library, bath, club-house, and playground. Vickerstown, opposite Barrow, built by Vickers Sons and Maxim, is even less ideal. Aintree, built by W. P. Hartley, near Liverpool, is more progressive, where small but quite attractive houses with a garden can be had for 2s. 6d. or 3s. 6d. a week. At Cedar Road, near by, also built by W. P. Hartley, small houses can be bought at 12s. 6d. a month for £100, the cost of the houses being £250 to £300.

(For English garden cities, see GARDEN CITIES.)

On the Continent various model villages exist, notably those of the Krupp works in Germany, near Essen, but for these, see KRUPP STEEL WORKS. At Arlen, in Baden, Mr. Ten Brink has erected many cottages, which he sells to his employees with £10 down. The Augsburg Carding

The Continent

and Spinning Company have houses near their mills, with gardens and lawns. Mr. Peters, at Neviges, sells and rents to his weavers houses not themselves attractive, but at low rents and with gardens and fruit-trees. The North German Jute Factory at Schiffbeck lets a few hundred houses at 2 to 3 marks per week. The Badische Anilin and Sado-Fabrik, in Bavaria, in two separate villages provides some 700 families with houses at very low rentals. Messrs. Villeroy and Boch at Mettlach do the same. The United Machine Building Company of Nuremberg has 100 block houses for its 4,000 employees, and for its works at Gustafsberg, near Mayence, some 1,500 houses in 425 separate attractive dwellings, each with a garden. More interesting, however, in Germany are the housing efforts of the State, as at the Prussian State mines at Saarbrück, where toward 50 per cent of the employees, through government loans, have become owners of houses, while even more of interest are the growing number of workmen's cooperative societies, developing houses with the aid of State loans. But on both these subjects, see HOUSING.

In France several firms have erected large numbers of dwellings for their employees which, tho as a whole not very attractive, usually have some garden, and are rented or sold on very favorable terms. Among the firms doing this are the Anzin Mining Company, near Valenciennes (for 3,000 employees); Jules Chagot & Co., of the Planzy mines (1,000 houses); Schneider & Co., of the Creusot Steel Mills (1,200 houses); Harmel Bros., at Warmeriville, near Rheims (182 dwellings); Sainte Bros., at Flexecourt (1,000 houses). Schools and cooperative stores are also started in these villages. The best French model village, however, is Noisiel, sur Seine, begun in 1874, by Mr. Menier. (See NOISIEL.) Italy has an industrial model village at Crispi, near Capriate, Lombardy (mainly block houses), and one built by Mr. Achille Fazzari in Calabrina. The Humanitarian Society of Milan is, however, doing more

(see UMANITARIA). In Austria, Dornbirn, of the Hammerle Cotton Mills, is a very picturesque model village, with small houses among creepers, vines, and gardens of fruit-trees, let at \$25 per year or sold at \$1,000 to \$1,500. Baron Ringhofer at Prague has aided a large number of employees in his machine works at Smichof, to build, through a workmen's dwelling company, and a new attractive village is now being developed.

Holland has a small but very attractive model village, Agneta Park, in Delft, owned by a "Common Property Society," formed in 1887 by Mr. Van Marken, of the Van Marken Yeast and Spirit Works. There is a cooperative store, recreation park, and lake; the houses themselves are attractive, Mr. Marken's own house being also in the village. The tenants, instead of becoming owners of the houses, are given interest-bearing stock in the company.

II. THE UNITED STATES

While the United States as yet has produced no Bourneville nor Port Sunlight, the table accompanying this article will show that not a few American manufacturing companies have done something, at least, to provide more or less model homes in attractive and healthy surroundings for their employees.

The table does not pretend to be complete; nor does it show all that is being done in the way of housing even by the firms which are listed here. Most of the companies here named provide a wider range of houses than this table indicates. They provide, in almost all cases, houses both at higher and lower rentals than are here indicated—houses at higher rentals for foremen and expert artisans earning the higher salaries, and houses at lower rentals, perhaps with three, four, and even more families to a house, for unskilled operatives earning the smaller wages. But to include either of these in our table would be to mislead. Houses with three or four families are not ordinarily to be considered model houses, even tho they be improvements on old-time factory tenements; and high-priced houses for foremen and experts with fancy salaries would not be typical.

The first so-called "model village" in the U. S. does not appear on our list. This was Pullman, erected in 1880-84, ten miles from what was then Chicago, but is now engulfed in the city, and no longer in any sense a model village. It has passed somewhat into a byword, as a failure, because of the paternalism in it practised by the Pullman Company and resented by many of its residents. But it was by no means completely a failure and was in its day a notable step forward. Its eight miles of street, mostly sixty feet wide, all tree-planted, with lawns on either side; its 1,550 red brick two-story houses, with small gardens in front and entries behind; its open square in the center surrounded by an Italian arcade; its stores, theater, church, schools, and library, made it in many ways more of a model village than some we have tabulated on our list. Its failure was not due to financial causes.

One of the smaller model villages of the U. S. is most interesting and most important because it is one of the very few such model villages in America where the workmen mainly buy their houses, and absolutely unique in the freedom and initiative left to the workman. This is Leclaire, Ill., commenced by Mr. N. O. Nelson (*q. v.*), of St.

Louis, in 1890. But for it, see especial article *LECLAIRE*. (See also *HOPEDALE* for the model village developed in the place of that name out of a former Christian Socialist colony. For *Ludlow*, also see *LUDLOW*.)

At *Whitinsville*, Mass., the *Whitin Machine Works Company* has done quite a little for the housing of its employees. If it has not erected a model village, it is largely because *Whitinsville* itself may be called a model New England village.

also represents very large cotton interests and in a large share of the cases, if not in all, they provide houses." Besides these in New England should be mentioned the *Plymouth Cordage Company* of North Plymouth, Mass., the *Peacedale Manufacturing Company* of Peacedale, R. I. (interested also in profit-sharing), the *Willimantic Linen Company* of Willimantic, Conn., and the *Cheney Brothers' silk-mills* of South Manchester, Conn. This last-named place is indeed one of the

"MODEL VILLAGES" DEVELOPED BY MANUFACTURING COMPANIES IN THE UNITED STATES

COMPANIES	Average number of stories in buildings	Number of dwellings	Rent per month	Usual number of rooms in dwellings	Average size of dwellings	Remarks
			Dollars		Feet	
Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., Pueblo, Col.	1 and 2	.....	8-12	4-6	.....	Rent 5 per cent on investment
J. B. & J. M. Cornell Co., Cold Spring, N. Y.	2 and attic	.....	12-15	8-9	30 x 19	2-4 per cent on investment
The Draper Co., Hopedale, Mass.	2	250	8-12	6-8	.....	3-5 per cent on investment
Ludlow Manufacturing Co., Ludlow, Mass.	2	500	6.75-9.50	4-9	31 x 25	Cost \$1,200-\$2,000
Maryland Steel Co., Sparrows Point, Md.	2	800	12	6	12 x 37	7½-11 per cent on house
Nelson Valve Co., Wyndmore, Pa.	2	14	9-16½	6-0	.....	Lots ½ of an acre; mainly sold
N. O. Nelson Co., St. Louis, Mo.	1	100	10-13	3-6	26 x 33	at \$2 to \$2.50 per front foot
Niagara Development Co., Niagara Falls, N. Y. ..	2	112	9-37	4-8	23 x 24	.....
Peacedale Manufacturing Co., Peacedale, R. I. ....	.....	.....	8-12	7-8	.....	.....
Pelzer Manufacturing Co., Pelzer, S. C.	Mainly 1	1,000	2	4	30 x 16	2½-3 per cent on investment
Plymouth Cordage Co., North Plymouth, Mass. ....	.....	.....	7-9	8-9	29 x 28	Houses 90 feet apart
S. D. Warren & Co., Westbrook, Me.	2	96	9-12	5-9	24 x 27	3 per cent on investment
Westinghouse Air Brake Co., Wilmerding, Pa.	2	360	14	5	25 x 30	.....
Whitin Machine Works, Whitinsville, Mass.	2 and 3	600	.....	5-8	24 x 30	4 per cent on investment
Willimantic Linen Co., Willimantic, Conn. ....	.....	.....	5½-8	6	.....	.....

Most of the houses are of wood, modern style, with water, but with bath and other improvements only for the higher rentals. Almost all have very small gardens in front and behind, but usually are built in rows, tho not in blocks.

The company has, however, provided over 500 houses, besides an admirable boarding-house for single men. The houses are built mainly in rows, are neat, and at least an improvement on the old-time factory tenement, tho not themselves attractive artistically, and with too much sameness. Progress, however, is seen in the "New Village," showing that the company has succeeded enough in the plan to go on and improve upon it. About 3 per cent is earned on the capital invested, tho the rents average scarcely one tenth of the wages earned by heads of families in *Whitinsville*.

The *Cumberland Mills Company* of *Westbrook, Me.*, has houses for its employees, but has not built any new tenements for over twenty years, merely keeping up and renting the old buildings at low rents, because the company finds it a better policy to loan money at 4 or 5 per cent to its permanent employees to enable them to obtain their own homes. This allows more freedom and, the company believes, produces better results.

Most of the New England cotton-mills provide some housing for their employees. Indeed, the assistant agent of the *Draper Company* writes that the large cotton-mills of New England located in small towns or villages almost without exception are obliged to furnish housing for their employees. He says: "The *Grosvenor-Dale Company* of North *Grosvenor Dale, Conn.*, a mill with about 3,600 looms, has a large number of houses and takes much interest in this line of work. The *Lonsdale Company* of *Providence, R. I.*, have cotton-mills at various places within a short distance of *Providence*, and in nearly all cases have provided houses. Mr. Robert Knight, of the firm of *B. B. & R. Knight* of *Providence*,

most beautiful industrial villages in the world. It seems one large park of velvet lawns, with some fourteen handsome residences of families of *Cheneys*, and surrounded by the houses of the employees, most of them detached cottages and each in its own garden. The *Cheneys* say they are not philanthropists, only they live there and like to have their homes look nice.

Outside of New England conditions are more varied. Some of the most useful industrial villages are not the most beautiful. The *Pelzer Manufacturing Company* in *Pelzer, S. C.*, supply a thousand cottages for their nearly 3,000 employees, and at the low rent of \$2 per month for a cottage of four rooms, not supposed to make direct return on the capital invested. Yet are the houses of immense value to the cotton operatives of the South and the company is abundantly repaid every year from a pure business standpoint in the increased efficiency and steadiness of their employees. The company aims at "absolute industrial control coupled with a large regard for the general welfare of its employees."

The *Colorado Fuel & Iron Company* provide houses in their forty different mining communities, an immense advance on the rough-and-tumble private shanties of most mining-camps. They are for the most part neat and convenient, with four to six rooms. Special irrigated land is provided where the tenants can raise their own vegetables, and the company does considerably in supplying schools and social clubs.

At *Gary, Ind.*, the *U. S. Steel Company* is spending millions of dollars in developing a new city with a monster steel plant, and is erecting

dwelling-houses of four to ten rooms each and two and three stories in height, for use of the employees. Philanthropy has little part in it. It is a "business proposition," a recognition that good drainage, comfort, and accessibility in workmen's homes are reflected in increased factory efficiency. Saloons and speculators are barred by clauses in the deeds, because liquor saps the energy of workmen. The company will not control the town, putting a premium on property-holding. It will have its own council, mayor, school board, political parties, and it will come as near self-government as the average American town.

REFERENCES: *Model Factories and Villages*, by Budgett Meakin (1905), to which we are largely indebted for the foregoing information; *Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor*, No. 54. See also HOUSING.

MOLINARI, GUSTAVE DE: Belgian economist; born 1819 at Liège. He studied medicine in Brussels, and wrote several works on medicine. Afterward settling in Paris, he turned his attention to political science and economy. Returning to Brussels in 1852, he was made professor of political economy at the Musée Royal de l'Industrie Belge. Since 1881, however, he has lived in Paris as editor-in-chief of the *Journal des Économistes*. With his brother Eugen he founded two periodicals, the *Économiste belge* and *La bourse du travail*. Among his writings are "Questions à économie politique et du droit politique" (2 vols., 1861) et "Comment se résoudra la question sociale" (1896).

MONARCHY (from Greek *μοναρχία*, the rule of one) is the form of government in which the supreme power is actually or nominally lodged in the hands of one person, a king or queen. England is a monarchy, because, altho the King of England is believed by many to have less power in government than the President of the United States, and tho the governing power is in the hands of his ministers, who are subject to Parliament, all government and legislation is in the name of the king or the ruling monarch. Monarchies are classed as limited or constitutional and absolute or despotic, according as the sovereign is or is not limited in his power and functions by the laws or constitutions of the realm. More or less limited monarchies have nearly always existed. From the fifteenth to the close of the eighteenth century monarchies became almost absolute. To-day, except in Asia, absolute monarchy has all but disappeared. Monarchies are usually successive—i. e., their monarchs succeed by inheritance. There have been, however, elective monarchies, where the monarchs were elected, as formerly in Poland. The German Roman Empire was nominally elective, but for many centuries at the last the heir of the monarch was invariably elected. (For the principles involved in monarchies, see STATE.)

MONASTICISM has had large social and economic relations. It doubtless began in the East, but has entered more or less into almost all religious systems. (See ESSENES.) The founder of Christian monasticism is generally believed to be St. Anthony. At first the personal seclusion of individuals was deemed essential, but the isolation became less and less. By degrees the monastery became the school for practical, philanthropic, and social Christian life. The monks

divided their time between manual labor and their devotions, giving to the poor the surplus product of their work. Cloisters for females began to be established. In the eighth century a kind of a middle order between monks and clergy was formed. Most of these had a common house and table; and some branches renounced all their possessions and claimed no private property. Some orders kept schools, and some nursed the sick. In the first part of the thirteenth century the two mendicant orders arose—the Franciscans and Dominicans, the former especially, with its vows of poverty, after the example of its great founder, St. Francis of Assisi, developing great unworldliness and bringing to the lowly great spirituality and practical help. This, however, gradually changed and it was by these two orders that monachism was raised to the height of its power, influence, and prosperity. The poorer members wandered over Europe, instructing the people and attracting general admiration for their sanctity and self-denial. Their advice was eagerly sought in secular and political affairs. They became elevated to college professorships. At last their great influence drew upon them the hostility of the clergy, and their vast riches and prosperity brought about the envy of the nobility, and the ultimate degeneracy and downfall of the monks themselves. Again and again reforms were inaugurated only to be overwhelmed by the growing tide of self-indulgence. Laxity was followed by lust, ownership by avarice, liberality by ungodliness, and honest industry by every manner of corruption. This continued until the general confiscation of their lands and abolition of their privileges, when in a few years no less than 3,000 monasteries were broken up in Europe.

Altho the Reformation rejected monachism, several types of it have been and are still found in Protestantism. In Germany both Lutherans and Evangelicals have formed houses of deacons and deaconesses for the purpose of teaching, healing the sick, visiting prisoners, etc. In the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country various brotherhoods and sisterhoods have been formed at various times, and have recently been somewhat multiplied, imitating to some extent medieval monastic associations with some modern features. Monastic orders, however, have endured and done large work for education and for charity, tho they are opposed to-day and have been or are being driven out of most Roman Catholic countries on the ground of agitating and plotting against the State in its efforts at secular education and democratic government. In connection with the American Roman Catholic Church, there are over 300 nunneries and 128 monasteries. C.

MONEY (see CURRENCY for a historical sketch of United States currency, and BANKS and BANKING; BIMETALISM; CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; FINANCE; GREENBACK PARTY; GOLD AND SILVER; PAPER MONEY, for especial topics): In this article we treat of money in general, describing the economic nature and function of money, with a sketch of the history of money.

To define the word money is both easy and difficult. It is not difficult to define it in almost any one of two or three meanings; but the trouble is that the word is used, and even by writers of repute, in more senses than one, and

Definition

these various senses are so various that no definition can be made to cover them all. It will be necessary, therefore, to give at least three distinct definitions.

1. Money is sometimes used, altho with the least authority, to mean gold and silver or other metal currency, in contradistinction from paper currency. This use is uncommon, and almost never found in economic writings, but is sometimes met with in popular speech.

2. By money is sometimes meant whatever the law declares to be "legal tender" in exchange or in payment of debt. "Legal tender" is that which the law compels a person to receive in payment of debt. This is money in its narrowest sense. It has the "fiat" of government upon it—i. e., government declares or "makes it" to be money. Any man can offer such money to his creditor and compel him to take it at its face value; if the creditor refuse, the debtor is no longer legally liable for the debt. This is the legal sense, and a frequent sense of the word in political economy; but usually, for the sake of clearness, the phrase "legal tender" is used for such money.

3. Money is ordinarily used in political economy to mean any article ordinarily in use as a medium of exchange. It has been said that in this sense "Money is that money does" (Walker). To give a more exact definition, we may use Mr. Walker's, which has been widely adopted:

"Money is that which passes freely from hand to hand throughout the community in final discharge of debts and full payment for commodities, being accepted equally without reference to the character or credit of the person who offers it, and without the intention of the person who receives it to consume it or enjoy it, or apply it to any other use than, in turn, to tender it to others in discharge of debts or full payment for commodities" ("Money, Trade and Industry," p. 4).

FUNCTIONS OF MONEY

The first function of money is to be a medium of exchange. When our earliest ancestors desired to exchange any goods, they did it by direct barter or exchange of goods.

The operation is also called truck (French, *troc*, barter). Among uncivilized races trade is still carried on in this way; a traveler going into the interior of South Africa takes a stock of beads, knives, pieces of iron, looking-glasses, etc., in order that he may always have something which the natives will like to receive in exchange for food or services. People still occasionally barter things in England or the United States, but this is seldom done, owing to the trouble which it gives.

These difficulties have early caused all races at all civilized to adopt some one article as a common medium of exchange or money. Thus, money being exchangeable by custom, or by law if it be legal tender, a man who has any article to sell sells it for money to anybody who will buy it, not having to seek an article in exchange, because, having got the money, he can go and buy whatever article he himself wants from any person who has the article he desires. Thus money fulfils its first function of being a medium of exchange.

A second function hardly inferior in importance to the one just mentioned is that of affording a ready means of estimating the comparative value of different commodities. Indeed, it may

be reasonably maintained that the idea of general value could not be formed without the existence of money. The adoption of some one commodity renders the comparison of values easy. "The chosen commodity becomes a common denominator or common measure of value in terms of which we estimate the values of all other goods" (Jevons).

A third function of money soon develops itself. Commerce cannot advance far before people begin to borrow and lend, and debts of various origin are contracted. One of the most distinctive features of advancing civilization is the increasing tendency of people to trust each other. Now a contract implies something to be done in the future, and for estimating the value of that future act a standard is required; and money, which already acts as a medium of exchange and as a measure of value at a given time, performs a third function by affording an approximate means of estimating the value of the future act, and in this respect may be regarded as a standard of value, or, as it is sometimes said, of deferred payments.

As we shall see later, this is one of the most important uses of money; but now we pass on. Money sometimes also serves a fourth purpose—that of embodying value in a convenient form for conveyance to distant places. Something which is very valuable, altho of little bulk and weight, and which will be recognized as very valuable in every part of the world, is necessary for this purpose. The current money of a country is perhaps more likely to fulfil these conditions than anything else, altho diamonds and other precious stones and articles of exceptional beauty and rarity might be employed.

Such are the main economic functions that money is designed to fulfil.

We pass on to consider what are the qualities that should characterize the commodity we adopt as money. The first quality needed is

**Qualities of
Good Money**

general acceptability. Money cannot discharge its prime function unless everybody, or almost everybody, is willing to accept it. This general acceptability can, however, be secured to a great extent by means of a law making any kind of commodity legal tender—i. e., requiring all who are subject to the law to accept it as a full and final discharge of obligations. If, however, the government chooses an unsuitable commodity, the law will be evaded and barter will be resorted to.

The second quality which it is desirable that money should possess is durability, and that without deterioration. Cattle and wheat are used as money by some savage tribes, but both of these lack this quality. Gold and jewels possess it in a high degree.

The third of the desirable qualities is portability. Cattle are good in this respect, as they carry themselves. Wheat is bad, as its value compared to its bulk is low. Gold is good; but from this point of view diamonds would be still better.

The fourth and fifth of the desirable qualities are divisibility and uniformity. Under the latter we may include that the quality is easily defined. Hitherto jewels have seemed even more suitable than gold for money, but they do not fulfil these requirements. Their value is not easily tested or attested; and to divide them is difficult and destructive of their value. Metals, on the other

hand, are easily coined in any degree of purity. The stamp, edges, etc., serve to prevent wilful mutilation, and as gold and silver possess also the qualities of durability and portability in a high degree, they have, very largely, been adopted as money.

There is, however, a sixth quality very desirable in money, which gold and silver do not possess to anything like the extent that could be wished. This quality may be described as steadiness of value. We have seen that money is generally used as a standard of deferred payments. Now, if the delays in payment were always brief, gold and silver would admirably fulfil this purpose. A hundredweight of gold will exchange to-day for about the same quantity of most other commodities as it would have done six months ago. But if the interval is a long one the fluctuations in the exchange value of gold are very serious.

How this evil can be best remedied is to-day the most discust monetary question. (See CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; BIMETALISM.) We pass on to notice one more desirable quality in money which is what Jevons calls cognizability. He says:

By this name we may denote the capability of a substance for being easily recognized and distinguished from all other substances. As a medium of exchange, money has to be continually handed about, and it will occasion great trouble if every person receiving currency has to scrutinize, weigh, and test it. If it requires any skill to discriminate good money from bad, poor ignorant people are sure to be imposed upon. Hence the medium of exchange should have certain distinct marks which nobody can mistake. Precious stones, even if in other respects good as money, could not be so used, because only a skilled lapidary can surely distinguish between true and imitation gems.

Under cognizability we may properly include what has been aptly called impressibility, namely, the capability of a substance to receive such an impression, seal, or design as shall establish its character as current money of certain value.

We may now consider some of the general principles which govern the use of money, confining our attention to those which apply to all money. (For a discussion of fiat, paper, or representative money, see PAPER MONEY.)

The first principle is that the supreme quality in money is that it should express a standard of value which will not vary. But value (*q. v.*)

Standard of Value

merely expresses the exchange ratio between commodities, and this is always more or less changing. It is impossible, therefore, to get a standard which will never change, and the best that can be done is to approximate this. Which money does this best is disputed; some think it is gold; others gold and silver used together; others paper money issued in certain quantities. (For these various views, see BIMETALISM; PAPER MONEY.)

Secondly, we must recognize the force of habit in using particular forms of money and having confidence in it. Jevons says on this point:

"No one can possibly understand many social phenomena unless he constantly bears in mind the force of habit and social convention. This is strikingly true in our subject of money. Over and over again powerful rulers have endeavored to put new coins into circulation or withdraw old ones, but the instincts of self-interest or habit in the people have been too strong for laws and penalties."

The third principle that we most notice and one of the most important is the so-called Gresh-

am's Law (from Sir Thomas Gresham, who lived in England in the Elizabethan period). This law asserts that when two or more kinds of legal money contend for use in the market, the worst kind of money that is legal will drive the better kinds out of circulation. The reason is simple. When a person pays out any money he inclines to get rid of the worst money he has with which he can legally settle the account. He keeps the best money himself. Consequently the worst money circulates the most and the best is hoarded or driven out of circulation. Hence the necessity of keeping all the money in circulation at par, unless a nation is willing to go to the exclusive use of the worst money.

A fourth principle, and perhaps in modern times the most important of all, is that the quantity of money should be commensurate with the demand for a medium of exchange, because if the amount of money in a country is not increased in proportion to the demand for it, it will rise in value, and thus become a variable standard. Hence the money that is most invariable in value will be that which varies in quantity most exactly in conformity with the demand for it. Hence a currency inelastic in quantity may be the most dishonest money, and a currency elastic in quantity may be made the most honest.

An elastic currency, however, may also be made dishonest. It depends wholly on how it is varied in quantity. So far as quantity is concerned it should vary exactly with the demand, thus, so far as quantity is concerned, being perfectly stable in value. An elastic currency, therefore, at least permits of stability of value; an inelastic currency cannot be honest unless there is no change either in the population of a country or in the use that population has for money. It is not enough merely for a circulation to expand with population, but must expand or contract with the use the population has for money. If a civilization grows more intricate and involved, there are ordinarily more cash transactions, and therefore there is more demand for money. The grave and important questions that arise out of variations in the amount of money are well known. A currency increasing in volume out of proportion to the demand robs creditors, a diminishing currency robs debtors. (See CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; BIMETALISM; PAPER MONEY; SILVER.)

HISTORY OF MONEY

The first money used seems to have been furs and skins. The next stage of society was pastoral, and the corresponding money was cattle or some domesticated animal. The word *pecunia* (Latin for money), whence our word pecuniary, is probably derived from *pecus*, cattle. In uncivilized portions of the world cattle are still used to express value. A wife, a slave, etc., are still said to be worth so many head of cattle. More advanced communities used articles of ornament, such as shells, like the wampumpeag of the North American Indians, or the ring money of many countries. Agricultural or other natural products were used. Tobacco was commonly used for money in the North American colonies; codfish were used in Newfoundland; cubes of pressed tea in Tartary; sugar in the West Indies. The next stage was the use of various manufactured articles, such as a preparation of leather by the

Carthaginians, silk by the Chinese, nails in Scotland, bullets and wampum in Massachusetts.

Metals, however, have been mainly used except in the earliest times. Of metals almost every kind has been used—iron, lead, tin, platinum, nickel, copper, and, above all, silver and gold. Iron has been used until very recently in Japan for small values. In the Homeric age it is said to have been more valued than copper. Tin was probably early used; the first known instance being by Dionysius of Syracuse. It is thought to have formed the first English coinage. It has been used in Mexico and in Java. Roman emperors and English kings struck tin coins. Tin farthings were issued in England as late as 1690. Lead is still more soft, but has been largely employed. It was used in the form of bullets in Massachusetts. Platinum has been used in Russia. It is one of the rarer metals, but very difficult and costly to melt. Nickel is used solely as convenient in making alloys. Copper was one of the first known metals, and is still in use for minor coins everywhere. The earliest Hebrew coins are thought to have been copper, and the metallic currency of Rome down to 269 B.C. was an impure copper or *æs*. It formed the main money of Russia and Sweden in the last century. It is, however, too cheap to have much intrinsic value.

Silver has been the main metal for coinage in historical times. Abraham (Gen. xxiii: 16) is said to have paid out shekels of silver, tho this was a weight of silver, not coin. Herodotus attributes the first use of coined gold and silver to the Lydians, tho he also says that the first Greek coinage was made by Pheidon of Argos at Ægina (895 B.C.). Metal first passed everywhere by weight, a system said to have been of Assyrio-Babylonian origin. Only later did governments stamp on coins an indication of their weight, fineness, and resultant value

Early Coins

—the hall mark as Jevons calls it. The shape was at first varied—square, hexagonal, octagonal, or round; only later did the round form, and still later the milled edge, prevail to prevent clipping and unconscious loss.

After the fall of the Roman Empire various silver coins were used. Charlemagne undertook to introduce a general system of money based on the silver pound, known in England as the troy pound of 12 oz., but the breaking up of his empire prevented this general use. It passed, however, into England, and the pound was divided into 240 pence (*denarii*), twelve of which constituted a shilling (*solidus*). Twenty shillings thus represented a silver pound. Hence the name "pound." The first English gold coin seems to have been that of Henry III. in 1257, when a number of gold pennies were coined at a value to silver of 10 to 1. The first regular series of gold coinage in England, however, dates from 1344, under Edward III. In France, after the breaking of the empire of Charlemagne, 150 powers are said to have issued money. Debasement of money became the rule in France. The first debasement of coinage established in history is when Solon (599 B.C.) debased the quantity of silver in the Athenian coins over 25 per cent. Professor Bastable, in an article in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," thinks it to have been successful, and probably necessary. It was probably not the only Greek debasement, and in Roman history debasement of the coinage was frequent.

Debasements

The first debasement in English history was in 1300, when Edward I. slightly debased the silver coinage. The practise, however, became common, especially from 1543-52, under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. It wholly ceased, however, after the sixteenth century. Scotch coins were much more debased than English. In France, debasements did not stop with the sixteenth century.

These depreciations point to the very variable value of metallic money. Allison, in his "History of Europe," says:

The two greatest events in the history of mankind have been brought about by a successive contraction and expansion in the circulating medium of society. The fall of the Roman Empire, so long ascribed in ignorance to slavery, to heathenism, and moral corruption, was in reality brought about by a decline in the silver and gold mines of Spain and Greece. . . . The annual supply of the precious metals—of money—for the use of the globe was tripled; before a century had elapsed the price of every species of produce was quadrupled. The weight of debt and taxation insensibly wore off under the influence of that prodigious increase; in the renovation of industry, the relations of society were changed, the weight of feudalism cast off, the rights of man established.

This is, however, undoubtedly an extreme view. The corruption of the Roman Empire and the incursion of hordes of uncorrupted Germanic tribes cannot be lightly shuffled off as causes of the fall of Rome, nor can the new life of the sixteenth century be so largely attributed to the influx of gold and silver from the mines and treasures of Mexico and Peru. A hundred causes, political, intellectual, religious, and social, led to the new activity of the modern age. Feudalism in England at least was shuffled off before the gold and silver came. The rights of man were not even much preached till long after the discovery of America. Yet undoubtedly the scarcity of money in the Middle Ages and the influx of gold and silver from the New World were potent factors in the history of mankind.

Through the Middle Ages the supply of gold and silver was limited. The report of the U. S. Monetary Commission says:

"At the Christian era the metallic money of the Roman Empire amounted to \$1,800,000,000. By the end of the fifteenth century it had shrunk to less than \$200,000,000."

William Jacob, F.R.S., gives the following table of the amount of metallic money:

A.D. 14.....	\$1,790,000,000
A.D. 230.....	909,000,000
A.D. 410.....	537,000,000
A.D. 662.....	256,000,000
A.D. 806.....	168,000,000

All such tables are more or less conjectural, however; the only fact that is generally accepted being that during the Dark Ages mines were little worked. About 800 A.D. the Moors in Spain began to rework her mines, and are supposed from that date to have counteracted the loss by wear and exportation, and accordingly we may regard the metallic supply as fixt in amount until the next change in the conditions of production, which was the result of the discovery of America. The conquest of Mexico (1519) gave opportunities of working the silver mines of that country, while the first mines of Chile and Peru were almost simultaneously discovered, and in 1545 those of Potosi were laid open. From this latter date we may regard the American supply as an influential factor in the matter, and look upon the stock of money as increasing. The annual addition to the store of money has been estimated as £2,100,000 for the

period from 1545-1600. At this date the Brazilian supply began.

At the commencement of this century the annual production of gold has been estimated as being from £2,500,000 to £3,000,000. The year 1809 seems to mark an epoch in the production of these metals, since the outbreak of the revolts of the various Spanish dependencies in South America tended to check the usual supply from those countries, and a marked increase in the value of money was the consequence. During the period 1809-49 the value of gold and silver rose to about two times and a half their former level, notwithstanding fresh discoveries in Asiatic Russia. The annual yield in 1849 was estimated at £8,000,000. The next important date for our present purpose is the year 1848, when the Californian mines were opened, while in 1851 the Australian discoveries took place. By these events an enormous mass of gold was added to the world's supply. The most careful estimates fix the addition during the years 1851-71 at £500,000,000, or an amount nearly equal to the former stock in existence.

It is from these variations in the quantity, and therefore in the value of money, that the modern history of money takes its rise. The various coins of uncertain value in the Middle

Modern Times

Ages, many of them depreciated by governments, by private money-clippers, or by use, gave occasion to the custom in Venice, Genoa, and perhaps elsewhere, of placing them in so-called banks, having them carefully valued by experts, and the depositors receiving various receipts for the same, which receipts circulated as money, often with a premium above coin, and often enduring even long after the coin deposited in the banks had been seized by ruthless kings or dishonest speculators. In this custom probably lies the beginning of paper money, which henceforth plays so large a part in the history of money, and for an account of which, see articles PAPER MONEY; BANKS AND BANKING; BANK OF VENICE, etc.

Again, in the experience of England with depreciations of currency and in the fall of money values occasioned by the influx of gold and silver when the New World was discovered, is the occasion for the comparatively early commitment of England to the doctrine of gold monometalism (*q. v.*), which has led to the greatest monetary changes and monetary conflicts of modern times. Up to the year 1819 almost all nations, as we have seen, issued coins of both gold and silver, as well as of other metals, and tried to regulate their relative values by royal or governmental proclamations. Altho supply and demand continually tended to change the relative value of the two metals, and altho from about 1760-1810 enormous quantities of silver poured into the world from mines in Mexico and elsewhere (so that in 1800 the world's annual silver product was nearly three times its product in 1700), the actual alteration in the relative values aforesaid was but slight. In 1803, therefore, France adopted her famous law making fifteen parts and a half of silver equal to one part of gold in all transactions. England, however, in 1816, under the second Lord Liverpool, took an opposite course, and demonetized silver as a standard.

From this time on the history of money becomes the history of the bimetallic controversy, for which we refer our readers to the article

BIMETALISM; also see PAPER MONEY. (For the history of money in the U. S., see CURRENCY.)

REFERENCES: W. S. Jevons, *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange* (1879); F. A. Walker, *Money* (1878); W. G. Sumner, *History of American Currency* (1878); E. B. Andrews, *An Honest Dollar*; A. J. Fonda, *Honest Money* (1895); J. S. Nicholson, *A Treatise on Money* (1901); H. White, *Money and Banking* (1902). See also BIMETALISM.

MONEY, L. G. CHIOZZA: Member British Parliament, and publicist; born, 1870, at Genoa, Italy; son of an English mother and Anglo-Italian father; an aunt gave him the name Money. He has long lived in London. He was left a full orphan at the age of fifteen, and has had to shift for himself since. Nevertheless, he gained a good education, was elected a member of the Royal Statistical Society, and became prominent in that body through the suggestion to revise the Board of Trade returns in 1902. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament as a Liberal member for North Paddington, but continues his Socialistic activity. He is author of "Riches and Poverty"; "Through Preference to Protection"; "Elements of the Fiscal Problem"; "British Trade and the Zollverein Issue." Address: Chaldon, Surrey, England.

MONOPOLIES. See TRUSTS.

MONTEFIORE, SIR MOSES HAYYIM: Philanthropist; born 1784 at Leghorn, Italy, as the son of Anglo-Italian parents. He was educated in London, and became a member of the stock exchange. He succeeded in his business and banking affairs and retired in 1824 after having made a large fortune. From that time on he devoted his life to the amelioration of the Jewish race, particularly to the removal of their civil disabilities in England. He was personally so well liked that he was elected High Sheriff of Kent, and Sheriff of London in 1837. He was knighted the same year, and made a baronet in 1846. Between 1827 and 1875 he made seven journeys to the Orient in order to find out what could be done for his coreligionists, but accomplished little in a political way, altho personally he was received with the greatest respect. In 1865 he founded a Jewish college at Ramsgate, where he spent the later years of his life, and died July 28, 1885.

REFERENCES: See works by Israel Davis and Lucien Wolf on *Sir Moses Montefiore*, London, 1884.

MONTESQUIEU, CHARLES LOUIS DE SECONDAT, BARON DE: Philosopher and political economist; born near Bordeaux, France, 1689; educated at the oratorian college of Juilly and the Academy of Bordeaux. During his studies at Bordeaux he entered the Council of Bordeaux, and in 1716 became its president. Under the influence of Newton he interested himself in natural science. In 1721 he produced the "Lettres Persanes," a satire by a supposed Persian traveler in France on French society. In 1725 the "Temple de Gnide," an allegorical prose poem; was now elected to the Academy, but did not take his seat till 1728; traveled in Germany and Italy, and spent two years in England studying social institutions; wrote several minor political works preparatory to his masterpiece, "L'Esprit des Lois" (1748). Its character is indicated by its full title: "On the Spirit of Laws; or, the Necessary Relations Between a Country's Laws and the Nature of its Government, its Manners, Climate, Religion, Commerce,"

etc. It was received with great enthusiasm, and ran through twenty-two editions in a year and a half. To the objections it called forth Montesquieu replied in his "Défense de l'Esprit des Lois" (1750). Montesquieu died in 1755. (For his main teachings, see POLITICAL SCIENCE.)

MONTES DE PIETÉ (from It. *monte di pietà*, fund of pity): Institutions established by public authority for lending money at moderate rates on the security of goods. They originated in Italy in the fifteenth century to counteract the usurious practises of the Jewish money-lenders. (See PAWN-SHOPS.)

MORAL ELEMENT IN SOCIAL REFORM, THE: Perhaps no characteristic of the present efforts for social reform is more hopeful and more important than the deepening emphasis now placed—however far we may yet be from placing all the emphasis we ought—on the moral element in social reform. A hundred years ago the keyword in social reform was "natural rights," and in economics "*laissez-faire*." To-day the keyword in reform is "cooperation," and in economics "character." If this may seem to some too optimistic a view, we remind them that individualist, Socialist, and even anarchist reformers all seek cooperation, while in economics the reason why individualist economists fear socialism is that they believe that it will deteriorate character, and the reason why Socialist economists seek socialism is their belief that under individualism character is deteriorating. Undoubtedly there are also evil signs to-day. Many Socialist reformers come perilously near to an unethical materialism, and many individualist economists approach a cynical belief that the only thing which can be counted on to dominate activity is a material self-interest. Doubtless, too, it is possible to minimize the moral element which existed 100 years ago. If the doctrine of "natural rights" (*q. v.*) produced the French and perhaps the American Revolution, it was often striven for with a devotion and sacrifice of the most ethical kind. Of the economics of Adam Smith, Arnold Toynbee, who criticizes them, says ("Industrial Revolution"):

Two conceptions are woven into every argument of the "Wealth of Nations," the belief in the supremacy of individual liberty and the conviction that man's self-love is God's providence, so that the individual, in pursuit of his own interest, is promoting the interest of all.

Nevertheless, neither ignoring our own deficiencies nor minimizing the moral element of the past, it must be recognized that economics have been considerably moralized within the century, particularly in England, and that the present wide-spread effort for social reform upon all lines indicates in itself a deepening and a widening of the moral impulse. Under the old political economy, especially with the successors of Adam Smith rather than with Adam Smith himself, men, as Bagehot (*q. v.*) shows, were conceived as simply "economic men," "money-making animals." To-day political economy, particularly of the psychologic school and to a less extent of the historical school, considers man in his full, round nature. Again, the aim of the old political economy was the wealth of nations considered mainly from the standpoint of material production. To-day po-

litical economy gives at least a considerably increased attention to the problems of distribution, and to the good of the working classes. It has become far less of a pure science and much more of a practical art. This change is largely due to Mill, or, at least, becomes first prominent in his work. In the introduction to his "Political Economy" (1848) he says:

The design of the book is different from that of any treatise on political economy which has been produced in England since the work of Adam Smith.

The most characteristic quality of that work, and the one in which it most differs from some others which have equaled and even surpassed it as mere expositions of the general principles of the subject, is that it invariably associates the principles with their applications. This of itself implies a much wider range of ideas and of topics than are included in political economy, considered as a branch of abstract speculation. For practical purposes, political economy is inseparably intertwined with many other branches of social philosophy. Except in matters of mere detail, there are perhaps no practical questions, even among those which approach nearest to the character of purely economical questions, which admit of being decided on economical premises alone. And it is because Adam Smith never loses sight of this truth; because, in his applications of political economy, he perpetually appeals to other and often far larger considerations than pure political economy affords, that he gives the well-grounded feeling of command over the principles of the subject for purposes of practise, owing to which the "Wealth of Nations," alone among treatises on political economy, has not only been popular with general readers, but has impressed itself strongly on the minds of men of the world and of legislators.

It appears to the present writer that a work similar in its object and general conception to that of Adam Smith, but adapted to the more extended knowledge and improved ideas of the present age, is the kind of contribution which political economy at present requires.

Since Mill, political economy has steadily grown "moral." Professor Ely divides the evolution of political economy into three periods. He says ("Introduction to Political Economy," pp. 105, 106):

"Economic goods are first made the primary thing, and they are treated almost as if their production was an independent process apart from the will of man, one extreme writer going so far as to say that the laws governing the production of wealth would be just what they are if man did not exist. The social relations involved in the production and consumption of economic goods are then considered more carefully, and finally the original process is reversed, and it is distinctly asserted that 'the starting-point as well as the object-point of our science is man' (Roscher's 'Political Economy,' vol. i. of Lalor's translation, p. 52).

The definition of political economy found in Mrs. Fawcett's little 'Political Economy' may be taken as a fair presentation of the first class of conceptions. It is as follows: 'Political economy is the science which investigates the nature of wealth and the laws which govern its production, exchange, and distribution.'

The definition of political economy found in John Stuart Mill's treatise may be taken as a tolerably accurate presentation of the second class of conceptions. 'Writers on political economy,' says Mill, 'profess to teach or investigate the nature of wealth and the laws of its production and distribution, including directly or remotely the operation of all the causes by which the condition of mankind or of any society of human beings in respect to this universal object of human desire is made prosperous or the reverse.' Social relations are dragged in through a back door, as it were." As an illustration of the third period, Professor Ely quotes Prof. Henry C. Adams, of the University of Michigan, as saying of political economy, in his "Outlines of Lectures upon Political Economy," that it "treats of industrial society. Its purpose as an analytic science is to explain the industrial actions of men. Its purpose as a constructive science is to discover a scientific and rational basis for the formation and government of industrial society."

The present moral danger of modern political economy is overanalysis. Says Dr. Edward Caird ("The Moral Aspect of the Economical Problem," a presidential address to the Ethical Society):

It is the peculiar temptation of students of science and literature to cultivate a so-called critical spirit—a consciousness of scientific law, that has no tolerance for any form of

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zeal which is not quite according to knowledge or a literary sense, the delicacy and quickness of which is easily turned into faultfinding and intolerance of every thought and feeling which does not express itself in conformity with its own standards. The devil of these modern days is not, as Goethe said, the northern phantom with horns and hoofs, but the spirit which inspires a rabid witch-like frenzy for evil, that mocks the sacred enthusiasm for good; it is the spirit which always denies, which sees nothing but pretense in virtue, nothing but illusion in the higher hopes and faiths of man. This chilling doubt is the shadow that accompanies our advancing knowledge, sometimes taking away the good of it, and making us almost wish for the simpler faiths and unhesitating instincts of an earlier time. . . . It is this that turns science aside into the way of a false realistic analysis, which "has the parts in its hand, but has lost all consciousness of the spiritual bond which united them." It is this which reduces life to its crude elements, and then doubts whether it is worth living; it is this finally that so fills us with the sense of the difficulties and disadvantages of every step to improve the condition of man, that we shrink into isolation and inaction. . . .

This is the devil which is most dangerous to the soul that has been swept and garnished by culture, and which that soul must repel if it would save itself from growing weakness and moral decay. As a class, men of culture are not much in danger of being possessed by a frantic love of evil and hatred of good, but sometimes they are in danger of losing a belief in the greatness of the issues of existence which are hid under its littleness, and in the worth of every human life, in spite of the triviality and meanness of its appearance.

But more than to any advance in academic political economy is the present indebted to the great moral reformers, like Carlyle, Ruskin, Maurice, Mazzini, and Tolstoy. For their position and contributions to social reform, see their respective names; but it is to Ruskin, more than to any other modern reformer, we owe the conceptions that wealth is well living; that the life is more than meat; that man should own property and not property own man. It is to Carlyle that we owe an exaltation of the possibility of man, and the assertion of manhood over social and economic shams. It is to Maurice that the Church of to-day mainly owes her Christian Socialism. It is Mazzini who, more strongly than any, has emphasized duty as greater than rights, and God as above materialism. Tolstoy, more than any other, has taught individualists the greatness of sacrifice. (For a consideration, however, of the moral element in social reform, so far as it has taken the form of Christian thought and effort, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Outside of the Church the deepest contribution to the moralization of reform, except from individuals like the above, has come from the positivist school and from the modern ethical movement.

Said Frederic Harrison (*q. v.*) ("Address on Moral and Religious Socialism," Jan. 1, 1891), the central social maxim of positivism is "to make political interests give way to moral duties." Its aim is a religion of humanity, the service of man. As for the various societies of ethical culture in America and Europe, their avowed object is "the elevation of the moral life of its members and that of the community," and everywhere its societies are calling attention to the moral side of social reforms.

It must be remembered that our subject is the moral element in social reform. It is questioned by some if society is growing moral. (See CRIME.) Says J. M. Whiton ("The Reaction of Ethics upon Economics," address at Yale College, June, 1888):

We are now threatened with moral chaos in the world of trade, as the natural result of that Lucretian vortex of atoms, out of which Smith and his disciples imagined an economic cosmos would come. So dispassionate an observer as Prof. H. Sidgwick, of Cambridge, criticizes "the antisocial temper

and attitude of mind produced by the continual struggle of competition," and inquires "whether the whole individualistic organization of industry, whatever its material advantages be, is not open to condemnation as radically demoralizing." The question is answered by Professor Graham, of Belfast: "Our practical working ethics, as distinct from the ethics of the schools, often grand enough, is narrowed to the lowest egoism and the coarsest moral materialism." . . .

These old questions, newly moved by authorities whom it is folly to disparage, we see seconded on every hand by spectacles which stir the common mind to thinking on the problems thus proposed, as by heightening contrasts between the neighbors Opulence and Indigence, by the purchase of ground for a ten-million-dollar cathedral in honor of Christ, while the slums, where Christ's little ones die in noisome heat by thousands, remain undisturbed, and even lucrative at 35 per cent.

Our political seers, also, have heard the surf through the fog and are crying from their lookout, "Breakers ahead." "Nowhere in the world," says our Professor Sumner, "is the danger of a plutocracy as formidable as it is here. . . . Already the question presents itself as one of life or death to democracy. . . . The task before us is one which calls for fresh reserves of moral force and political virtue from the very foundations of the social body."

Nevertheless, the very recognition of these evils and the effort to meet them indicate an advance. Even our wealthy men, who sneer at social reform, are compelled, as never before, to practise a "gospel of wealth"; and it is among the best signs of the times that never, as now, was philanthropy so criticized for giving to the poor only what it has first taken from the poor, bestowing on universities and charities that which it gathered by avarice and perhaps by fraud.

We are developing, as Mr. H. D. Lloyd (*q. v.*) has asserted, "a new conscience." Long ago Mazzini wrote: "Every political question is becoming a social question, and every social question is rapidly becoming a religious question." Matthew Arnold defines civilization as "the humanizing, the bringing into one harmonious and truly humane life of the whole body of society." If this is not true of civilization to-day, it is at least the present aim and endeavor of social reform.

REFERENCES: The above-quoted essays and addresses; the works of Ruskin, Carlyle, Mazzini, Maurice, Tolstoy, etc. (*q. v.*); *Social Philosophy and Religion of Auguste Comte*, by E. Caird (1885); *Prolegomena to Ethics*, by T. H. Green (1890); *An Introduction to Social Philosophy*, by J. S. Mackenzie; *History of Ethics*, by H. Sidgwick (1892); *Principles of Ethics*, by H. Spencer. (See also CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

MORAVIANS: The Moravian Church, or Church of the United Brethren, the *Unitas Fratrum*, originated in the reformation of John Huss in Bohemia and Moravia in the fifteenth century. Almost crushed out by persecution, it was revived in 1722 at Herrnhut by Count Zinzendorf, and the policy was adopted of propagating its faith by forming missionary semi-communal colonies, which by a quiet fraternal life, joined to a pietistic faith, should influence the world. Since 1732 more than 2,200 missionaries have gone out. These communities celebrated love feasts (*agapæ*, *q. v.*), and in every way developed the fraternal spirit. Since 1856 these fraternal customs have, however, disappeared from Moravian settlements in the United States, about half those in the world.

MORE, SIR THOMAS: Statesman; born London, 1478; became at the age of fifteen page in the household of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Prime Minister. In 1497 entered Oxford University, and afterward studied law at Lincoln's Inn, London, and resided for some years at a Gray Friars monastery. In 1502 he became a judge in the sheriff's court, and also

member of Parliament for Middlesex. Sir James Mackintosh says of him that "he is the first person in our [English] history distinguished by the faculty of public speaking, and is remarkable for the successful employment of it in Parliament against a lavish grant of money to the crown." The occasion referred to was when he persuaded the House of Commons not to grant a supply to Henry VII. on the marriage of his daughter. About 1514 he wrote his famous "Utopia," which was printed in Louvain (1516) under the editorship of his friend Erasmus, and was soon translated into many languages. In 1521 More was knighted and appointed treasurer of the exchequer; in 1523, speaker of the House of Commons. In 1529 he was appointed lord-chancellor in place of Cardinal Wolsey. Having declined to take the oath by which he was required to recognize the validity of the marriage of Anne Boleyn, he was consigned to the Tower of London in 1534. After he had been in prison for a year he was charged with treason in that he denied the king's supremacy as head of the Church, and finally was condemned and beheaded on July 6, 1535. All the accounts we have of Sir Thomas More's life agree in describing him as of unusual greatness, pure-minded, just, and generous, with an inexhaustible flow of sprightly wit; and tho as a statesman bound by his surroundings, yet able to see clearly the evils of despotism and monarchy, and in heart, as is shown in his "Utopia," a democratic republican. In this book More first introduces his readers to a traveler and philosopher whom he meets in Antwerp, just returned from journeys in strange lands; he had started out with Vespucci on his last voyage, but leaving him at the farthest point had pushed on to other strange lands, and finally to the island of Utopia, whose laws and customs imprint him greatly, and which he relates at length to More. The descriptions show a very keen perception of the causes of misgovernment, while the sentiments put into the mouth of the traveler when he is discussing English institutions show that Sir Thomas More was at heart, at all events, a pronounced republican, and one who loved his fellow men rather than institutions. In Utopia all save the old and infirm are expected to labor six hours a day; all goods of every kind are owned in common; and the people choose their houses every ten years by lot, and dine together in large halls. They have no money of any kind, and consider gold and silver as the basest of metals, fit only for ignoble uses. All personal adornment they consider as childish and degrading. Their priests are few in number, but are universally revered for their sanctity and their courage in time of war. There are two religious orders among them, very similar to the Order of St. Francis of Assisi; their endeavor is to purify their souls by engaging in the lowliest and most unattractive labors. Religious intolerance is a thing unknown, as it is the doctrine of the Utopians that belief is largely a matter of environment and birth. There are twenty-four cities in Utopia, equal in extent. The government is largely directed by a council composed of three wise men from each city, who are elected by their fellow citizens. The criminals of the cities are enslaved, and obliged to perform the more laborious and disagreeable work.

MORELLI: French writer of the eighteenth century, of whose life Larousse's "Dictionnaire"

says that absolutely nothing is known, tho according to some accounts he was an abbé and lived at Vitrey-le-François. Several of his writings, however, are known and are important, especially his "Essai sur l'esprit humain" (1745); "Le Prince, les délices du cœur ou traité des qualités d'un grand roi et système d'un sage gouvernement" (2 vols., 1751); "Naufrage des îles flottantes à la Basiliade," a social Utopia; above all, his "Code de la nature ou le véritable esprit de ses lois de tout temps négligé ou méconnue" (1755), a book influential in forming the social theories of the French Revolution, and said to be the inspirer of Babeuf (*q. v.*).

MORISSEAU, CHARLES: Director-General of the Bureau of Industry and Labor, Brussels; born, 1854, at Liège, Belgium; pupil of the School of Mines, Liège University; won his diploma as a civil engineer in 1877. From 1877 to 1882 on duty as mining engineer in the collieries of Mariemont and Bescoup, Belgium; appointed in 1882 chief clerk in Belgian Foreign Office; in 1884 secretary to the Minister for Agriculture, Industry, and Public Works. In 1886 a member and one of the secretaries of the great Committee of Labor, established with a view to reforming labor legislation in Belgium and bettering the conditions of the working people. Became in 1887 head of Bureau of Industry. From 1886 to 1899 helped in the shaping and passage of almost every law or regulation relating to labor, besides organizing and supervising various social inquiries and the general census of industries in 1896. In 1899 was made general inspector of finance to the Mozambique Company and became general manager of the company in 1904. Has now returned to his position as Director-General of Bureau of Labor. Address: Rue Lambermont 2, Brussels.

MORMONISM: The Mormon Church we consider here in its relation to social problems. Beginning in 1831 at Fayette, N. Y., in the preaching of Joseph Smith, Jr., based on a revelation he claimed to have received on golden plates, written, long hidden, and finally revealed to him, by a prophet Mormon. Mormonism claims to be a Christian religion, believing in Christ, in the Trinity, and in the Bible. With "The Book of Mormon" Smith's preaching gained many followers, and in 1831 a prosperous Mormon settlement was made at Kirkland, Ohio, and a temple built. Persecuted here, Smith led his followers in 1837 to Far West, Mo., and driven from there to Nauvoo, Ill., where their numbers reached 12,000 and they were prosperous in every way. A discontented member, however, made trouble. Dissension arose; the civil authorities were called upon, and Smith was shot by a mob from the neighboring region in 1844. Brigham Young, who had joined the sect in 1832, now became leader, and led the community to Council Bluffs in 1845, and in 1847, after an amazing march across the prairies and over the mountains, to what is now Salt Lake City in Utah. When the United States acquired this territory, the Mormons desired to form a new state called Deseret, but Congress would not allow this, and in 1850 the Territory of Utah was formed, Brigham Young being the first governor. In 1852 the practise of polygamy was first openly proclaimed, and even enjoined upon Mormons as a means of grace, tho it is said to have been promulgated within the church in 1843, and is said by some to have been

practised by the leaders from the beginning of the church. This step created opposition through the country, and as early as 1862 Congress took some steps to stamp it out. Little, however, was accomplished. The Mormon priesthood had all the power in the territory, and little could be done. In 1882 stronger efforts were made. The Edmunds Law made bigamy and polygamy in U. S. territories punishable with a fine of not over \$500 and imprisonment up to five years. Any one cohabiting with more than one woman could be imprisoned six months or fined \$300 or both. Any jurymen who believed in polygamy could be challenged. All elections were conducted by a special federal commission, and polygamists were disfranchised; 12,000 men and women—for women had been given the franchise by the Mormon authorities in 1870, and had strongly supported the church—were thus disfranchised. Later, in 1887, all women were disfranchised. Adultery and fornication were made criminal offenses. Witnesses were compelled to testify. Marriages must be fully registered, and all illegitimate children were denied right of inheritance. Special oaths were required from voters declaring that they were not polygamists. By such measures polygamy was broken up, and in 1890 Gentiles for the first time obtained control of the municipal government; 1,100 persons were said to have been convicted of polygamy, and over \$50,000 of church property was confiscated. Finally, in 1890 Pres. Wilford Woodruff issued a pronouncement against polygamy. Brigham Young had died in 1877. Since then the division between Mormons and Gentiles has considerably died away. Intermarriages took place. Social and business intercourse is continual. In 1894 President Cleveland granted amnesty and civil rights to all convicted of polygamy. In 1896 Utah was admitted as a state. The church authorities, however, are still accused of demanding obedience to them in political as well as religious affairs. For the most recent events see below.

The industrial and economic development of the Mormons, or the Church of Jesus Christ or Latter Day Saints, as they are called, is marked. The system seems to be purely paternal, even tyrannical, but industry is encouraged, and all Mormons are given land, none allowed to go in want, fine buildings are erected. Even in the polygamous period only 10 per cent of the people were said to have practised polygamy. Prominent wives and children of plural marriages declared their homes happy. Prostitution was unknown. Favoritism between wives was forbidden. On the other hand pathetic stories are told of the sufferings of the women, and dark massacres, like those of Mountain Meadows in 1857, and other deeds seemingly traced to the door of the leading authorities of the church. The number of Mormons is increasing in all the states near Utah. In 1890 there were reported 144,352; in 1906, 300,000, with 796 churches and 700 ministers.

The most recent public controversy concerning the Mormon Church has been as to the seating of Senator Smoot, a member of the Mormon hierarchy elected to the U. S. Senate. We give a brief representative statement pro and con, as these sum up the whole present status of the controversy.

The Hon. A. J. Hopkins, U. S. Senator from Illinois, a member of the Committee of Privileges and Elections, who joined with three other Re-

publican members of the committee in a minority report favorable to Smoot, says in brief (*The Independent*, Jan. 24, 1907):

The grounds on which the seat in the Senate of Reed Smoot, of Utah, is contested are as follows: First, that he is known to have taken what is spoken of as the "endowment oath," by which he obligated himself to make his allegiance to the church paramount to his allegiance to the United States.

Second, that by reason of his official relations to the church as one of its apostles, he is responsible for polygamous cohabitation, which yet continues among some of the Mormons, notwithstanding it is prohibited by law.

The charge that Senator Smoot is himself a polygamist was never seriously prest before our committee. He is, and always has been, opposed to the practise of polygamy in the church, and in the State of Utah has been one of the bitterest foes of polygamy.

The evidence that was offered on the first proposition relating to the endowment oath was of a character that would receive but little consideration in a court of justice. The witnesses contradicted each other as to the wording of the oath and its character. Some of them were shown to be of bad repute, others mentally unsound, others drunkards, and others who had private grievances that so warped and distorted their opinions and statements that they were entitled to but little, if any, credence.

There were only seven of all the witnesses who testified against Senator Smoot, who attempted to give the endowment oath. These witnesses were contradicted not only by the positive testimony of Senator Smoot himself, but by a great number of witnesses whose character and reputation for truth are unquestioned. In my opinion, the charge relating to the endowment oath was not only not sustained, but the clear preponderance of the testimony showed that there was nothing in that oath that interfered in the slightest degree with Senator Smoot taking upon himself the obligations of a senator of the U. S., and performing faithfully and efficiently the duties of that great office.

Endowment Oath

The senator himself said that he took the endowment oath when he was a youth of eighteen years, and that, as he remembered the oath, there was nothing in it that conflicted with his duties as a citizen of the state or of the U. S., or with his duties as a U. S. senator.

Much has been made by the general public out of the fact that he holds an official position in the church itself, being one of the twelve apostles. Those who would have him expelled from the senate claim that, by reason of this position, he is responsible for polygamous cohabitation, which yet continues among some of the Mormons in Utah. This is the most serious charge that has been prest by those who seek to have him expelled from the senate. To understand fully the nature and character of his position as one of the twelve apostles and his responsibility—or, rather, non-responsibility—for the practise of some of his associates, it is necessary to challenge the attention of the public to the attitude that the government of the U. S. has held toward the Mormon Church, and those who are leaders of the church, in preaching and practising polygamy.

The federal government is in part responsible for the polygamy that we find in Utah to-day. President Fillmore, in 1850, gave both recognition and encouragement to the practises of polygamy in the Mormon Church in Utah by appointing Brigham Young, the head of the church, governor of the Territory of Utah, with full knowledge that he was an open advocate of polygamy and at the time had a number of plural wives. The Senate of the U. S. confirmed that appointment. He was reappointed by President Pierce and reconfirmed to the great office of Governor of Utah by the Senate of the U. S. For many years polygamy was taught by Brigham Young and his followers as one of the doctrines of the church, without any interference upon the part of the general government; and plural marriages were entered into without objection or any legislative hindrance.

There has been much legislation by the Congress designed to prohibit both plural marriages and polygamous cohabitation. The successive acts were fought through to the court of last resort and then came the "manifesto" of Wilford Woodruff, forbidding further plural marriages. At the time it was issued there were 2,400 polygamous families in the Territory of Utah. There were, in 1905, over 300,000 members of the Mormon Church in the State of Utah; of this number there were only 500 polygamous families. Since the manifesto of 1890 very few plural marriages have been entered into by Mormons. Time is the great corrector of this evil. The 2,400 polygamous families of 1890 had dwindled to 500 in 1905. No new polygamous marriages are recognized or permitted by the church.

Polygamous Marriages

From the fact that, under the statutes of 1882 and 1887, the children of plural wives were legitimized, it has been felt unwise by many non-Mormons of Utah to prohibit the fathers of such children from living with, supporting, and caring for them. And if the father was to support, educate, and care for his

children, it seemed to many heartless to exclude from this relationship the mother, who had entered into this relation from the purest motives and at a time when she believed that, in the sight of God and man, she was justified in entering into this relation.

Senator Smoot, by the determined stand that he has always taken, has been one of the great factors in the church in stamping out polygamy. He has not only lived up to the spirit of the laws of our country and the manifesto of 1890 of his church, but has been an active and earnest worker in the church to spread the sentiment that no more plural marriages will be tolerated.

The testimony that was taken before our committee shows that one of the bishops of the church who violated the manifesto and the laws of our country by taking a plural wife outside the limits of Utah, when he returned to the state was prosecuted by Senator Smoot before the courts of the state and was also deprived of his official position in the church by the direct influence of Senator Smoot.

Since Reed Smoot became one of the twelve apostles of the Mormon Church in 1890, the conditions in Utah have been such that Gentiles as well as the Mormons have acquiesced in a polygamous cohabitation with those few remaining who married before the manifesto of 1890.

They have recognized that such polygamous cohabitation is an evil, but that the interests of society will be best subserved by permitting time to eliminate the few polygamous families, comparatively, that yet remain.

The people of Utah have the same right to elect their senator from the Mormon faith that the people of another state have to elect their senator who is a member of the Methodist, Presbyterian, or Catholic Church. The people of Utah have elected him as one of their senators, and I see no valid or legal reason for interfering with the choice of the people of that state.

A contrary view is expressed by the Rev. S. E. Wishard, D.D., a synodical missionary of the Presbyterian Church for Utah, with headquarters in Salt Lake City, said to be a careful man and to know whereof he speaks. He says in brief (*The Independent*, Jan. 12, 1907):

The Mormon hierarchy has violated the oaths and covenant made with the U. S. Government, by which statehood was secured. The president of the church, of whom the authorities of the church declare and teach that "he has the same authority that God has, and by virtue of that authority is in reality a part of God," has sworn before all the country that he is a lawbreaker. Mr. Smoot, knowing that fact, voted to sustain this lawbreaker as the "prophet, seer, and revelator," as "having the same authority that God has."

It is said, "Now and then plural marriages take place, sometimes escaping the law by being celebrated in Mexico." There never has been a man punished by law or disciplined by the church for the crime. Three of the apostles have entered into plural marriages without modestly retiring to Mexico. They have all escaped the law, and that without going abroad to hide their crimes.

Fifteen men control the Mormon people in all the world. Nearly all of them are violating the law, and the three or four men who are kept out of polygamy for a purpose are sustaining the criminals, living in harmony with them, offering no rebuke for lawlessness and crime.

In the days when Utah was a territory, under national government, Congress sent some of these same men to the penitentiary for violating the law of the government. They were amnestied on their pledge to abstain from crime and have violated their pledge. Are they less criminal for violating their own state laws and constitution which they adopted to get statehood and escape control of the laws of Congress?

It will be said that Apostle Smoot is not himself a violator of the law, a criminal, and therefore should not be disturbed. I reply that he consents to the conduct of the criminals, is at one with them, sustaining them in their unlawful conduct, and attempts to reap the benefit of the same. In legal phrase he is *particeps criminis*. Indeed, he is in the Senate of the U. S. by virtue of his support of these men in their crime.

That the hostility of the Mormon hierarchy is not a figment of non-Mormons, an invention of "the bigoted persecutors of Mormons," will be seen by their own statements. The men who speak and teach for the Mormon people shall be permitted to speak for themselves.

1st. "The priesthood . . . holds the keys of Revelation of the oracles of God to men upon the earth, the power and the right to give laws and commandments to individuals, churches, rulers, nations, and the world; to appoint, ordain, and establish kingdoms."—"Key to Theology." Fourth Edition, p. 70, a book published and sold to the people.

2d. The priesthood "is the legitimate rule of God, whether in the heavens or on the earth, and it is the only legitimate power that has a right to rule on the earth."—Apostle John Taylor in "Journal of Discourses," vol. v., p. 186.

3d. "Some may inquire, Is it right, is it lawful, for another

government to be organized in the U. S., of a theocratical nature? Yes, perfectly so."—Apostle Orson Pratt, "Journal of Discourses," vol. iii., p. 72.

The Mormon hierarchy claims to be that theocratical government, and has ruled the people with despotism.

4th. "The day will come when the U. S. Government and all others will be uprooted, and the kingdoms of this world will be united in one, and the kingdom of God [which always means the Mormon hierarchy] will govern the whole earth, and bear universal sway."—Vol. iii., p. 71.

5th. "The kingdom of God [the Mormon hierarchy] is an order of government established by divine authority. It is the only legal government that can exist in any part of the universe. All other governments are illegal and unauthorized."—Apostle Orson Pratt on the Kingdom of God.

6th. "When God sets up a system of revelation, as he has done by the priesthood in these latter days, he sets up a system of government that shall rule both temporal and spiritual matters."—*Millennial Star*, vol. xxiii., p. 214.

7th. "The priesthood will bear rule, and hold the government of the kingdom under control in all things."—"Journal of Discourses," vol. ii., p. 189, Brigham Young.

These quotations, teaching the supremacy of the Mormon hierarchy over all civil government, can be multiplied almost without limit. These teachings claim to be inspired, and have never been repudiated, changed or modified, but practised to their utmost limit. It is to be noted always and everywhere that the hierarchy never uses the phrase "Kingdom of God" as referring to the spiritual reign of Christ, but to the material and political supremacy of the Mormon priesthood as "the only legal government that can exist in any part of the universe."

Apostle Smoot had to get permission, by a law of the priesthood, from the other members of the hierarchy to be a candidate for the Senate. And when that permission was granted the Mormon legislature had only one thing to do, and that was to elect him. He is therefore in the Senate to represent the hierarchy, and not the American sentiment. . . . It will be well for the American papers to make the discovery soon which has been patent to the patriotic people of Utah for many years.

MORRIS, MAX: Fourth vice-president of the American Federation of Labor; born 1866, at Mobile, Ala.; self-educated. At an early age he went to Colorado and found work at various trades. In 1884 he became a clerk and from the first took an active interest in the movement for the organization of that honorable calling. In 1896 was elected international secretary-treasurer of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, a position he has held ever since. Starting with a few struggling unions, by a wise and vigorous policy he has built up an organization numbering 50,000 members. One of the principal benefits largely secured by the association has been the earlier closing of retail stores, a custom now become almost universal. Mr. Morris has served three terms in the Legislature of Colorado. He believes that conditions are changing so rapidly that no set line of policy is to be followed by those seeking the advancement of labor, but every opportunity must be watched for and eagerly seized upon to better the situation and the prospects. Address: 318 Appel Building, Denver, Col.

MORRIS, WILLIAM: Poet; Socialist; born at Walthamstow, near London, 1834. He was educated first at the school of that place, at Marlborough, and at Exeter College, Oxford. In 1856 he was articled to Mr. Street, the architect. He also studied painting, but in 1863 devoted himself mainly to the design and manufacture of artistic household furniture, wall-paper, stained glass, and other decorations. Later on started an ideal factory near Merton Abbey, and founded the "Kelmscott Press," for printing according to the canons of the truest art. In literature he early commenced contributing to the papers, mainly the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*. During the next twenty years he made himself one of the foremost names in modern English

letters, especially in his poems. Now came a change. Up to 1877 he had been, as he called himself, "the idle singer of an empty day." His experience in the commercialism and consequent degradation of modern art now drove him to socialism. In 1885 he was instrumental in forming the Socialist League, and since that time he worked strenuously for socialism, editing and writing for *The Commonweal*, attending meetings and addressing open-air audiences of working men. He published numerous Socialist lectures, tracts, and chants, such as "Art and Socialism" (1884); "Signs of Change" (1888); "Useful Work versus Useless Toil," etc. In 1888 he republished from *The Commonweal* "A Dream of John Ball," a most beautiful Socialist prose poem; in 1892 "News from Nowhere," a socialistic and artistic Utopia; and in 1894, in conjunction with Belfort Bax, "Socialism, its Growth and Outcome." Altho he retired from the editorship of *The Commonweal*, which passed into Anarchist hands, Mr. Morris worked most fruitfully as "poet, artist, and Socialist" until his death, which occurred Oct. 3, 1896.

MOSELY, ALFRED: English economist and philanthropist; born 1855 at Bristol, England. Was educated privately and in Bristol Grammar School. During the Boer War he went to South Africa as a staff member of the Princess Christian Hospital, and was decorated for his services in behalf of the sick and wounded. In 1902-3 he conducted an English commission of twenty-six members to study industrial and educational conditions in the United States, and as a result an important report of their findings was issued. He was a member of the Tariff Commission in 1904, and is author of "Reports and Pamphlets on Industrial and Educational Matters and Economics." Address: West Lodge, Hadley Wood, Barnet, England.

MOSES (Hebrew *Mosheh*): The great leader of the Hebrew race, who led them out of slavery in Egypt and founded the Hebrew theocracy in Palestine. Modern scholarship has thrown grave doubts on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, but few question that Moses was an historical character and one of the greatest leaders and social reformers of the human race. There are traditions of him (Egyptian) in Manetho, (Hebrew) in the "Midrash," and Josephus (Greek) in Philo, tho they are mainly based on the Bible narrative. He was probably born at Heliopolis in the eighteenth dynasty in Egypt, or 1500 B.C., according to the Bible chronology. His social system was a theocratic socialism, based on the fatherhood of God and the unity of the people. Land was considered as belonging to God, and the individual only allowed and protected in its use. The poor and infirm were particularly protected. (See JUDAISM; also the Bible itself: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.)

MOST, JOHANN JOSEPH: Prominent anarchist; born at Augsburg, 1846; moving to Berlin, early became known as a leader of the most violent and anarchistic wing of German socialism in connection with the International; he was driven out of their organization by the Socialists. Expelled from Berlin, 1878, he went to London, and there, 1879, founded the *Freiheit*, an organ of anarchist communism. In 1881 he was con-

demned to sixteen months' hard labor for his incendiary utterances concerning the assassination of the Czar. In 1882 he emigrated to New York, and published his paper from that city. Imprisoned more than once, he became the leading anarchist-communist in the United States. He was the author of "Die Lösung der sociale Frage"; "Die Anarchie"; "Social Monster," etc. He died in 1906.

MOTT, LUCRETIA COFFIN: Woman's suffragist and abolitionist; born 1793 on Nantucket Island, Mass. She was educated at a Friends' school near Poughkeepsie, N. Y., where she met James Mott and married, 1818. She became a preacher among the Quakers, and joined the Liberal or Hicksite Party, 1827, owing to her strong hostility to slavery. After attending the American Anti-Slavery Society Conference, she organized the woman's section of that body. But the feeling for abolition was not universal among the Friends, and when, in 1840, at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, women were excluded, she and Elizabeth Cady Stanton discust plans for a woman's right movement, which they launched in 1848 at Seneca Falls, N. Y. Besides the abolition of slavery and the attainment of woman's rights, she was interested in the temperance movement and other endeavors for the uplift of mankind, e. g., universal peace. She died 1880.

MUENSTERBERG, EMIL: German jurist; author; born, 1855, in Danzig; studied in Zurich, Leipsic, and Göttingen. As assessor in 1882-83 he became interested in social questions and devoted his leisure to the study of national economics and politics at the University of Berlin, as well as to his work of the Poor Board, and has practically since that time been continually absorbed in the study of the theoretical and practical working of the poor-law system. In 1887 was made a judge of the court in Menden, Westfalen, and from 1890-92 was Mayor of Iserlohn. Called by the Senate, in 1892, to Hamburg to reorganize the system of poor-laws there. Dr. Muensterberg afterward settled in Berlin to busy himself with social and scientific work. He was chosen city councilor in 1898, and since that time has been president of the poor board of the city. Particularly interested in public charity organization and the education of public opinion in these matters both by speaking and writing. A member and president of many social and benevolent organizations, and general secretary of the National Conference of Charities. He is author: "Individual-Charity Statistics"; "The Draught of a Civil Code Relating to Charities"; "Rural Poor-Laws"; "A Union of Public and Private Charities"; "Care for the Homeless in Cities"; "Alimony, An Introduction to Practical Charity"; "Woman's Charity Work," etc. Address: W. 10 Dörnberg Strasse, Berlin, Germany.

MUN, COMTE DE: French Catholic Christian Socialist; born at Lumigny, Seine-et-Marne, 1841. He served in the army as an officer of cuirassiers, and took part in the Franco-Prussian War, during which he was made a prisoner. After the war he was active in establishing Christian labor-unions, and abandoned his military career. In 1876 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, and has been repeatedly reelected. At first a royalist, he threw himself into Catholic Christian socialism, and, a brilliant orator, he succeeded in

forming a Catholic party, but without enduring success. In 1888-89 he was a moderate Boulangerist, and since 1892 has been identified with the republicans. In 1897 he was made a member of the Academy. He has written "Discours et Écrits Divers" (1888).

MUN, THOMAS: English mercantilist; born in London, 1571. He amassed a considerable fortune by commerce with the East. In 1628 he had charge of a petition from the merchants of

facts, making possible in Part I. the condemnation of large slum areas and the provision for rehousing at least one half (in London) of the people displaced; in Part II. the dealing with and reconstruction of small slums; in Part III. the erection of workmen's dwellings on any areas. Under these acts English cities have recently done large work. The London County Council has formed a special housing department. *The Municipal Year Book* (1906) gives the following summary of its operations:

HOUSING OPERATIONS OF THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL TO MARCH 31, 1905

	Number of persons displaced or to be displaced from insanitary areas	NUMBER OF TENEMENTS OF						Total number of tenements	Total number of persons provided or to be provided for	Estimated value of land for housing purposes and cost of buildings	Estimated cost of clearance
		One room	Two rooms	Three rooms	Four rooms	Five rooms	Six rooms				
Buildings already completed and occupied		160	2,927	2,381	369	89	3	5,929	31,339	£1,739,117	
Buildings in course of erection		10	231	516	167	119		1,043	7,006	404,888	
Buildings for which working drawings are being prepared		15	364	469	122	1		971	5,304	308,886	
Insanitary areas already dealt with	13,273								14,188		£477,952
Insanitary areas now being dealt with	3,542								3,904		504,700
Street improvements and tunnels—											
Completed	10,583								10,542		
In progress	1,661								2,535		
Totals	29,059	185	3,522	3,366	658	209	3	7,943	43,649	£2,452,891	£982,652
Buildings for which plans are in course of preparation									52,012	2,471,035	
Grand totals									95,661	£4,923,926	£982,652

¹ These are included in other divisions of this summary, and are therefore not included in the total.

Ostend to Parliament; in 1630 he received from the Grand Duke of Tuscany a license to trade in his dominions. He died in 1641. Mun is one of the earliest English mercantilists. His chief work, containing excellent reflections upon supply and demand, and practical conclusions which it would be well for England to apply, is still extant. It is "England's Treasure by Foreign Trade" (probably written in 1630, but not published till 1664, long after his death). It is noteworthy that, in opposition to many mercantilists, he advocated the exportation of gold when a surplus of that metal remained in the country.

MUNICIPAL HOUSING (IN GREAT BRITAIN) (for Germany and other countries, see HOUSING): Housing legislation in Great Britain began with Lord Shaftesbury's Act of 1851, amended and added to, but without large results down to 1882. Under these acts the (London) Metropolitan Board of Works, however, spent £1,325,415 on 16 schemes, selling or letting lots to various companies for 7,026 working-class dwellings, with 14,093 rooms. Birmingham cleared 95 acres for £550,000; Glasgow, 88 acres for £600,000; Liverpool spent £500,000; Greenock, £200,000; and Wolverhampton, £267,862. In the majority of these cases some of the persons displaced were rehoused in dwellings erected by the municipal authorities.

Owing to the expensive working of these acts, however, they were not used much after 1882, and it became necessary to consolidate and amend them by the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, modified by subsequent acts, particularly in 1903.

The principal act as to housing has three main

The largest of these undertakings is that of the Wood Green and Tottenham estate, situated in the parishes of Tottenham, Wood Green, and Edmonton, some six miles from the city, and comprising altogether 225 acres. It is estimated that accommodation for 42,500 persons in cottages and in tenements over shops can be provided on the estate. The cottages, which will be two stories in height, will contain three to five rooms each, and each will have its own garden. It is proposed to take advantage of the River Moselle, which runs through the eastern portion of the estate, and some slightly rising ground upon its bank, which is difficult to build on, to arrange a public garden of about two acres and a quarter, with the river flowing through it. Four other smaller gardens will be arranged on other parts of the site, which will help to preserve the healthiness of the estate. There will be a public library and other improvements, including cheap and easy access to the city.

Besides the housing operations of the London County Council, the city corporation (in the city proper), the Borough Councils of Battersea, Brompton, Camberwell, Chelsea, Hammersmith, St. Marylebone, St. Pancras, Shoreditch, Stepney, Westminster, Woolwich, and other London boroughs have undertaken various housing schemes.

Outside of London, Glasgow, beginning in 1866, has redeemed a tract of 88 acres and, at large expense, built 30 new streets, a large number of houses, which it rents and has thus gained a revenue, slowly paying off the total cost, providing better homes, and giving the city a valuable property. Alexandra Park has been laid out; municipal lodging-houses built. Over

£2,000,000 has been expended. Much work has been done in the erection of block dwellings and lodging-houses for the very poor. These include 527 one-room, 1,165 two-room, 257 three-room dwellings. Altogether, 1,965 dwellings, containing 3,700 rooms, have been erected by municipal action in various parts of the city. The lodging-houses show a profit of 4 to 4½ per cent, and the dwellings give a return of about 4½ per cent. The rent "per 1,000 cubic feet" varies from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 8d. per week, and the cost of building has varied from £70 to £93 per room.

Liverpool by 1906 had demolished a large number of unsanitary houses and erected 1,224 tenements; 118 one-apartment houses; 542 two-apartment houses; 449 three-apartment houses; 115 four-apartment houses, with 13 shops; more tenements are under construction. Rents in these vary from 2s. to 5s. 6d. per week. The total number of rooms completed to the middle of 1905 was 4,058, with 15 shops, and the cost of building, together with the valuation of sites for housing purposes, was £332,000, while the gross annual rental was £16,500. Thus the average inclusive cost was about £80 per room, and the average rent about 1s. 6d. per room per week. The net return on the later dwellings is from £1½ to £2 per cent; and the charge on the rates in respect of rehousing the dispossessed is £6,000 per annum, or a rate of about ¾d. in the pound. This, however, includes the provision of a sinking-fund, which will put the ratepayers in possession of valuable properties at the expiration of periods varying from 30 to 60 years.

Birmingham has undertaken even larger schemes. The first area dealt with was 93 acres in extent. The houses were old and dilapidated, and the death-rate double that of the healthiest part of the borough. The estimated expenditure was as follows: Cost of purchasing properties, £1,310,000; street-making, £34,000; total, £1,344,000. Less value of surplus land, £794,000. Net cost, £550,000. One of the streets formed on the area is Corporation Street, 1,484 yards long, 22 yards wide. The city did not acquire all the properties. It purchased about 45 acres, and 1,867 dwelling-houses out of 3,744 upon the area. About 1,200 were taken down; the remainder were repaired and put in sanitary condition by removing buildings where too crowded, rebuilding conveniences, paving yards, providing proper system of drainage, etc. The greater portion of land acquired has been let on building lease (75 years) for shops and other premises. The ground rents produce about £45,902 per annum, and the rents of premises left standing on the uncleared portion of the land amount to £17,109 per annum gross. The city has acquired other areas not so centrally situated, and has provided thereon 103 cottage dwellings, which more than pay their way.

Manchester has cleared several large areas, and has erected on them block dwellings, tenement-houses, cottages, and a model lodging-house. Plans have been prepared for the development of the Blackley estate of 243 acres on the city boundary, acquired at a cost of £36,646, for houses for the working classes and also for allotments.

Virtually all the larger cities in Great Britain and many smaller boroughs have undertaken similar housing schemes, in proportion to their size. (For statistics of totals, see MUNICIPAL TRADING.)

REFERENCES: See MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

MUNICIPAL MARKETS AND ABATTOIRS:

Markets and abattoirs in Europe are very largely municipal. As a rule, municipal markets are a source of profit to the authorities, but the main benefits derived from municipal ownership are cleanliness, public convenience, and the protection of the purchaser from unsound food. In Great Britain extensive and successful markets are owned by the municipalities of Birmingham, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Bradford, Bolton, Wolverhampton, Exeter, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Shrewsbury, and by the Corporation of the City of London.

Glasgow has the largest cattle market and public abattoir in Scotland. Edinburgh has made excellent provision, too, and, in England, Leeds possesses an abattoir, constructed in 1899, which is a model of what is required in modern cities.

France led the way in the provision of abattoirs and meat markets; Germany has now more municipal abattoirs than any other country in Europe, even the smallest German city having them.

MUNICIPAL MILK-SUPPLY: By the term municipal milk-supply is meant the taking over of the milk industry of a town by the public health authority and its organization in one system, such as the postal service. This would involve the ownership of the farms with their live stock, the treatment and distribution of the dairy produce by the local governing body, and the control of all the conditions of milk production by a committee of the Town Council. Thus the supply of milk would follow the lead set by the chief water-supplies in Great Britain, and would be carried on with a regard for public utility and safety, and not for the ends of private profit.

But the term often implies only a partial municipalization of the milk industry, and in this case it may be meant to imply one of the following:

1. A depot owned and worked by the town authority, receiving its milk either from its own farm or from a privately owned one, and supplying either simple or modified milk for infants who are obliged to be hand-fed. The article supplied may be had either above, at, or below cost price. Such depots are under the control of the Medical Office of Health, and there is always careful supervision of the children being fed and of the sources of milk-supply. 2. Some may imply by the term under discussion simply one or more depots established by the local authority for the sale of pure milk to the poorer classes only, thus insuring the better nourishment, and a higher standard of purity of food, for those who are least able to look after themselves. Such a system has been inaugurated privately in Paris by D. Rothschild, and in Copenhagen by M. Busch.

The movement is commencing in earnest in most European countries and also in America, and represents a revolt against the present unsanitary and disorganized state in which the milk-supply is at present carried on. The recent parliamentary inquiries conducted in Great Britain into alleged physical deterioration of the people, have shown that wide-spread physical unfitness does exist, that the reduction in sixty years of the general death-rate has been considerable (22.4 period 1841-50 to 18.2 in the decennium 1891-1900), while the infantile mortality in the same period shows no signs of reduction, being about 152 per 1,000 births in both periods named. This has led to more inquiry into the part played by the food of the younger generation—of which

milk does or should form an important factor. This inquiry has shown that *for adults* the food-supply has, since the days of the repeal of the Corn Laws, improved in quantity and quality, and has also become less adulterated. On the other hand the decline in breast-feeding has been accompanied by a reduction in the quality and purity of the milk upon which infants were being increasingly fed. A pure water-supply, gained entirely through State and municipal action, reduced the epidemics of the nineteenth century, while milk epidemics are still very serious and common. Thus a movement of the science of public health toward the personal life of the citizen was bound to lay great stress upon the necessity for the immediate reform of the milk-supply.

So far no public authority has taken over the supply of milk as a whole. But there are many instances in the United Kingdom of municipal milk depots for infants. The first depot was established at St. Helens (Lancashire) in 1899; others followed: Liverpool, Ashton-under-Lyne, and Dukinfield in 1901, Battersea in 1902, Leith and Bradford in 1903, and Bromley, Glasgow, and Dundee in 1904. Lambeth and Woolwich are commencing installations. The Finsbury (London) borough has just taken over the depot started under private auspices. In the United States the city of Rochester, N. Y., in 1897, established an infants' milk-supply. Here the control of cows, utensils, bottles, etc., is directly in the hands of the health authorities, and the processes are carried out at the farm. In France the municipality of Lyons has just established a depot in connection with its own farm. In Germany, Spain, and other European countries the movement is spreading, but it is at present worked mainly on private lines with municipal subsidy.

The following facts have come to light: 200 typhoid-fever epidemics have been traced to polluted milk in Great Britain, about 18 epidemics of diphtheria, 73 outbreaks of scarlet fever. In 1901 there were 30,121 deaths from infantile diarrhea—a disease closely associated with a polluted milk-supply. In Brighton, in 1901-2, there were 226 deaths due to the latter cause, and 191 were traceable to the conditions of milk-supply. In the United Kingdom it is estimated that milk is daily being consumed from 40,000 tuberculous udders.

The milk trade, by the very nature of the article dealt with, essentially favors dishonesty. Dirty methods are hidden by the use of chemical preservatives in the milk. But in addition, water is commonly added to the whole milk, or it is "toned down" with separated milk, cream is abstracted, and diluted condensed milk is used as an adulterant also. In 1902 11.6 of the samples taken for analysis in England and Wales were reported against. In London in the same year 15.6 per cent was the number. In Finsbury 25 per cent of samples were adulterated (taking a period of ten years). The Local Government Board of England estimated, in a report, that Londoners were paying £30,000 per annum for water illegally added to their milk.

The problem is how to supply a pure article from healthy cows, passing through as few hands as possible, and this without raising the price. At present the large number of small producers tends to hide the dangers of dirty production, makes it difficult to seize and destroy all diseased

animals, and render contact with dirt and disease much more likely. All these dangers would be eliminated, it is claimed, by the public health authority taking over the whole supply. At present the towns are the consumers and the rural districts the producers, and in these rural districts it is to the interest, both private and on the ground of local taxation, to leave all the sanitary laws concerning milk production unadministered. This is the case now. By municipalization you identify sanitary and financial interests, and make the destruction of diseased animals and the breeding of a sound herd much easier.

More capital expenditure would be needed in the industry, and much more skilled laborers, and this could be made up by the great economies in cartage and general handling which a single system would render possible. F. LAWSON DODD.

REFERENCES: *Infantile Mortality and Infants' Milk Depots*, by G. F. McCleary, M.D., 1905; *Problem of the Milk Supply*, by F. Lawson Dodd, 1904; *Municipal Sanitation in the U. S.*, by Chas. Chapin, 1901. Articles: The Reform of the Milk Supply, by Dr. McCleary, *Public Health*, April, 1905; The Milk Supply of Large Towns, *British Medical Journal*, 1903; The Control of the Milk Supply, by Dr. Newman, *British Medical Journal*, 1904; Milk Supply of Two Hundred Cities and Towns, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1903.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP (for a general discussion of the economic principles involved and the arguments pro and con, see PUBLIC OWNERSHIP. For statistics as to public ownership in Great Britain, see MUNICIPAL TRADING. For municipal ownership in Germany, see MUNICIPALITIES (GERMAN). For the United States, see LIGHTING, ELECTRIC AND GAS; STREET-RAILWAYS; WATER-WORKS. See also BERLIN, BIRMINGHAM, CHICAGO, GLASGOW, LIVERPOOL, MANCHESTER, NEW YORK, LONDON, PARIS, VIENNA): We give here a general outline of the history and development of municipal ownership.

THE MUNICIPAL MOVEMENT

The advance of municipal ownership in recent years has been very remarkable. From 1800 to 1900 public water-works in the United States developed in round numbers from 6 per cent to 60 per cent of the whole number. Of the fifty largest cities in the U. S., twenty-one originally built and now own their own water-works; twenty have changed from private to public ownership, and only nine are still dependent on private companies for their water-supply.

The public gas plants in the U. S. numbered fifteen in 1900 and twenty-five in 1906, a growth of 67 per cent against an increase of 48 for the private gas works. There are altogether 130 public gas plants in this country, but most of them are small affairs, which it is hardly proper to include in this summary.

In 1881 there was but a single public electric lighting plant in the U. S. There are now 1,097, and the latest Census Bureau report (1902) shows that thirteen plants have changed from private to public operation for each plant that has changed the other way.

The municipal ownership of street-railways in this country has scarcely begun, there being as yet only one public plant, the municipal street-railway system of Monroe, La., which was opened for business Aug. 1, 1905, and is very successful, according to the account sent me by the mayor, and the statements published by the street railway journals.

In Great Britain more than three quarters of the water-works are owned by local authorities. More than one half the gas supply outside of London has been municipalized. More than one half the electric lighting plants belong to municipalities, and about one half the street-railway systems are owned and operated by municipalities with nearly 60 per cent of the total track mileage. From Jan., 1894, to March, 1906, the tramways operated by municipalities rose from 2 per cent to 49 per cent of the whole number of tramways in the United Kingdom, and is now over 50 per cent.

The main causes of the movement for the municipalization of public utilities in Great Britain are to be found in the desire: (1) to secure a better and more extended service. (2) To obtain lower rates. (3) To secure for the city the profits of public-service industries. (4) To improve the conditions of labor. (5) To identify the interests of owners and the public and bring into harmony with the public welfare powerful monopoly interests, which in private hands manifest more or less opposition to the public good. (6) To secure to the city, direct, continuous, and complete control of its streets and all monopoly uses of them. In the U. S. the principal causes of the municipal-ownership movement have been the tendencies to overcapitalization, excessive charges, inadequate service, and disregard of public health and safety, manifested by private companies, and their corrupt and demoralizing relations with our governments and public officials.

Except in the supply of water municipal ownership has not yet had a fair chance in the U. S. owing to adverse laws, the prevalence of the spoils system, and the great power and resistance of the private companies. Even where cities and towns have been allowed to enter upon the operation of these public utilities they have been hampered by serious restrictions in regard to the field of operation, the limitation of indebtedness, etc. Very few of the municipalities which have electric-lighting plants are allowed to do commercial lighting. They are almost in all cases confined to the lighting of the streets. If the law permitted them to sell commercial light, they would be able to reduce the cost of production very materially. Even as it is, however, many public lighting plants make an excellent showing. Detroit, for example, and Jacksonville, South Norwalk, Braintree, Holyoke, Duluth, etc.

Public sentiment in Great Britain is almost a unit in favor of the municipalization of street-using monopolies. The recent election in London in which the Moderates gained a signal victory over the Progressive Party has been interpreted by some as a reaction against municipal operation of public utilities. The leaders of the Moderate Party have, however, distinctly declared that they are not opposed to municipal operation of lighting and transit systems, but only to the invasion of municipal trading into the competitive field—municipal banking, insurance, housing, supply of gas stoves, electric fixtures, etc., and to the general *socialistic* policies of the London Progressives. The elections were mainly fought on national issues, the Education Bill, etc., and was in substance a struggle between two national parties for the control of the monopolies.

In the U. S. public sentiment on this question is practically an unknown quantity. In a few cities where the subject has been more or less fully

discussed, public opinion has shown a strong tendency to move in the same direction as in Great Britain. In New York, for example, after a few months' discussion in a single campaign, it is believed that a majority voted for the municipal-ownership candidate for mayor, tho he did not take his seat owing to a fraudulent miscounting of the ballots. In Chicago on direct referendum the public recently voted three to one and five to one respectively in favor of municipal ownership and operation of street-railways and lighting systems and elected Mayor Dunne on a platform calling for the immediate municipalization of the street-railways.

The legislative difficulties, however, and the practical obstacles were too great to be readily surmounted. The companies took advantage of this situation to give the people even worse service if possible than had been afforded in previous years. The result was that the people became so exasperated with the poor transportation facilities they possess and the prospect of endless litigation and obstruction, that they finally accepted as a compromise the ordinances drawn up by Walter L. Fisher, as municipal-ownership counsel for the city in corroboration with the street-railway companies, providing for thorough reorganization of the service under temporary franchises subject to municipal purchase and operation at such time as the legal questions as to the validity of the certificates authorized by the Mueller Law as a means of purchase, and other legal questions involved, could be determined and the city be prepared to enter upon municipal ownership free from the present serious handicap.

There are strong municipal-ownership organizations in some of the larger cities, for instance in New York and Boston, also in Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, etc. There is also a National Public Ownership League with headquarters at 11 St. James Avenue, Boston, and an anti-municipal-ownership organization called the "Municipal Ownership Publishing Bureau," with headquarters at 119 Nassau Street, New York City.

A brief summary of the data relating to public utilities in the U. S. will be found under other headings above referred to. For the remainder of this article we shall confine ourselves to the municipal movement in Great Britain.

GREAT BRITAIN

Municipal ownership in Great Britain, commonly known as municipal trading (*q. v.*), is not in any sense a theoretical movement, save as it is sometimes characterized by its critics as socialism or as it is supported by Socialists and used as an argument in favor of socialism. As a matter of fact, however, it did not come from the Socialist movement; but rather from the mercantile or commercial classes. The larger cities and boroughs in Great Britain are mainly in the hands of business men, who largely make up the personnel of municipal administration, and the movement began with them. Indeed, it was well under way long before the voice of labor was raised in local affairs. Some cities have owned their water and gas undertakings for more than a generation. The later extension of the movement to street-railways, electric lighting and power, and telephone service has been urged as a natural and proper application of a program which has already justified itself in a financial and social way.

Municipal ownership did not come in unopposed. It is still a heated political question, and occupies a large amount of attention at Westminster and in the press; for public ownership is trenching on private business—on the big business of municipal franchises, and here and there on the small business of the manufacturer and retail dealer. The great mass of the people, however, are with the movement, the opposition coming mainly from a comparatively small number of persons most of whom are interested directly or indirectly in public-service companies.

Many trace the beginning of the present movement to Birmingham, in 1873, when Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, elected mayor, induced the city to buy two great private gas plants and to follow this up by other large undertakings. Others consider the present phase of the movement due to the successful experiment of Glasgow in the operation of her street-railways, which the city took over in 1894. The *U. S. Bulletin of Labor*, Jan., 1906, says in brief:

The general reasons assigned in Great Britain for this growth may be classed as follows:

1. A desire for better and more efficient service. With this was the belief that under public ownership rates and charges could be reduced to the consumer and that the earnings could be used for the betterment of the service or the lowering of its cost.

2. These enterprises were felt to be essentially public in their nature, because of their monopolistic character and the lack of that competition which secures low rates and efficient service in other industries. Moreover, they are identified with the city in many ways. The life and comfort of the people, as well as the proper administration of the city's departments, are dependent upon water, light, power, and transit.

3. The street-railway employees were generally underpaid and overworked. Their hours of labor were from seventy to ninety per week, and wages were low. The condition of the men was constantly under the eyes of the public, and forming a numerous body, they could and did make their grievances heard.

4. It was felt that the earnings of such industries should go into the public treasury.

The first undertakings in the line of municipal ownership, in Great Britain as in the U. S., were water-works, owing probably to the large preliminary expenditures involved and the comparatively small profits to be made by private water-works. Glasgow received powers to go to Loch Katrine, thirty-four miles away, for her water, as early as 1855. Manchester, beginning

her water-works in 1847, has purchased Lake Thulmere in the English lake district, 100 miles away, and Liverpool (1877) and Birmingham, inaugurating her system (1904), have gone to Wales, seventy miles from Liverpool. Sheffield and other midland cities have followed suit. London finally bought out her eight great water companies in 1902. (For statistics, see **MUNICIPAL TRADING**.)

As a rule, a better supply of water and a reduction in the charges for it have resulted from municipalization; and the former has without doubt helped toward an improvement in the public health. The success of public ownership and control is to be gaged from this point of view rather than by reference to balance-sheets. Generally, local authorities have not laid themselves

out to make profits out of water-supplies. In many towns no direct charge is made, the cost of the undertaking being included in the general rates (taxes), and in other cases the charge to consumers is supplemented by a water-rate. But it will be seen, however, from the statistics (see **MUNICIPAL TRADING**) that, taken in the aggregate, the municipal corporations of England and Wales are making a fair net profit on their undertakings.

There are at present in the United Kingdom 1,045 municipal water-works and 251 private. (In Scotland there are only 14 private, and in Ireland none.)

The municipalization of the gas in Great Britain has been less rapid, tho the manufacture and supply of gas has been in the hands of Glasgow since 1869, and Birmingham

Gas Supply began municipalization of the supply in 1873. In 1882 the total capital outlay by public authorities for 148 gas undertakings in the United Kingdom was £17,326,183; in 1904, £37,103,279. From annual returns to the Board of Trade, as analyzed in the *Municipal Journal* for March 3, 1905, it appears that the average price of gas from the municipal plants is six cents less than the price charged by the private plants (2s. 8d. as to 2s. 11½d.); the per cent of net receipts of capital outlay is considerably higher, tho a number of cities make no charge for lighting the city, while it is quite universal for them to pay higher wages and allow shorter hours to the employees. It appears, too, that the public enterprises are more efficient, for the net receipts of the local authorities amounted to 7.11 per cent of their capital outlay, as against 5.62 per cent for the private companies; while the operating cost of the municipalities was but 73.14 per cent of the gross receipts, as against 74.42 per cent by private capital.

It is the policy of most towns to supply gas at as low a price as possible. Light is looked upon as a prime necessity, and its widest use for domestic purposes a thing to be stimulated. This is achieved in a variety of ways. Public as well as private authorities aid in the sale of gas-stoves and fixtures. Many cities provide meters with a penny-in-the-slot contrivance, by which the very poor are able to secure a supply of from 25 to 35 feet, consistent with their purse. Manchester offers gas-stoves rent free and sets prepayment meters. Birmingham has a similar liberal policy. Sheffield is one of the five large towns still supplied by a private company, and it is so administered in the interests of the community as to be secure in its position.

The Municipal Year Book for 1906 says:

The principal difference between the public and private results is, as usual, to be found in the greater economy of operation and the cheaper charge to the community. The average toll levied by authorities remains unchanged at 2s. 8d. per 1,000 feet, while that of companies has risen ½d. to 2s. 11½d. If authorities charged at the same rate their net revenue would go up from £2,637,677 to £3,419,768, and the ratio of operating costs to income would fall from 73.14 to 67.74 per cent, while the equivalent return on capital outlay would be 91 instead of 7 per cent. The net revenue of both companies and authorities has increased 12 per cent, but the make of gas by the latter has expanded 33 per cent, while that of companies has only developed 2 per cent.

Municipal street-railways are a still more recent development. For twenty years after the Act of 1870 the cities built the tracks and leased them to private companies to operate. Only three cities, Huddersfield, Blackpool, and Plymouth, operated their street-cars till Leeds and Glas-

gow began to do so in 1894. Since then nearly every important city in the United Kingdom has followed suit except Edinburgh, Dublin, Bristol, and Norwich. Even in London the municipality owns and operates nearly all the street-railways—115 miles out of a total of 128 miles in the county. Says the *U. S. Bulletin* report:

Street-Railways

By a fortunate coincidence these leases, which were worked as horse-car lines, expired at a time when America and Germany had demonstrated the success of electric traction. As a consequence the cities took over the horse-car lines of the companies and then electrically equipped them. In many instances this involved a heavy cost to the cities, for most of the horse-car equipment, as well as the rails themselves, had to be thrown away. The cities, therefore, entered on their workings burdened with the double capital cost for both horse and electric equipment.

By the terms of the Tramways Act of 1870, and later amendments, the municipality was authorized to take over the enterprise, at the end of twenty-one years, on the physical or "then" value of the plant. The tramway companies contested the method of valuation adopted and claimed something for the franchise. In a case which went up from London (*The London County Council vs. The London Street Tramway Company*) the court decided that, as the term for which the franchise was granted had expired, the price to be paid was the physical or replacement value, no payment for franchise value being contemplated by the act. The company claimed £604,090 (\$2,939,804) for depots and 4½ miles of line, but under the decision the arbitrator awarded the company only £101,798 (\$495,400.)

The Board of Trade returns for 1906 show the following statistics for the United Kingdom:

TRAMWAY RETURNS FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1906

	Local authorities	Companies	Local authorities	Companies
			Percentages	
Undertakings owned	175	137	56	44
Miles of line	1,491	748	67	33
Cost per mile of line	£24 9 16	£28 0 72	..	..
Miles of track	2,499	1,009	71	29
Cost per mile of track	£14 8 70	£19 2 50	..	..
Undertakings worked	123	127	49	51
Mileage	1,270	963	57	43
Capital outlay	£31,147,306	£26,305,028	..	..
Receipts	£6,853,486	£3,789,692	..	..
Operating expenses	£4,323,734	£2,512,029	..	..
Their per cent of income	..	..	63.08	66.28
Net revenue	£2,529,752	£1,277,663	..	..
Per cent of return on capital	..	..	8	4.8
Net revenue per mil.	£1.980	£1.365	..	..
Net revenue per car—mile	7.82 cts.	6.86 cts.	..	..
Car miles run	154,965,781	89,183,683	..	..
Passengers carried	1,529,596,438	706,416,339	68	32
Average fare per passenger	2.01 cts.	2.43 cts.	..	..
Operating cost per passenger	1.03 cts.	1.72 cts.	..	..

The returns for 1906 show that out of 2,240 miles of lines in operation 1,993 miles were operated by electricity, 72 by steam, 26 by cable, 4 by gas, and 145 by horse power, and the rest by mixed methods.

About 30 municipal systems are still held by companies under lease, but the number is fast diminishing. The mileage thus leased was 215 in 1906, or about 14 per cent of the total belonging to local authorities. Private tramway concerns decreased by 9 during the year, 7 of them passing into the hands of municipal managements. Municipal systems appearing for the first time under public control in 1906 are those of Pool, South Shields, Erith, Leyton, Littleborough, and Walthamstow.

It appears from the data above tabulated that the average fare per passenger is 14 per cent more for the companies than for the public systems, and yet the companies have a higher percentage of operating cost to income. The average working cost per passenger is less than 1½ cents (1.3 cents) for the public systems, and nearly 1½ cents (1.72 cents) for the companies, or 32 per cent higher operating cost for the companies than for the municipalities. Their capital per mile is

larger,¹ and their net revenue considerably less than for the public systems—the return on capital being 4.8 per cent for the companies against 8 per cent for the municipalities. With 57 per cent of the mileage, the municipal systems ran nearly twice as many car miles as the companies, and carried more than twice as many passengers. Their profits are £1,980 per mile against £1,365 for the companies, and 7.82 cents per car mile against 6.86 cents for the companies. The municipalities realize a very large profit on an average 2-cent fare for the whole group of local authorities operating their tramways, while the companies have a much higher cost and obtain a smaller profit in spite of an average fare of nearly 2½ cents.

Concerning fares the *U. S. Bulletin* report says:

The system of graded fares, or the zone system, is universal in Great Britain.² It is a heritage from the old private companies. The underlying idea is that the passengers should pay for the distance traveled. The routes are divided into stages upon which a fare of 1 or 2 cents is collected. This fare is repeated when the zone limits are crossed. For the total distance carried the fare may run as high as 7 or 8 cents. The system seems to meet with universal favor and there is no tendency to abolish it for a straight 2- or 3-cent fare.

But while the fare for a long ride may be greater than in some American cities, the average fare paid per passenger is much lower. And it is the average fare that indicates the cost of the service to the rider. It should be noted, however, that no transfers are given on British railways, while in the United States transfers are very generally given on city lines.

The average fares in a number of British tramway (street-railway) systems are given in the following table of data for 1906:

MUNICIPAL TRAMWAYS	Average fare per passenger	PRIVATE TRAMWAYS	Average fare per passenger
	Cents		Cents
Glasgow	1.88	Dublin United	2.48
Leeds	2.12	Edinburgh	2.28
Liverpool	2.22	Bristol	2.29
Manchester	2.38	London United	2.88
Sheffield	1.80	Norwich	2.25

The following table, taken from my report on British tramways as a member of the Committee of Four, National Civic Federation Commission on Public Ownership, shows the distances given for various fares by the public and private tramways:

TABLE SHOWING FARES AND DISTANCES IN MANCHESTER AND GLASGOW BEFORE AND AFTER MUNICIPALIZATION.

(From "Municipal and Private Operation of Public Utilities," part ii., vol. ii., pp. 708 and 709; National Civic Federation report, 1907.)

MANCHESTER			GLASGOW		
Company		Municipality	Company, 1894	Municipality, 1902	
Distances in miles	Fares in cents	Distances in miles	Distances in miles	Fares in cents	Distances in miles
....	1	0.72	....	1	0.58
1.21	2	2.10	1.12	2	2.30
....	3	2.61	1.80	3	3.48
2.33	4	3.34	2.20	4	4.59
....	5	4.03	....	5	5.88
3.08	6	4.68	3.23	6	6.90
....	7	5.43	....	7	8.11
6.06	8	6.45	....	8	9.19
5.38	10	....	....	9	10.15
6.29	12	....	....	10	*10.77

* For 11 cents passengers are carried 11.59 miles, and for 12 cents, 12.93 miles.

¹ The Board of Trade figures are not conclusive on this point, however, for the company capitalization includes some buildings and equipment for lines they lease from municipalities, and the returns do not state how much is due to this item.

² The graded system is not quite universal, for the Municipal street-railways of Hull make a uniform 2-cent fare, and the Sheffield city tramways have a zone system with only two fares, 1 cent and 2 cents. Liverpool also has practically a 2- and 4-cent zone system, but all other tram systems in Great Britain, both public and private, have a complex system of fares graded according to distance. The people like that plan and it suits their habits and economic condition. The most of them could not afford to pay 5 cents for a short ride as our people do.

Taking into account the greater distance given by municipal tramways for each penny and the establishment of halfpenny fares in all the municipal systems covered by the table except that of Liverpool, the total reduction of charges due to the establishment of municipal ownership ranges from 50 to 56 per cent in the cities under consideration. In Glasgow fares were reduced about 33 per cent soon after the city took the line, and 50 per cent a few years later; in Manchester public management reduced fares 50 per cent; in Leeds about 40 per cent; in Sheffield, 60 per cent; in Liverpool, 50 to 60 per cent, and on long routes much more than this; the company fare from the center to the suburbs was twelve cents, while the city made four cents the maximum fare on the same routes. In most cases the traveler gets more for two cents on the municipal tramways than he would have had to pay five cents for on the company's cars.

Prior to the establishment of municipal ownership, the average fares were much higher than they are now and the distances given for a given fare were much smaller. The companies as a railway did not go beyond one mile for a penny basis for their schedules, but the municipalities have increased the average distance from one penny to 2, 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 miles, and existing companies, following the lead of municipalities, have increased the average penny route to 1.5, and on one line of the London United to two miles. The average charge per mile is below one halfpenny for the municipalities and one penny for the former companies and three farthings for the present companies.

The municipalization of electricity in Great Britain is more difficult to characterize because it is too recent to show large results. The supply of electricity is regulated by the Electric Lighting Acts of 1882 and 1888, consolidated in 1899. A company or a city or borough seeking to supply a given area makes application to the Board of Trade for a provisional order. This order is usually conclusive, and is made only after a more or

less exhaustive examination of local conditions, needs, and desires, but it is also necessary for the city or the private company to secure a private act from Parliament confirming the grant. Once secured, however, an order or franchise is generally regarded as exclusive. Only in London has some competition been permitted.

Franchises are granted in perpetuity. In the case of grants to private companies, however, the municipality or local authority is given the right under the Act of 1888 to acquire the undertaking at the end of forty-two years, at the physical value.

The local authorities, however, have power to buy out the undertaking before the expiration of forty-two years, and many cities have done so. In this event, payment must be made for the unexpired franchises. In those cases where the cities have so purchased, they have been compelled to pay a big price for the franchise. Says the *U. S. Bulletin*:

In the city of Liverpool the capital invested by the company was but £264,711 (\$1,288,216), but the city paid £400,000 (\$1,946,600) to acquire immediate possession. Leeds took over a private plant in 1898 for £370,580 (\$1,803,428) whose physical value was but £217,420 (\$1,058,074). Sheffield paid £300,688 (\$1,463,298) for a plant whose physical value was but £124,472 (\$605,743). Birmingham paid £420,000 (\$2,043,930) for a £219,000 (\$1,065,764) plant; and the borough of St. Marylebone, London, was compelled to pay £1,212,000 (\$5,898,198), after arbitration, for a plant whose physical value was but £597,172 (\$2,906,138).

The fact that such high prices had to be paid for franchises stimulated many cities to enter the field and erect their own plants in fear of having the field occupied by a private company. It also led many other cities to buy out existing plants in the early years of their existence in order to anticipate the further increase of the value of their franchises.

The following tables give the facts for 1906. The first is from the returns of the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board for London Plants.

They are taken from "Municipal and Private Operation of Public Utilities," part i., vol. i., of the National Civic Federation Report, 1907. The pages are given for each table. This part of the report was prepared by Dr. Milo R. Maltbie.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PLANTS IN LONDON

	Public	Private
Number.....	16	13
Area of supply, square miles.....	55.5	64.5
Population.....	2,550,228	2,225,540
Number of houses.....	324,492	316,081
Ratable value of property in area.....	£16,225,000	£26,065,000
Capacity of plants, k. w.....	54,157	128,175
Load factor, per cent.....	17.43	16.30
Units generated or purchased.....	53,633,987	(?)
Total units sold.....	42,998,318	119,546,734
(a) Light, power, and heating.....	33,816,335	115,332,110
(b) Public lighting.....	9,181,983	4,214,624
Expenditure charged to capital.....	£5,443,524	£12,728,184
Expenditure per k. w. of plant installed.....	£100	£99
Amounts allocated to or available for liquidation of capital expenditure.....	£407,364	£1,373,036
<i>Ditto</i> , percentage of capital expenditure.....	£7.37	£10.14
Total working revenue per unit sold.....	3.02d.	3.37d.
Total costs per unit sold.....	1.50d.	1.52d.
Gross profit on working per unit sold.....	1.52d.	1.85d.
Other receipts less special expenses per unit sold.....	0.09d.	0.08d.
Interest and dividend paid.....	0.92d.	1.50d.
Redemption of loans.....	0.43d.	0.01d.
Transfers to renewals, reserve, etc., funds.....	0.17d.	0.44d.
Contribution in aid of rates.....	less than 0.01d.	.....
Transfer to profit and loss account.....	0.09d.	0.02d.
Average price per unit, including meter rentals and bad debts—		
(a) Private supply.....	3.14d.	3.76d.
(b) Traction.....	.....	1.48d.
(c) Public lighting.....	1.94d.	2.02d.
(d) Total.....	2.89d.	3.34d.

In addition to the electric-lighting companies, some thirty power franchises have been granted to private companies for the supply of current in bulk, the idea being to manufacture and sell to large distributors. These are located in populous areas and are designed to sell current to tramways, electric-lighting enterprises, and large consumers. As a matter of fact, in the majority of cases, these private companies have also secured authorization to supply current direct to small consumers.

The next table is from the *Electrical Times* for plants outside of London:

ELECTRICITY UNDERTAKINGS OUTSIDE OF LONDON

	Public	Private
Number of undertakings.....	196	70
Board of Trade units sold.....	391,324,269	65,819,781
Average sales per undertaking in units.....	1,996,552	940,283
Capital expenditure at end of year.....	£28,884,748	£6,454,998
Capital per plant.....	£147,371	£92,214
Capacity of plants in k. w.....	405,953	72,842
Average capital per k. w. capacity.....	£71.2	£88.6
Average per undertaking, k. w.....	2,071	1,041
Capital per unit sold.....	17.7d.	23.5d.
Maximum load in k. w.....	258,102	44,773
Load factor, per cent.....	17.31	16.78
Revenue from electricity supply.....	£3,677,320	£576,525
Average revenue per unit sold.....	2.25d.	2.10d.
Revenue from meter rents and other sources per unit sold.....	0.06d.	0.21d.
Total revenue.....	2.31d.	0.31d.
Operating expenses per unit.....	1.06d.	1.18d.
Gross profit per unit sold.....	1.25d.	1.13d.
Percentage of gross profit to capital, per cent.....	7.07	4.82
Depreciation or sinking-fund per unit sold.....	0.47d.	0.19d.
Percentage of depreciation and sinking-fund to capital, per cent.....	2.69	0.8
Net profit per unit sold.....	0.78d.	0.94d.
Percentage of net profit to capital, per cent.....	4.38	4.01

The rates charged by the public undertakings are usually below those of the private companies. An opportunity for comparison of results is offered by the public and private enterprises operating in the metropolitan area of London. Fourteen undertakings are in the hands of the local authorities, and 15 are operated by private companies. These enterprises operate in different parts of the city. The average rates charged by 12 of the local authorities reporting was 3.17d. (6.44 cents) per kilowatt hour. The average production cost per unit for the same boroughs, not including interest and sinking-fund charges, was 1.68d. (3.41 cents). The average price obtained by the 15 private companies was 3.45d. (7 cents), and the average working cost was 1.66d. (3.37 cents).—(*Electrical Times*, of London, an authoritative trade publication. Aug. 17, 1905.)

The third statement is from Garcke's *Manual*, a high corporation authority. This table covers the whole United Kingdom:

GARCKE'S TABULATIONS FOR 1904-5

	Public	Private
Number of undertakings.....	182	71
Number of units sold.....	356,759,088	166,101,141
Average number per undertaking.....	1,960,215	2,372,873
Revenue from sale of current per unit sold.....	2.44d.	3.12d.
Total revenue from all sources per unit sold.....	2.57d.	3.39d.
Total operating expenses per unit sold.....	1.21d.	1.59d.
Trading balance per unit sold.....	1.36d.	1.79d.
Bad debts and special charges per unit sold.....	0.06d.	0.03d.
Sinking-fund, depreciation, or reserve per unit sold.....	0.64d.	0.32d.
Net profit: For interest, investment in plant, or payment to the city by public plants; or for interest and dividends by private plants.....	£998,620	£1,009,029
Ditto, per unit sold.....	0.66d.	1.45d.

ably lower in the municipal plants than in the company systems. The public plants put twice as much into sinking-funds, depreciation, and reserve, and do not have to pay out in interest and dividends nearly as much per unit as the companies. Under municipal operation the public gets the benefits which under private operation go to the small body of stockholders.

Of other forms of municipal ownership the *U. S. Bulletin* says:

In various places it has come to include municipal dwellings (*q. v.*), docks, markets, and baths, race-courses, oyster fisheries, slaughter-houses, milk depots, employment bureaus, and sewage farms. The Brighton corporation owns the local race-course, from which it derives a revenue of from \$10,000 to \$15,000 a year. Municipal theaters have been opened at Brighton and Southborough. West Ham manufactures its own paving-stones and sells them to contractors at a profit. Colchester has a municipal oyster bed. Manchester produces soap, oil, tallow, and mortar as residuals from its gas and other industries. Many cities supplying gas deal in stoves and gas fittings. Others, dealing in electricity, wire the houses and supply them with fittings. Southport and Bradford are advocating municipal tailor-

ing establishments to manufacture the uniforms of town employees.

In some of the northern districts of Great Britain proposals have been advanced that the municipalities should buy up coal-mines for the supply of their industries and the relief of consumers. Municipal insurance schemes are finding favor, and there is considerable agitation in behalf of municipal savings-banks and brokerage establishments for the disposal of local securities. A number of cities supply sterilized milk for children, and the ultimate municipalization of the entire milk-supply is being urged. Glasgow maintains an institution for the cure of inebriates. Wolverhampton sells ice to the traders of the town. Most of the cities own markets which yield a large revenue. Torquay breeds rabbits on a water preserve and enjoys therefrom a revenue in reduction of the rates; the city has also undertaken sheep-farming. Tunbridge Wells grows hops for sale. Liverpool cultivates beets. Many cities operate large sewage farms on which are grown supplies for the fire, police, and other departments. The town council of Glasgow has acquired a number of large halls where concerts and entertainments are given. Music in the parks is very generally provided in a number of cities. Baths have been established in many towns.

In Great Britain, as in America, free libraries, schools of art, museums, and technical schools are widely promoted.

Concerning the important matter of administration, it must be remembered that for all municipal activities in Great Britain the town council is the supreme legislative and executive authority. It is a large body,

**Administra-
tion**

its members elected for three years, who in turn elect a limited number of aldermen for a longer period. The mayor is also chosen by the council from its membership with the town clerk, who enjoys large powers. He is the city solicitor, is highly paid, and is an expert official. The members of the council serve without compensation.

The council is divided into large committees, which exercise all of the executive powers reposed in the American mayor and heads of the departments. Through the committees, subject to confirmation by the council, the managers, engineer, and higher administrative officials are chosen. Subordinate employees are appointed by the manager, who is held responsible for the administration of the undertaking.

The merit system prevails in all city employment. It is not enforced by law, but by custom and public opinion. Tenure of office is for good behavior and efficient service. Neither is there a spoils system.

To a considerable extent managers are chosen because of their administrative rather than their engineering skill. Competent engineers are employed by the managers.

The annual reports of the enterprises are very elaborate. They give the administration of the undertakings in detail and are annually presented to the council in printed form. They are widely quoted by the press and carefully studied by the public, who show an intimate acquaintance with the transactions of the council. In many cities, possibly in most of them, membership in the council is highly prized and eagerly sought after. It involves an immense amount of labor, but a corresponding appreciation from the community.

The *U. S. Bulletin* gives the following reasons for the success of municipal ownership in Great Britain:

1. The traditional distinction that attaches to the public service in Great Britain.
2. The magnitude of public work and the importance of municipal enterprise. This makes the town council an attractive field for the business or professional man of ability and the character of the council a matter of interest to all classes. The taxpayer and the voter feel that their interests must be properly cared for.
3. The absence, or at least the subordination, of partizan spirit in local matters and the elevation of the city's welfare over all other issues.

4. The method of nominating candidates by petition rather than by party machinery, the election of councilmen at a separate election when no other issues are before the people, and the limitation of the candidates before the people to the two or more nominees from the ward; for the British elector (aside from the poor board) has but two officials to vote for—a candidate for Parliament and a candidate for the town council. The issue before him is always clear and distinct. To this should be added the fact that there is no organized class that wants anything from the city but good government. There are no franchises to grant, no privileges to give away. In addition, many cities do most of their work by direct labor rather than by contract. They pave the streets, build sewers, construct tram-cars, even build engine-houses and model dwellings by direct employment under the city engineer. There is thus no class whose interest desires the election of either partizan or venal officials. There is no interest that can be organized and no class whose pocket is at war with its civic obligations.

This interest is still further promoted by the fact that every voter is a taxpayer. This, or the possession of real property, is the qualification of the suffrage. Even a lodger can vote, if he pays a certain sum each week, but the predominant element in the English electorate is the taxpaying class. This is almost equivalent to universal suffrage. But the rates or taxes, instead of being imposed on property as such, are imposed on the rental paid. It is a sort of local income tax. The tax is paid largely by the tenant. As a means of stimulating interest in local matters, it is eminently successful. It is this pecuniary interest in every act of the council; it is the hope of gain or the fear of loss, as much as anything else, that explains the jealous watchfulness of local affairs by the public.

The results of the investigation carried on by the National Civic Federation on public ownership during the last two years fully confirm the conclusions expressed by Dr. Howe in the *U. S. Labor Bulletin* quoted above.

While the Commission was in London the Right Hon. John Burns, President of the Local Government Board, which has general supervision of municipal affairs, granted us an audience, and one of the most striking parts of the interview was when he read the following passages from the *Labor Bulletin* and said, "That is a true statement of the results of municipal ownership in this country." Here are the paragraphs he read:

The municipalization of the street-railways was rendered the more natural by virtue of an act of Parliament, passed in 1870, known as the Tramways Act, which authorized the local authorities to lay tracks and then lease them to a private company for operation. At the end of twenty-one years the cities had power to operate the enterprise themselves. Such leases were very generally made in the "seventies" and "eighties," and the systems were worked as horse-car lines. The private companies rarely, if ever, equipped them with electricity. During the last ten years these leases have been terminating. Coincident with their termination electricity began to be generally recognized as the proper method of propulsion. These two facts—the short-term franchises, together with the application of electricity to street-railway operation—made it as easy as well as a natural matter for the cities to enter the field.

**Rise of the
Movement**

The act of Parliament authorizing electric light and power enterprises unexpectedly operated in the same way. All franchises or working powers for private corporations must be obtained from Parliament; they cannot be granted by the town council. The cities have no legal control over franchises, except in the case of street-railways, and even in this case it is of a negative sort. The Electric Lighting and Power Act gives the private companies franchises which are virtually exclusive for forty-two years. When private corporations sought powers to operate, the cities rushed to Parliament to prevent them. In order to do this they had to get the powers themselves; but to hold the powers they had to act. Hence some towns erected lighting-plants in order to escape being turned over to a private company. Other cities, like Liverpool, Sheffield, and Birmingham, permitted private companies to enter unopposed. They soon saw the business growing rapidly. As the enterprise became established the franchises increased in value. Many towns, feeling that the business must be eventually taken over, and seeing that the franchises were increasing in value from year to year, entered into negotiations with the companies, and paid immense sums for the franchises in order to anticipate their further increase in value.

For a fuller statement of the facts relating to municipal ownership in Great Britain the reader

is referred to the papers by Prof. J. R. Commons, Prof. E. W. Bemis, Dr. M. R. Maltbie, and the present writer in the report of the Civic Federation Commission, dated 1907.

On the subject of municipal ownership in general and the leading divisions of the topic, the reader will find full information in the books referred to under the heading of "Public Ownership," especially the *Municipal Monopolies*, *The City for the People*, the *Municipal Ownership*, *number of Municipal Affairs*, the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, and the discussion of *Public Ownership of Transportation* in vol. ix. of the *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission*. FRANK PARSONS.

MUNICIPAL PROGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES, RECENT: Americans can no longer, in the light of the events of the past few years, be justly charged with indifference to municipal problems and their solution. The two years just passed (1905-7) have outstripped all others in practical municipal progress. Heroism, heretofore largely an incident of military activity, is now in large degree manifested in civic endeavor.

Secretary Root's letter to Mayor Weaver of Philadelphia, written after the former had accepted the State portfolio, in which he denounced

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"the criminal combination masquerading under the Republican name" as constituted of traitors alike to the great party whose name they had filched and to the interests of the community; the address of Secretary Taft in the Ohio campaign in which he declared that were he to vote in Cincinnati he would vote against the ticket nominated by the Republican boss there; the independent attitude of Secretary Bonaparte in the Maryland campaign; the conspicuous position taken by former Postmaster-General Smith in the Philadelphia revolution; the eminent public services of former foreign ministers Wayne MacVeagh and William Potter (the latter running as mayoralty candidate on an independent ticket) in the same connection—all have tended to reinforce the contention so long maintained and insisted upon by the National Municipal League that national parties and national questions have no proper connection with the determination of local issues. This disregard of party lines in local elections and the independent spirit manifested by the electors constitute the most significant developments of the year 1905-6 and indicate clearly the growth of public sentiment along these lines.

The New York and Philadelphia campaigns in Nov., 1905, have occupied a large degree of public attention throughout the country, not only because of the issues involved, but because of their picturesque elements. Just when the election seemed to be a foregone conclusion and opposition to the will of the bosses of the Demo-

cratic and Republican machines seemed hopeless, District-Attorney Jerome, who had been denied a nomination alike by the Democrats, the Republicans, and the Municipal Ownership parties, determined to give to the voters of New York County an opportunity to express their wishes as to whether or not he should be accorded another term, running upon his record only.

His reelection without any formal party indorsement, tho he did have the Citizens' Union back of him, was a significant success. Mr. Hearst

on the Municipal Ownership ticket was equally spectacular, and in spite of unpleasant stories widely circulated and believed, the enthusiasm for him was evidently due to the sincere and earnest belief on the part of many thousands of voters that neither of the old national parties could be trusted to protect the city's interest in the face of the inducements offered to the leaders of those parties by large public corporations.

The election-day proceedings were most discreditable, according to the testimony of competent observers, and the arrests and convictions secured are said to give an inadequate idea of the amount of fraud at the polls. There has been a dispute ever since the close of the election as to the honesty and regularity of Mr. McClellan's election. We have, therefore, the remarkable situation of having in the mayor's chair for four years a man who was very far from receiving a majority of the votes cast and whose plurality it was declared would not stand the verification of a recount. The fact that the people of Greater New York have quietly acquiesced in this paradoxical result speaks volumes for their spirit of obedience to the spirit and the letter of the law.

The 1907 session of the New York Legislature has passed two recount bills, at the instance of Governor Hughes.

For eighteen months (May, 1905-Nov., 1906) Philadelphia was the scene of one of the most far-reaching municipal revolutions witnessed in any American city. After years of misgovernment and mismanagement and a degree of corruption which astounded even those fairly familiar with the situation, Mayor Weaver, with an independent indorsement, not only broke the shackles which had held him to the Republican organization, but inaugurated a campaign which, for the time being, broke up the organization. The immediate cause of his break was the introduction of an ordinance providing for the extension of the existing lease of the gas-works for seventy-five years in consideration of a lump payment of \$25,000,000, notwithstanding the fact that the present lease (which had about twenty-two years to run) would yield the city something over \$37,000,000 before its expiration. The result was that the elections of Nov., 1905, and Feb., 1906, were carried by the Independents (the City Party); there was called an extraordinary session of the legislature, which passed a remarkable series of reform acts, and the Republicans were forced to place in nomination for governor a man who was pledged to investigate the capital scandal, and who is doing it, and in other ways repair their previous delinquencies. (See PHILADELPHIA.)

The influence of the Nov., 1905, election in Philadelphia was largely felt in the February elections in other parts of Pennsylvania. George W. Guthrie, for many years a stalwart worker in the ranks of municipal reform, was elected by a substantial majority as the representative of the independent forces to be Mayor of Pittsburg.

The political situation in Scranton, Pa., has been somewhat different from that of many other places. The efforts of the Municipal League have so greatly changed conditions that the city has been singularly free from the various "fashionable" forms of municipal corruption. Since eight-
Scranton, Pa. een councilmen were prosecuted by the league a few years ago, boodling in the councils and other public bodies, if practised at all, has been ex-

ceedingly rare, and limited in scope and most carefully concealed.

The reelection of Mayor Cutler in Rochester was a well-deserved tribute to a faithful official who had administered his office with an eye single to the best interests of the community and without reference to political considerations.

Buffalo, in national politics Republican, elected a Democrat to the mayoralty chair because of his known fitness for the office. The majority for Mayor Adam, who had served efficiently in the board of aldermen, was so large that it carried his whole party ticket, and so displaced the existing Republican régime. At the same election the city voted in favor of owning and operating an electric-lighting and power plant. An interesting feature of the election was, that out of a total vote of 65,000 for the mayoralty candidates, only 9,641 votes were cast on the last-mentioned proposition, 7,691 being in the affirmative, 1,950 in the negative.

In New Jersey the recent significant events have been the campaign of Senator Everett Colby and the reelection of Mayor Fagan of Jersey City. Senator Colby has made his fight within the Republican Party, and at a direct primary overwhelmed the forces of the boss. While he has not thus far accomplished all he has aimed for, he is forcing the issues all along the line and has introduced new standards of public action and political activity.

For years Jersey City has been normally Democratic; but Mayor Fagan, a Republican, has been three times chosen to the mayoralty; and he owed his last reelection to his independent action, he having openly defied the party bosses upon both sides, altho he received the formal nomination of the Republican convention.

While Cleveland, Ohio, still retains its character as a Republican city, Tom L. Johnson has been thrice elected mayor, his last majority (12,000) being the largest ever given in the city for mayor, and about twice the majority secured by him in his previous campaigns. The Municipal Association of Cleveland indorsed Mayor Johnson for the first time. Lincoln Steffens had described him as the best mayor in the U. S.

Toledo elected another non-partizan mayor in the person of Brand Whitlock, and gave him what it failed to give the late Mayor Samuel M. Jones—substantial support through the election of sympathetic candidates to the local council.

Indiana cities (outside of Indianapolis) have been having their first experience with a new municipal code, introducing the federal plan. This change has been marked by a great awakening of interest in municipal affairs and reform throughout the state. Communities wholly given over to the lowest forms of machine politics and corrupt government have developed a new form of public opinion in the belief that it would find an effective instrument in the new kind of government. Reform clubs have been organized in many of these cities. The misuse of public funds by officers charged with their collection or custody has also aroused public interest. Governor Hanly has astonished his partizan friends by showing the spirit of a reformer. He has appealed to public opinion throughout the state to abolish these abuses, and has set the pace by investigating the accounts of state officers. In a short time he forced the auditor of state and the secretary of state to resign their offices; the former, an influential politician, was indicted for embezzle-

ment and found guilty. In Indianapolis the reformers were defeated at the polls in the election of mayor, but their defeat was not disheartening, as the normal Republican majority of 12,000 was cut down to 1,500.

Chicago continues to attract a large share of public attention. Its municipal experiences are varied and illuminating. It is often difficult to

Chicago

form a positive conclusion as to the meaning of many of the things that have been done there. The street-railway question, which for a decade has been a burning issue, has been settled by the passage of an ordinance which received a majority of upward of 40,000 when submitted to the elector as a referendum. Competent observers and critics like Walter L. Fisher, who for years was secretary of the Municipal Voters' League, and who was traction adviser to Mayor Dunne, promoted and supported the ordinance as a satisfactory solution of the problem.

The city after many years of agitation has at last got some reduction in the price of gas. The legislature at its 1905 session authorized the city council to regulate the price, and this body reduced the charges from \$1 to eighty-five cents per thousand feet. While the reduction was not sufficiently large to satisfy many elements in the community, it is generally considered as establishing a useful precedent.

The Municipal Voters' League continues a potent factor in the selecting and election of honest councilmen and this past year it has added efficiency to its standards. The success of the Municipal Voters' League has had a far-reaching effect; its contest with the street-railway corporations and its effort to settle that problem were followed with extreme care and breathless interest by municipal observers everywhere. Its fight for a high license and its gas contest are likewise the subject of thoughtful consideration. At the present time it is giving careful attention to another important problem. A charter has been prepared and was submitted to the voters in Sept., 1907, to bring the city in harmony with modern needs.

The most important recent event in Michigan has been the vote on the proposition to hold a constitutional convention. The proposition was carried by a large majority on a rather light vote. The Detroit Municipal League will make an active campaign in favor of a non-partizan convention, insisting that candidates in each district be nominated by petition and their names placed on the ballot without any official party designations.

The progressive elements are mainly bent upon securing municipal home rule and the initiative and referendum. There is also a great deal of discontent with the present system of taxation, and the proposed constitutional reforms fall into two classes: first, local option in taxation; second, the elimination of the uniformity clause and other provisions which prevent the separation of state and local revenues. The railroads are likely to try to overthrow the constitutional amendments secured several years ago by the late Governor Pingree, providing for the assessment of railroad property by a state board and its taxation at the same average rate as is applied to other property in the state as assessed by local assessors.

Mayor Rose of Milwaukee has gone down to defeat after four successive elections. His repeated successes tended to create a feeling that he was impregnable; but Milwaukee felt the effect of the reform movement, and in April, 1906,

chose Alderman Becker, a young man of vigorous personality. An interesting feature of the campaign was the praise which Mayor Rose, a Democrat, bestowed upon the Republican boss. Alderman Becker, altho the Republican candidate, had won his nomination without the support and cooperation of the Republican managers, who were generally believed to be interested in Mayor Rose. This tendency to split the ticket appeared on all sides. The recommendations of the Municipal Voters' League of Milwaukee were very generally regarded.

Minneapolis has been a center of interest. In the autumn of 1905 Mayor Jones decided to close the saloons in Minneapolis on Sunday. The order was issued on Oct. 31st, and went into effect on the following Sunday. It was strictly enforced and obeyed by the saloon-keepers without much show of resistance.

As president of the council it was also his duty some years ago to assume the office of mayor and fill the unexpired term of the notorious Ames when he was driven from power by the police investigation which made Minneapolis famous, and for a time infamous. During the first year of his administration he reorganized the police department on a non-partizan, voluntary civil-service basis, and vastly improved both its personnel and its discipline. Grafting in any degree meant dismissal. At the urgent insistence of his friends he became a candidate to succeed himself, as there was no one else who represented the issues that he had raised, and the fight was on these issues. He won out at the primaries, where the corporation and saloon forces united against him. This fight was carried to the polls, the elements who had opposed him at the primaries supporting his Democratic opponent, and he went down to defeat by a very narrow margin, but with the respect of every one as an honest and efficient official.

The situation in St. Louis continues to be on the whole encouraging. While there has been no decided progress in municipal affairs, the city continues to enjoy the services of an honest mayor and an honest council. The revenues of the city have been greatly increased, the streets are kept clean, and intelligent efforts are being made to solve in the interests of the people the many and perplexing problems which confront the officials of every city. Governor Folk has given better boards for the local control of the police, excise, and election; and excellent work is being done by them, but there is still considerable feeling on the part of a large portion of the community that these boards should be in the hands of the local authorities and not subject to the dictation of some future governor who may or may not be interested in securing good government.

The 1906 election in Kansas City resulted in a great victory for the good government forces, the choice of Henry M. Beardsley to the mayoralty being one of the most satisfactory events of the year. He has had long experience in dealing with municipal questions, and as president of the Board of Public Works had charge of the rehabilitation of the water-plant, as well as other public improvements, involving the expenditure of many millions of dollars. The results in other directions were equally satisfactory, the voters exercising a large degree of independence and very generally abiding by the indorsements of the Civic League.

Louisville has furnished "a horrible exam-

ple," altho its public-spirited citizens who are actively engaged in devising ways and means for the relief of the city deny that "Louisville is hopelessly and helplessly corrupt." For years the city has not had an honest election, and that held on Nov. 7, 1905, was as bad as any election held anywhere where there has been great corruption. It was confidently asserted that the records would show that every crime against the ballot that could be committed was committed during the two days of registration and on the day of election, an opinion which has received official sanction at the hands of the Supreme Court of the state. Immediately after the election in question a contest was instituted to determine whether the mayor and those who were chosen at the time had been honestly elected. The lower court determined that they had, but the Supreme Court overruled it and ousted the mayor and sixty-two other officers and in a scathing opinion denounced the fraud which had been practised and sustaining the reformers in their every claim.

In Iowa and Colorado the municipal elections are coming to be determined in most instances on local issues. Seattle has also joined the ranks of cities settling local issues on a local basis. Its present mayor was elected by a small majority as an independent, over the candidate of the dominant party's organization. The particular issue involved in the fight was municipal ownership, altho general dissatisfaction with the existing condition of affairs was an important factor.

Mayor Ballenger, the predecessor, gave to Seattle a conspicuously good administration. Under his guidance the city made a material development in conditions relating to better government from the standpoint of morals as well as from that of public efficiency. Not only was the question of the introduction of transcontinental railroads settled, and the construction of a garbage-destruction plant authorized, but the completion of a municipal electric-lighting plant was undertaken, and the public service greatly extended throughout the city. Public improvements representing a very large expenditure of money were inaugurated. But he declined re-nomination.

In Portland, Ore., the reform forces have made substantial advances in every direction. The most marked improvement noticeable has been in the granting of franchises for public utilities. This is now being done very cautiously and prudently, and the city is getting substantial value for all of its franchises, with rights of inspection, publicity, and reversion to the city that are decidedly a marked improvement upon the loose methods of old times.

The operation of the new direct primary law is being watched with care. Those who are most competent to express an opinion are certain that the new law has destroyed the old rings and cliques. Its most serious defect, according to some observers, is that it makes office almost entirely a self-seeking operation; that is, under no ordinary circumstances can the office seek the man, but the man has from the beginning to work for the office. This is regarded as an encouragement to people who desire notoriety and who are willing to pay for it, and a discouragement to the self-respecting, dignified, and oftentimes shrinking citizens. The Democratic Party, which by reason of its situation has been a beneficiary of the reform movement, held what

Primary Law

was practically a convention and discust ways and means for presenting the names of responsible citizens for selection at the primaries. In this way it is expected that the benefits of the old and new systems will be secured.

San Francisco is another "horrible example," the candidates of the independent citizens having

San Francisco

been to a man defeated. This city presents a situation unique in the annals of American municipal history, in that a short time ago one boss, the so-called labor boss, controlled the three leading parties—the Republican, the Democratic, and the Labor. Vigorous efforts were made at the Republican and Democratic primaries to throw off the yoke, with little avail. Finally, the leaders of the Republican and Democratic forces determined to disregard partizan politics and to unite upon a single ticket to represent the best interests of the city. The boss retained his hold upon the Labor Party, however, and by a shrewd, altho unscrupulous appeal to class prejudice, was able to elect his entire Labor ticket. The victory did not represent a triumph of those principles wherein the best elements of organized labor are most profoundly interested, but simply the capture of the title by designing men for their own ends. The result of the election is now generally conceded, however, to have been caused in fact by the voting-machines. These worked successfully so far as the mechanical part was concerned, but as it was the first time many of the voters had ever used the machine and did not understand it very well, there is no doubt that many thousands voted straight tickets, as that was the easiest course to pursue, who otherwise would have split their tickets.

The recent developments by which the mayor thus elected has been convicted of extortion and sentenced to five years in the penitentiary and the aforetime all-powerful boss has pleaded guilty to similar charges, in fact redeemed the city. Los Angeles has a new administration which is giving satisfaction in nearly every department, and it has a municipal league, which, like the Chicago league, has become a great factor in the city's growth in decent and administrative efficiency.

The war on graft throughout the U. S. is being prest with great vigor and with greater rapidity. There is practically no community in the

The War on Graft

country where the municipal problem is at all serious but has had its investigations or inquiry, and consequent exposures and prosecutions.

In Pennsylvania the malodorous state capitol scandal is being probed to the bottom, and its long list of frauds, deceptions, and malversations are being brought to light and it is confidently expected that those responsible for them will be brought to book.

In New York the insurance disclosures occupied the center of observation for a long time and affected the political situation there to the extent of electing Governor Hughes and defeating the rest of the Republican ticket.

The Ohio State Senate sent a committee to Cincinnati, which joined in "the revolt against venal bossism and municipal corruption," to investigate and expose the methods by which the machine secured and retained its power. It only took the committee one day to unearth one form of graft which yielded from \$15,000 to \$20,000 a year to the boss's lieutenants. The county commissioner testified that he collected taxes annual-

ly amounting to about \$7,000,000, mostly in the form of checks, which were deposited in the various banks. This money was allowed to remain certain definite times after collection, in return for which favor banks presented him with a gratuity, which he frankly confest he accepted as a perquisite of the office, the city receiving nothing on the deposits in the way of interest.

In Allegheny a series of prosecutions resulted in the conviction of a number of office-holders for various crimes against the public welfare.

In Pittsburg a councilman and a broker have been convicted of bribery in connection with an important franchise, and other suspects are about to be tried.

Milwaukee has witnessed a long series of prosecutions and convictions. Up to a recent date twenty-one defendants had either been convicted or pleaded guilty, and six had been acquitted.

At the time of the convening of the California Legislature in 1905 there was considerable newspaper gossip to the effect that certain building and loan associations were being grossly mismanaged, and special attention was called to the affairs of one. A legislative investigation of the association was demanded, and the Senate appointed a committee of seven senators, four of whom privately formed a plan by which they could investigate the association and make money out of it. They selected a go-between to approach the officers of the concern and ascertain whether it would be willing to pay for stopping the investigation. They profest to be willing to do so, but quietly set a trap to catch the senators, the sum of \$1,400 being agreed upon as the price to be paid. In the mean time the committee proceeded to summon witnesses to hold the farce of an investigation. The officers of the association refused to respond to the subpoenas of the committee and were cited to appear before the Senate to answer for contempt. They appeared before the Senate and then and there disclosed the whole proceedings and accused the four senators of soliciting and receiving bribes. The go-between confessed his complicity and the Senate appointed a committee, which refused to allow the accused to testify under oath, owing to the clause in the law which exempts a person who testifies in a case of bribery from further punishment. The Senate then reported the accused to be guilty and recommended their expulsion from the Senate, which was unanimously done. The grand jury of Sacramento County shortly afterward found an indictment against the four senators, one of whom turned state's evidence, and all have since been convicted.

These instances are cited not because they constitute all that has been accomplished along these lines during the past year, but as typical of what is being done in nearly every important community in the land.

The central West continues to be the storm-center of municipal reform activity, with New York and Pennsylvania pressing closely and the Western Slope municipalities not far behind. During the past few years there have been fewer incidents of importance or interest in the New England and Southern states, the principal events having been those already mentioned herein, tho there is no lack of signs of abundant life in the leading New England and Southern communities.

There have been many important improvements of far-reaching character undertaken by

the municipalities of the U. S. Mention must be made, if only briefly, of the project to expend \$25,000,000 for the improvement of the water-supply of Los Angeles; of the publication of Daniel H. Burnham's plans for the improvement of San Francisco, called most aptly by those in charge of the matter "San Francisco's new civic charter"; his similar plans for Chicago; the reports for the reorganization of Denver, Colo., and Columbia, S. C.; the inauguration of Chicago's neighborhood center and outer park systems; the establishment of the municipal museum in the same city; the very remarkable progress now under way in Washington along local lines.

Harrisburg, which for the last four or five years has occupied so much of the public eye because of the successful execution of its far-reaching plans for civic improvement, continues its good work.

The question of public utilities in many communities has in many places overshadowed all other questions. It has been the one municipal

Municipal Ownership

issue in an increasing number of communities upon which the people have felt and expressed a decided opinion. In Chicago the street-railway situation was the burning question during all of Mayor Dunne's administration. In Boston they have occupied a large share of attention, and the settlement of the gas question has been conspicuously to the front. Its settlement along lines satisfactory to the best interests of the city is due almost entirely to the public-spirited activity of the Public Franchise League, and of organizations that have cooperated with it. The Seattle election turned upon the question of municipal ownership. The great vote cast for Mr. Hearst in the Nov., 1905, election in New York was due to public interest in it. In Denver, in Lincoln, Neb., in San Francisco, in Philadelphia—in fact, in a long list of cities these questions have been actively to the front.

Chicago cast another vote in favor of municipal ownership, altho it failed to cast the necessary three fifths to enable the councils to proceed at once to operate the street-railways; but on the advisory question of public policy the city authorities are forbidden by a majority vote to grant any franchises, and the city has been authorized to issue certificates under the Mueller Law not to exceed in amount \$75,000,000. In Kansas City both the Republican and the Democratic platforms declared for the principle of municipal ownership. Cleveland is gradually entering upon a policy of municipal ownership and operation, having recently appropriated \$40,000 for the extension of the municipal lighting plant. In New Jersey the movement for limited franchises is making substantial headway. The action of the Newark Board of Trade indicates very clearly the trend of public sentiment there, it having recently adopted a resolution favoring the enactment of a law to prohibit the grant by any municipality of any special privilege in the public streets for a longer period than twenty-five years, the property used in the exercise of the grant to revert to the municipality at the end of the period, and then to be offered for a further period at public auction and granted to the bidder offering the best terms. The investigation of the subject undertaken by the National Civic Federation has attracted general attention.

There has been no diminution of interest in the

subject of nomination reform. A very interesting conference on electoral reforms was held in New York City in March, 1906, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, and the development of public sentiment in favor of uniform direct primaries was shown to be rapidly increasing. Pennsylvania, as a result of the political revolution of the past year, has now a fairly satisfactory law, which will eliminate many of the features which have made machine domination in that state easy of accomplishment. The subject is a burning one in Oregon and Washington, as also in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois—in fact, in all the central Western states. The Minnesota law continues to give general satisfaction.

There is a growing sentiment in favor of legislation on the subject of the prevention of corrupt practices at elections. This topic was considered very thoroughly at the National Civic Federation's conference, and a number of bills on the subject are now pending in various state legislatures.

Charter Reform

In the matter of charter reform, an interesting bill was introduced into the Massachusetts Legislature which, if it had been enacted into law, would have marked an important step forward and furnished an interesting experiment in the effective coordination and organization of adjacent municipalities with common interests but separate governments. This measure, known as the Metropolitan District Council Bill, provided that the chief magistrates of the cities and the chairmen of the boards of selectmen of the towns that are now or may be included within the metropolitan park, water, or sewage system of Boston shall constitute the Metropolitan District Council, to which the several commissions and boards should annually in the month of January submit reports of the work performed and the money expended by them during the preceding year, together with detailed estimates of the amounts required for the ensuing year. This council must vote by a roll-call of municipalities and towns on the question of approving or disapproving all proposed legislation involving appropriations of money for park, boulevard, water, or sewage purposes; but only those municipalities shall vote which have a financial interest as contributors in the proposed expenditure of money. This council must also submit to the legislature from time to time reports, with its recommendations, on the various questions of metropolitan work which have been brought before it; and in all cases where votes have been taken, such reports shall contain a full record, giving the names of the municipalities which have favored and those which have disapproved of each proposition. Thirty-nine municipalities were interested in this measure and came within its scope. Their combined area about equaled that of the city of Greater New York, with an approximate population of 1,400,000.

The Galveston plan of government continues to excite general attention. It has produced such admirable results through conscientious, faithful administration in the city of its origin that it has been copied in other Texas cities, and has been considered in other states, notably in Iowa, where the Des Moines adaptation has been devised, and will be put into execution next year (1908).

Municipal officials continue their activity in behalf of more efficient administration and

higher standards. The League of American Municipalities, the American Society of Municipal Improvements, and the various state leagues continue helpful work along educational lines. The organization of the League of Virginia Municipalities is to be noted with interest as a very satisfactory development in a leading Southern state. The Michigan and Iowa leagues have taken the initiative in a movement for uniform accounting and are doing yeoman service. Another class of officials is constituting itself an important factor in municipal progress; that is, the auditing and accounting officers who met in Feb., 1906, and again in Chicago in 1907, to consider the question of the uniform classification of municipal accounts and comparable municipal statistics.

A movement of the greatest promise is the formation of city government clubs in our educational institutions. The Yale City Government Club, which has done excellent work in this behalf, called a conference of similar organizations, which was held in the city of New York, and the Intercollegiate League of College Good Government Clubs formally organized.

Of somewhat similar import has been the interest manifested in politics by various bodies of young men, notably those banded together in the Young Men's Christian Associations.

Numerous local associations are organizing good government courses and are seeking in various ways, on the one hand, to interest their members in municipal problems, and on the other hand to educate them to intelligent activity.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

MUNICIPAL REFORM (for the history, statistics, and government of cities, see **CITY**. For the reform of cities on lines of municipalism, see **MUNICIPALISM**. For the most important cities, see those cities. See also **CORRUPTION**; **MUNICIPALITIES**, **GERMANY**; **MUNICIPAL HOUSING**; **MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP**; **MUNICIPAL PROGRESS**; **MUNICIPAL TRADING**): We consider in this article the movements and societies for municipal reform which have sprung up in all the larger American cities on somewhat varying lines, but in general sympathy both as to aims and methods, and now federated in a National Municipal League.

Spasmodic efforts and uprisings of indignant citizens against some extreme display of municipal corruption or mismanagement have long been known in America, but have accomplished little permanent and not even much temporary good. It was a fight of unorganized

Needs

volunteers against organized regulars. Usually the result was that the reformers, after a passing effort, gave up the battle as hopeless, or, having won a passing victory, retired to let the enemy immediately regain all that had been won. The thought of the new municipal movement has been that our cities can only be rescued from evil by the permanent organization and continued watchfulness of the forces of good. This thought has been helped by a growing ideal on the part of some of the true city life. The general tendency in America has been to despise government and magnify private action. The natural result has been that governments, and especially our municipal governments, have been left, generally speaking, to our more ignorant citizens, while the abler and more educated classes have largely left politics alone. The evil of this having been seen, there has been a growing willingness of able

men to devote time to city problems, and even to accept office. Among the first examples of this were the election of Mr. Seth Low as Mayor of Brooklyn, the mayoralty of Mr. Hewitt in New York, the early activity of President Roosevelt in the same city. But this was soon seen not to be enough, and that there was a necessity for organizing against corruption.

Such an organization was formed in Chicago as early as 1874. (See **CHICAGO**.) In Baltimore a reform league was formed in 1885.

Law and order leagues (*q. v.*) sprang up about this time, and a National Law and Order League was established in Boston in 1883. A Massachusetts Society for Promoting Good Citizenship was organized in 1887. A Citizens' Municipal Association was organized in Philadelphia in 1886. A Citizens' Association in Boston was formed in 1887.

In New York City a Society for the Prevention of Crime had been organized Oct. 22, 1878. Its objects were

To promote in all proper and suitable ways the removal of sources and causes of crime; to assist the weak and helpless in obtaining the protection of the courts and of the laws regulating the sale of intoxicating drinks, and in protecting themselves against the temptations to crime; to aid in the enforcement of the laws of this state; to disseminate information, and to arouse a correct public opinion in support of all laws, organizing and forming meetings and associations for instruction and discussion upon such topics.

Under the presidency of Dr. Howard Crosby it did good work along its corporate lines; but in its work the collusion between criminals and the officers of the law became evident, and when, upon Dr. Crosby's death in 1892, Dr. C. H. Parkhurst (*q. v.*) became its president, he devoted himself to exposing this connection.

The resulting exposure of this and of the Lexow investigation created much attention and thought. As one result, a City Vigilance League was formed in 1892. Its objects were

To quicken among its members an appreciation of their municipal obligations; to acquaint them with existing conditions; to familiarize them with the machinery of municipal government; to make conspicuous the respect in which such government is languidly or criminally administered; to regard with jealous concern the point at which private interest enters into competition with the general good; and in every possible way to repress in the community what makes for its detriment, and to foster whatsoever seems fitted to promote its advantage.

Meanwhile, Mr. Edmund Kelly had organized, in 1892, the City Club of New York, and this club organized in different parts of the city some twenty Good Government Clubs (*q. v.*), which, in 1894, were federated under a Council of Good Government Clubs. A Committee of Seventy was created to oppose the Tammany machine—somewhat similar to a Committee of Fifty created by a mass-meeting in 1893. It succeeded in defeating Tammany in the city elections and putting civil-service and other reformers into some of the departments—Mr. Roosevelt as a police commissioner.

Through other cities there was a wave of organization on this line. The Civic Federation of Chicago owes its origin to the visit of Mr. W. T. Stead (*q. v.*), his revelations of the corruption there, and his effort to federate the moral forces of that city in civic and social work. (See **NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION**.)

The Municipal Reform League of Boston is older. It had its origin in an address by Mr. Samuel B. Capen in March, 1892, in which the necessity for a cooperation of the best civic and

moral forces of metropolitan Boston was stirringly set forth.

The Municipal League of Philadelphia, among the largest and best in the country, was organized in 1892.

In Philadelphia the women have been particularly active in municipal reform. They organized a Civic Club Jan. 1, 1894, and actively carry on many departments of study and work.

Such are some of the representative organizations of the movement. They are now united in a National Municipal League, organized in New York City in April, 1894, as the result of a National Conference for Good City Government, held in Philadelphia, Jan., 1894. (See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE; MUNICIPAL PROGRESS.)

MUNICIPAL TRADING (IN GREAT BRITAIN) (see also MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP; GREAT BRITAIN, etc.): The tables on pages 802 and 803 are the summary given in *The Municipal Year Book* for 1906 of the official return made to Parliament in 1903 of the "reproductive enterprises" carried on by municipal boroughs brought up to March 31, 1902. For later figures see MUNICIPALISM and PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

MUNICIPAL TRAMWAYS ASSOCIATION OF GREAT BRITAIN: The objects of this association are to acquire experimental, statistical, and scientific knowledge relating to the construction, equipment, and operation of tramways; to diffuse among its members information on all matters affecting tramways, and generally to promote the interests of municipal tramways. *Secretary and Treasurer*, J. M. McElroy, 55, Piccadilly, Manchester, England.

MUNICIPALISM (see also CITY; MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP; MUNICIPAL REFORM; MUNICIPAL PROGRESS, etc.):

In the United States, the general tendency has been to minimize the municipality's functions. The presumption is against municipal activity and for private action. Says Judge Dillon, in his authoritative work on "Municipal Corporations":

It is a general and undisputed proposition of law, that a municipal corporation possesses and can exercise the following powers and no others: First, those granted in express words; second, those necessarily or fairly implied in or incident to the powers expressly granted; third, those essential to the declared objects and purposes of the corporation, not simply convenient, but indispensable. Any fair, reasonable doubt concerning the existence of power is resolved by the courts against the corporation, and the power is denied. Of every municipal corporation the charter, or statute by which it is created, is its organic act. Neither the corporation nor its officers can do any act, or make any contract, or incur any liability, not authorized thereby. All acts beyond the scope of the powers granted are void. . . . These principles are of transcendent importance, and lie at the foundation of the law of municipal corporations.

In Europe the opposite is the case. The result is that in America the corporate city, being thought little of, has been left, generally speaking, to be managed by a low class of politicians, and thus to become corrupt and weak; while in Europe, the function of the city being highly conceived, city offices have attracted to themselves some of the best and ablest citizens, and thus the European city has become, as compared with American cities, efficient and pure. At least such is the view of many municipalists. The only way to purify American city governments, they argue, is to exalt and expand the city's function. This, too, they say, is cheaper and better in every way for the citizens than to

allow its streets to be given over to the control of private street-railway companies, its gas, electric-lighting, and other natural monopolies to be provided by favored companies, which think first of dividend and secondly of the public convenience. Such is the theory of municipalism in brief.

Says Prof. R. T. Ely (*Christian Union*, Oct. 9, 1890):

We are reversing the order of nature in planning to reform city government first, and then to carry out the changes I have mentioned, and to make improvements in behalf of the poorer classes. Let any one name a city where this policy has been successfully pursued. I know of none.

When the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain and his friends took hold of the corrupt and inefficient city government of Birmingham, they at once "devised large measures," including the purchase of gas- and water-works by the city. A public library followed; public parks, improved dwellings for the poor, large public undertakings, broad and generous measures have been an essential part of municipal reform and improvement in cities like Berlin and Glasgow; they have not followed a purification of politics, but have helped to elevate political life.

Has the experience of this country been different? Not at all. When the city government of Baltimore was worse than it is to-day, when the "Plug Uglies" and "Blood Tubs" were a terror, the government was improved by adding to its functions a paid police and a paid fire department. Extension of functions within a proper sphere improves government.

It may be urged, perhaps, that the difference of institutions between a monarchical country, like Germany or England, and a republican country, like the United States, is radical, and that things are done for the people in those countries. This is fortunately not the case. The truth is, that cities and towns have in both of these countries—Germany and England—a power which ours are far from possessing. They have more local self-government than we. They are not obliged, like Massachusetts towns, vainly to petition a legislature for authority to construct gas-works and to establish an electric-lighting plant. Such powers are either possessed, as a matter of course, or are conferred by general laws.

It is well again to make comparisons. Fifty or sixty years ago city government in England was a disgrace to the country. Has improvement come by means incompatible with democratic institutions? On the contrary, as city government has improved it has become more democratic. Germany

has also become more democratic, while the local administration has been improving. There may be some limitations upon the suffrage in English local politics still, and in a German city like Berlin the vote of a rich man may count for more than the vote of a poor man; but these limitations do not account for

their superior local governments. These are among the differences between us and them which are growing less. And with us it is unscrupulous wealth which rules and corrupts our cities. What influence, comparatively speaking, have working men in our politics? Was Jacob Sharp a wage-earner? Were the manipulators of the West End scandal in the Massachusetts Legislature dwellers in the slums of Boston? Does any sane man in Baltimore who wishes to work a measure through our City Council rely upon the assistance of leaders of working men? I have some idea of what I would do in Baltimore. I know the men whom I would approach, but they are not wage-earners. President Seth Low has said that his study and actual experience as Mayor of Brooklyn have convinced him that universal suffrage is not the cause of bad city government. He says he did not find wealth always ready to cooperate, and he believes that our cities could not have made so rapid progress as they have without universal suffrage.

Those who object to this view generally argue that municipal enterprises are expensive and ineffective. Municipalists, however, are not much disturbed by examples of municipal mismanagement. They believe, in the first place, that such examples can be easily matched by the mismanagement of countless private corporations. (See CORRUPTION, p. 316.) Secondly, they assert that municipal management cannot at first be expected to excel private management in matters where the latter has had long experience and the city but little. Yet tho no one claims perfection for city management, what it has undertaken to do a growing number of careful students believe

Answer

to be better done than privately conducted interests. Work done by the city (see CONTRACT LABOR) is being found, where tried, to be surprisingly better and often cheaper than private work. Municipal street-cars, gas, electric lighting, furnish strong evidence for municipalization. (See those subjects; also MUNICIPAL TRADING.) In 1867 a private company was organized to build the Brooklyn Bridge. The charter placed the original capital stock at \$5,000,000. Of this Brooklyn gave \$3,000,000; New York, \$1,500,000; private stockholders, \$500,000. Yet tho the private stockholders gave only one tenth of the amount, they had all the power. Six ex-officio members represented the cities on the board of twenty-one directors, but they had no vote in electing other directors, and the whole power was put into the hands of the executive committee. The result was scandalous jobbery and mismanagement. Contracts for portions of the work were let to favored stockholders, etc. In order to save the bridge the cities had to buy it of the private stockholders, after which its building was a success. A committee of the cities, appointed later, with such men as Abram S. Hewitt upon it, reported that there had been practically no mismanagement except under the private management.

Municipalization, too, often lowers taxes. Berlin, Paris, etc., receive large incomes from their municipal undertakings. As the argument for municipalization, however, turns on concrete details, it must be studied under the head of the various subjects. (See also MONOPOLIES; NATURAL MONOPOLIES; SOCIALISM; INDIVIDUALISM.)

REFERENCES: See CITY; MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

MUNICIPALITIES (GERMAN): The municipality in Germany plans everything with a view to general harmony. Factory, business, and housing districts are conformed to special needs. The height of the houses in proportion to the width of the street, and the utilization of building sites are restricted to admit light and air. Ordinances govern the height of rooms, the number of windows per room, substantial construction, etc. The pavement of the streets is suited to the character of the surrounding neighborhood.

Careful attention is given to the future erection of public buildings, playgrounds, and recreation centers. Artistic effect is always sought.

Municipal building here takes the initiative and influences private enterprise. When property is bought for building purposes, the plans

Number of boroughs carrying on undertakings	MUNICIPAL TRADING IN GREAT BRITAIN (See p. 801) DESCRIPTION OF UNDERTAKINGS	CAPITAL (position on March 31, 1902)				
		Total capital (inclusive of borrowed capital) provided by corporations	Amount of capital borrowed ¹	Amount of capital borrowed which has been paid off ¹	Balance of capital borrowed which was outstanding on March 31, 1902	Amount in sinking-funds or loan funds on March 31, 1902, in respect of capital borrowed ²
1	2	4	5	6	7	8
		£	£	£	£	£
193	Water-works.....	56,943,016	56,167,879	6,611,162	49,556,717	1,678,337
97	Gas-works.....	24,028,116	22,757,422	4,259,835	18,497,587	1,334,077
102	Electricity supply.....	12,508,997	11,764,723	571,944	11,192,779	398,636
	Tramways:					
29	1. Owned and worked by the corporations.....	8,610,573	8,396,729	470,747	7,925,982	368,459
16	2. Owned but not worked by the corporations.....	1,140,580	1,047,012	400,070	646,942	
	Total (tramways).....	9,751,153	9,443,741	870,817	8,572,924	368,459
228	Markets, etc.....	6,181,080	5,685,129	1,758,458	3,926,671	293,766
138	Baths and wash-houses.....	1,988,340	1,708,490	475,831	1,232,659	111,735
143	Burial grounds.....	2,382,305	2,295,765	982,360	1,313,405	101,118
24	Working-class dwellings.....	1,253,592	1,204,375	114,035	1,090,340	44,359
43	Harbors, piers, docks, and quays.....	5,421,827	5,408,135	471,319	4,936,816	293,226
16	Other reproductive undertakings ³	713,946	597,264	130,758	466,506	21,182
	Total (all undertakings mentioned above).....	121,172,372	117,032,923	16,246,519	100,786,404	4,644,895

¹ Cols. 5 and 6.—Where loans have been replaced by other loans, the sum is only included once in Col. 5, in the amount of capital borrowed. In such cases, the repayments of borrowed capital moneys, out of other borrowed capital moneys, are not included, in Col. 6, in the amount of capital paid off.

² Col. 8.—Excluding sums standing to the credit of loan funds for payment of dividends. The sums entered in Col. 8 are applicable to the repayment of such portion of the amounts entered in Col. 7 as is repayable by means of sinking-funds or loan funds.

³ Col. 9.—The amounts entered in Col. 9 include sums credited to the undertakings for (e. g.) the estimated value of water used in watering streets, and the estimated value of gas supplied for lighting the streets. According to the entries the number of corporations crediting their water-works undertakings with the value of water supplied for street-watering and other public purposes was 105 out of a total of 193 carrying on such undertakings, and the number crediting their gas-works undertakings with the value of gas supplied for public lighting was 90 out of a total of 97.

⁴ Col. 12.—Including, if the undertaking is not let by the corporation, (i.) the cost of materials, wages, and salaries; (ii.) insurance and rates, and (iii.) other annual expenses, if any, other than those in Cols. 14, 15, and 16.

⁵ Col. 13.—Except in the case where the letter "L" is printed, the amount in Col. 13 is the excess of the amount in Col. 11 over the amount in Col. 12. This excess was, in the return "Municipal Corporations (Reproductive Undertakings)," No. 88 of Session 1899, called "net profit."

⁶ Col. 14.—Payments made out of income to sinking-funds and other similar funds toward the repayment of principal are included in Col. 14, but not payments out of such funds.

showing the front of the building to be erected must be submitted to the authorities for approval. The disfigurement of street fronts by bill-boards is regulated.

Sewage pipes receive street drainage as well as house sewage. Some cities separate the drainage from the sewage system. Pipes conduct the sewage outside of the city limits and utilize or dispose of it in various ways. Berlin and Breslau carry it through fields, where it is used for fertilizing and manuring. In other cities the pipes empty into rivers after their contents have been clarified. This process is costly and difficult, forcing the towns to acquire large areas to fertilize them with this waste.

The larger cities have, almost without exception, hygienic institutes where all questions relating to the public health of the city are studied. The interest of the authorities in the promotion of public health has led to a considerable decrease in mortality during the last decade. In the "seventies" the death-rate was 35 to 40 per thousand; to-day the average has decreased to 20 per thousand. In cases of contagious diseases prompt notice to the Board of Health is compulsory. All premises are disinfected by the Board of Health and the poorer classes are not charged for fumigation. In

some cities, as, for instance, Posen, disinfection is free for all classes.

The inspection of foods, such as milk, butter, and meat, is in charge of the Board of Health.

Public swimming and shower-baths are provided.

Consumptives are cared for in homes for consumptives, and persons suffering with incipient consumption are sent to forest colonies. Those unable to pay for treatment are placed in these institutions at the expense of the city or State. Asylums are provided for the feeble-minded. Any one, who on account of illness or incapacity cannot support himself, receives relief from the Poor Department, in case the sickness, old age, invalidity, and accident insurance does not provide for his maintenance or the support received is insufficient.

The departments of education of the various communities and cities provide public, elementary, and high schools. Special schools and institutes give courses in the building trade and machine-shop training. Cities engaged in special industries, such as textile, ceramic, woodwork, etc., have special schools. There are further arts and crafts schools for women. When the public-school education of the child is completed, the

Average annual income				Difference between average annual income (Col. 11) and average annual working expenses (Col. 12)	Average annual amount paid in respect of principal and interest on capital borrowed		Average annual amount set apart for depreciation	Total of sums in Cols. 12, 14, 15, and 16	Average annual net profit or loss		Average annual amount (if any) of general, legal, and establishment charges of corporations charged to undertakings and included in Col. 17
Transferred to the account of the undertakings from other accounts for products of the undertakings used by the corporations	Other receipts, excluding deficiencies made good out of rates	Total of sums Cols. 9 and 10	Average annual working expenses		Repayments of principal	Payments of interest			Amount by which total in Col. 11 exceeds total in Col. 17.	Amount by which total in Col. 17 exceeds total in Col. 11	
8			4	5	6	7	16	17	8	8	21
9	10	11	12	13	14	15			18	19	
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
110,112	3,076,853	3,186,995	1,154,209	2,032,755	395,198	1,520,164	27,266	3,096,837	90,128	.....	42,885
337,745	5,495,615	5,833,360	4,465,625	1,367,735	281,366	611,572	79,962	5,438,535	394,825	.....	38,969
218,360	918,095	1,136,455	662,559	473,896	204,737	260,896	19,970	1,418,162	.....	11,707	12,006
{ 755	1,394,159	1,394,925	971,550	423,375	131,240	190,836	49,394	1,313,021	81,904	.....	5,533
.....	88,392	88,392	29,351	59,031	24,464	16,240	913	70,978	17,414	.....	759
756	1,582,561	1,483,317	1,000,911	482,405	155,704	177,077	50,307	1,383,999	99,318	.....	6,292
1,191	550,755	551,946	266,764	285,182	74,780	126,120	500	468,164	83,792	.....	5,375
411	135,281	135,692	188,351	152,659	37,048	35,245	.....	250,644	.....	124,952	1,367
422	155,475	156,897	138,665	18,223	39,170	48,846	.....	220,581	.....	63,784	3,274
151	39,879	40,030	23,512	18,518	16,522	26,974	.....	67,008	.....	26,978	139
1,903	377,099	379,002	239,614	139,388	52,049	160,553	4,499	456,726	.....	77,724	5,253
958	136,089	137,047	88,496	48,561	7,970	14,448	10,760	121,674	15,573	.....	620
672,009	12,368,702	13,040,711	8,228,706	4,812,005	1,264,544	2,975,906	193,274	12,652,430	Net profit, 378,281	.....	116,160

7 Col. 15.—Including annual payments made in respect of perpetual annuities, if any.

8 Cols. 18 and 19.—See Note 5.

9 The undertakings included under the head of "Other Reproductive Undertakings" are the following, viz.: Bridge (toll) at Scarborough, bridge and embankment at Plymouth, canals at Exeter and York, cold stores at Burnley, conditioning house at Bradford, York, crematorium at Kingston-upon-Hull, estates (including race-course) at Doncaster, ferries at Saltash, Birkenhead, Middlesbrough, and Sunderland, marine lakes, etc., at Southport, parade and property at Bridlington, pavilion estate at Brighton, and spa concert rooms at Harrogate.

Amounts relating to the aquarium at Brighton, telephones at Tunbridge Wells, and light railway at Southend-on-Sea are not included in the foregoing summary, because on March 31, 1902, those undertakings had not been carried on for a complete twelve months.

Particulars as to the following undertakings from which revenue is derived were also given in some of the returns furnished, viz.: Abattoirs or slaughter-houses, allotments, bonding warehouse, isolation hospital, lavatories, lunatic asylum, manure depot, sewage farms, weighing-machines and weigh-bridge, and an undertaking for the supply of sterilized milk. As these undertakings do not appear to be of the kind contemplated by the order of the House of Commons, the particulars relating thereto were not included in the return.

continuation school must be attended, etc. In the upper grades the girls are taught cooking.

For the laboring classes, people's restaurants and coffee-houses are opened, which, at the same time, serve as substitutes for the saloons.

For instruction and information in legal matters, many cities maintain bureaus and consulting stations.

Even the very smallest city runs its own slaughter-house. Every slaughter-house has a special department for the microscopic examination of pork.

Nearly all cities own their own water-works.

Gas plants are in most cases owned by the city. These add largely to the city's income.

The water-supply is not regarded by the city as a business enterprise, inasmuch as a higher rate would interfere with its free consumption. The cost to German cities for maintaining water-works is greater than in American cities, therefore the rates charged are somewhat higher, and the average consumption consequently less.

Electric-lighting plants are only partly municipalized. The tendency in this respect is, however, in favor of municipalization. Cities are urged to erect plants where as yet no electric-lighting plants exist, even to erect such plants in competition with private enterprises. Competitive plants may be successfully started where private plants are operated by withdrawing from the corporation the privilege of using the streets for conducting electricity either above or under ground.

Street-railways are only partially municipalized. In many cities these are operated by private corporations. These corporations then receive franchises from the cities to lay tracks and, in return for this privilege, they in the first place maintain part of the street in proper condition, and, secondly, pay the city annually either a certain stipulated sum, or a fixt percentage of the earnings. Many cities reserve the right to determine the fares to be charged.

Almost every city has its own municipal theater, and most of the large cities have their own concert halls, conductor, and orchestra.

Everywhere, in large cities and small towns, the authorities have expert economists working out the social, industrial, and economic problems confronting the cities in every phase of human progress. (See MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.)

DR. WILMS ERSTER.

MUNICIPALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC (see also NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM; NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC; DISPENSARY SYSTEM): In Great Britain considerable attention has been given to the proposition of municipalizing the liquor traffic. In Oct., 1902, a bill was passed in the Transvaal permitting any locality the majority of whose male white citizens voted for it to establish a municipal public house, and it is urged that this should be done in England. Arguments for it are based on the Norwegian Company system, Gothenberg system, the South Carolina Dispensary system, the State monopolies of the liquor traffic in Russia and Switzerland. It is claimed that this would reduce the traffic, since it would largely take away the money interest in it; that it would make police control easier and minimize disorderly conduct; that it would prevent adulteration or sale of illicit beverages; that it would raise a revenue for public purposes. The public

frown to-day on the municipality giving away franchises; why liquor franchises?

REFERENCE: *The Case for Municipal Drink*, E. R. Pease, 1904.

MÜNZER, THOMAS: German communist; born at Stolberg about 1490. Studying at Leipsic, became a preacher; turned against the "halfness" of Luther and Melancthon, and, led by what he believed "inner light," demanded a radical reform of Church and State. He believed in continuous divine revelation and in community of property. He promulgated these ideas in popular and effective tho sometimes coarse speech. Expelled from Allstädt, where he had been preacher, he settled in Mülhausen; succeeded here in overthrowing the council and gaining a new one under his control. When the Peasants' War (*q. v.*) broke out he induced the whole population of the vicinity to rise. The peasants, however, were defeated at Frankenhausen, May 25, 1525. Münzer was captured, tortured, and beheaded at Mülhausen a few days later.

MUROMTZEV, SERGIEY ANDREYEVICH: Russian member of the Duma; born 1850. Representative Constitutional Democrat from the city of Moscow. Graduate of Moscow College and University; studied at Göttingen University, where he took the degree of Doctor of Roman Law (1876). He became editor of *Yuridicheski Vyestnik* (Judicial Messenger) in 1879, and was elected vice-president of Moscow University, 1880. He was appointed ordinary professor of Roman law in the Moscow University in 1887. Muromtzev is chairman of the Moscow Municipal Council, member of the Moscow and Tula Zemstvo societies, and president of the First Duma, an office to which he was elected unanimously.

MURPHY, FRANCIS: Temperance advocate; born 1836 in Wexford, Ireland, he came to the United States as a child, and later served in the Civil War. In 1870 he began to organize temperance clubs in Portland, Me., and later through the state. He transferred his headquarters to Pittsburg, Pa., in 1876, where 45,000 people signed the pledge after his first address. He extended his activities through different parts of the U. S. and England; and 10,000,000 people are said to have signed the pledge as a result of his persuasive and eloquent advocacy of temperance. During the Spanish-American War he served as chaplain.

MUSEUMS OF SECURITY: Permanent exhibitions of apparatus and devices for the prevention of accidents in factories and workshops, so that all employers of labor may see in actual operation the safety devices that will guard the life and limbs of workers. The first was opened in Amsterdam in 1893. It is supported by voluntary subscriptions from individuals, by State aid, and a gift of building from the city. The labor inspectors of Holland find that the museum is of the greatest service to them, because it meets every objection on the part of a superintendent that the safety device in question will interfere with the proper operation of his machinery. If a manufacturer is not satisfied with a photograph of the appliance, he can send his superintendent, or come himself to the museum, where he can study every detail of the operation. There are safeguarded models of gearing, belts, wheels, eleva-

tors, windlasses, cranks, staircases, fire escapes, shafts, and scaffolding, and workshops of half the natural size, installed with the best systems of ventilation.

There are similar museums in Munich, Charlottenburg, Milan, and Moscow, with movements under way for the establishment of museums in other cities. In 1907 the American Institute of Social Service organized an exhibition of safety devices in New York City, which has led to a permanent Exhibit of Safety Devices and Industrial Hygiene at 231-241 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York City. W. H. TOLMAN.

MUTUAL BANKING: By this phrase is usually meant a monetary system first formulated by Colonel William B. Greene, of Boston, about 1850. It has been somewhat modified, but is to-day advocated by most extreme individualists. A mutual bank propaganda was started in Chicago. Its secretary, Mr. Westrup, describes the plan in his "The Financial Problem," as follows:

The inhabitants or any portion of the inhabitants of any town or city may organize themselves into a mutual banking company.

Any person may become a member of the mutual banking company, of any particular town or city, by pledging unencumbered improved real estate, never vacant lands, situated in that town or city, or in its immediate neighborhood, or other first-class collateral to the bank.

The mutual bank should print (or have printed) paper money, with which to discount the notes of its members, and should always furnish new bills for torn or soiled ones when requested, free of charge.

Every member, at the time his note is discounted by the bank, should bind himself, and be bound in due legal form, to receive in payment of debts at par, and from all persons, the bills issued and to be issued by the bank.

Notes falling due may be renewed by the bank, subject to the modification which a new valuation may require, so that the note does not exceed two thirds.

Any person may borrow the paper money of a mutual bank on his own note not extending beyond twelve months (without indorsement), to an amount not to exceed two thirds of the value of the collateral pledged by him.

The charge which the mutual bank should make for the loans should be determined by and, if possible, not exceed the expenses of the institution, pro rata.

No money should be loaned by the bank except on the above conditions.

Any member may have his property released from pledge and be himself released from all obligations to the mutual bank, and to the holders of its bills as such, by paying his note or notes to the said bank.

The mutual bank shall receive none other than its own money, or that of similar institutions, except such coin money as the board of directors may designate, and this should be discounted one half of 1 per cent.

All mutual banks may enter into such arrangements with each other as shall enable them to receive each other's bills.

The mutual bank should publish in one or more daily papers each day a statement of its loans the day previous, describing the property pledged, giving the owner's name and its location, with the appraiser's value and the amount loaned on it, and also a statement of the notes paid and mortgages canceled during the same period, which statement should be signed by the manager, cashier, and secretary.

The mutual bank should exchange, at any time, any of its own bills that are torn or worn for new ones without charge.

To this plan Socialists say that the main and in one sense the only sufficient objection is that unless all entered into this mutual system it would not serve the complete needs of society as a medium of exchange, so that government or some other organization would still have to provide money; and that when all did enter into it it would be a monetary cooperative commonwealth, such as democratic socialism is more speedily leading us to realize. Till we have this, government needs to control the issue of money in order to prevent the ignorant and innocent from being deceived by the speculator and the sharper. (See ANARCHISM; SOCIALISM.)

MUTUALISM is a term preferred by some, like the late Bishop Brooks, in place of socialism.

The term mutualism is used to denote a condition of society in which the governing principle is mutual help. When two persons work together in partnership or live together in harmonious family life we have mutualism in miniature. When the principle of partnership or union of ownership, effort, and control for the common benefit shall be extended to the whole social life of city, state, and nation, we shall have a mutualism complete upon the plane of justice. And when love and brotherhood become the animating principle of the partnership, and each member of society not merely cooperates with the rest, but devotes himself to the welfare of the rest, we shall have a mutualism of the loftiest type. The earlier outward steps toward mutualism are the public ownership of monopolies and the growth of cooperative enterprises, which processes, meeting each other half-way, will bring about a common ownership of the means of production and distribution, industrial self-government or democracy, economic equality, and a cooperative character. Finally, men will come to know that the joys of intellectual and spiritual activity infinitely exceed the pleasures of the senses. Then they will wish for wealth merely so far as it may be a means of fitting them for the noblest intellectual and spiritual life. They will also learn that the richest and most enduring happiness can only be won through the happiness of others—learn it not in words alone, but in thoughts and emotions sufficiently strong to sway their conduct. Then the golden rule and brother love and devotion will become the real governing law of daily life, and mutualism will have reached its goal.

FRANK PARSONS.

N

NASSE, ERWIN: Born at Bonn, 1829; studied there and at Göttingen, and took his degree of Doctor in 1851. After study in Berlin he established himself as *privat-docent* in Bonn, in 1854, whence he was called, in 1856, as professor to Basel, and the same year to Rostock. In 1860 he came to his native city as professor. He took an active part in political affairs, and was from 1869 to 1879 member of the Prussian House of Deputies, where he rendered important services on the budget commission. He was one of the founders of the *Verein für Socialpolitik* (see SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR) and the president of it from 1874 to his death, 1890. Professor Nasse was a frequent contributor to scientific journals.

NATION AND NATIONALITY: Bluntschli, in his "The Theory of the State" (tr. from the German, p. 90), defines a nation as "a society of all

the members of a state as united and organized in the State." He thus makes it a concept dependent upon the State. The State he defines (idem, p. 23) as "the politically organized national person of a definite country." The two definitions are thus made mutually dependent and the same dependence will be found to run through almost all definitions, because the ideas are themselves mutually dependent. It is scarcely possible to have a nation that is not a state, nor a state that is not a nation. Nevertheless the two words, tho often used, even by careful writers, somewhat synonymously, and tho continually popularly confused, are not absolutely synonymous. A state is a nation politically organized. A nation is the organic collectivity of all the people in a state, implying indeed a political organism, but not limiting the collectivity to its political aspect. The concept people,

on the other hand, is still wider than the concept a nation. The word people implies the collectivity of persons living in a state, but does not conceive it as an organic unity, political or of any sort. It conceives of them as a whole and perhaps as a united whole, but not as an organized whole. Such are the differences, or shades of difference, that are usually made by English writers between these three words. Nevertheless the distinctions are not always observed, even by the best writers. In other languages, too, the word nation is used quite differently. The Germans call a people a nation, and what we mean by nation they call a *volk*. The old Latin *natio* meant what we mean by people. Indeed the conception nation as of the organic unity of a people may be considered a wholly modern conception. Despotism knows nothing of a nation. It only recognizes peoples and states.

Analyzing more carefully the conception nation, we find first that a nation implies a certain territory in which it must live. Says Woolsey ("Introduction to Inter. Law," §52): "A nation is an organized community within a certain territory; or in other words there must be a place where its sole sovereignty is exercised." A nation may be conceived as changing its country, but it must have a country, at least in prospect. It is scarcely possible to-day to speak of the Jewish nation. Secondly, a nation must have a natural unity; ordinarily, tho not always, it must be composed of persons of the same ethnic family and speaking the same language, or at least cognate languages. Even when this does not exist, as it does not wholly in the United States, nevertheless there must be a national unity besides that of place. M. W. Ward says ("Eng. Dram. Lit.," Int. p. xvi): "A nation may be defined as a body of population which its proper history has made one in itself, and as such distinct from all others." A nation thus is a growth. We see this in the derivation of the word from *nasci*, to be born. Unity of race, of language, of religion, of civilization, of government, of experience, of place, all contribute in varying degree to gradually separate one nation from another. Thirdly, a nation must have some conscious and exprest unity. It must have somewhat of a common will. Bluntschli calls it a collective personality.

These conceptions and definitions may be illustrated by pointing out that Italy and Germany were nations long before they were states; that Rome was never a nation tho a state; that ancient Greece was one people, but never a nation or a state; that the U. S., altho composed of many states and with many varieties of race, language, religion, and custom, is nevertheless one state, one nation, and one people. To take other examples we speak of the Secretary of State, the national flag, the representatives of the people.

Thus conceiving of the nation, we see that it is a modern growth, and that it must be, because it takes time and implies high civilization and wide-spread liberty to develop a nation. Antiquity knew no nations. Egypt, China, Assyria, did not develop nations. They consisted of a people, or various peoples, ruled over by a monarch. Greece had cities or states, but developed no nation. There was liberty, but no wide-spread union. The Roman Empire was not a nation; it had unity, but its various constituent parts did not have liberty or a common will. The Middle Ages saw no nations tho nationality was growing. England may be said to have developed as a nation almost before the close of the Middle Ages, and France and Italy and Germany were not far behind, yet Italy and Germany were hindered in the development of national unity by division into rival states, and France developed so tyrannical a state as, until the Revolution, to have little of the liberty necessary to a true nationality. With freedom and self-government has come that love of country, that common life, which produces the modern nation.

In this brief historical survey attention must be called to the various conceptions of nationality that have prevailed. The Roman people, not a nation in the modern sense of the word, had the word *natio*, but they understood by it what we mean by people. It had an ethnographic base. A people were those descended from a common stock. The law which determined nationality with the Romans was the *jus sanguinis*, the law of blood relationship.

The Germanic tribes, gradually setting up their feudal governments over Western Europe, conceived of the nation as a territorial unit, its people being bound by feudal oaths to allegiance. Commonly the place of birth settled the allegiance, but the allegiance was even more than the birth. Nationality was thus a *jus solis*, or law of the land. This is the law that lies at the basis of the English common law. It is the personal relation of the individual to the sovereign which

constitutes nationality. An Englishman is not subject to the king because he is an Englishman; he is an Englishman because he is subject to the king. The king being in England hereditary, or perpetual, the oath of allegiance was considered perpetual; nevertheless, it came to be recognized in common law that the subject could freely withdraw his person and property from the jurisdiction of the crown, unless expressly prohibited by king or parliament. Yet no law permitting expatriation was passed until 1870.

When the U. S. became independent the relation of allegiance was considered as transferred both to the states and to the national federation. Which allegiance is supreme has long been a mooted point (see CENTRALIZATION), but it may be considered as settled, at least as far as law goes, that the supreme allegiance is to the federal government.

From this historical résumé and from the conception of nationality itself, it is not hard to see that the nation must play a large part in social reform. Nevertheless, political scientists have been divided between those who would exalt the unity of race and those who would exalt the unity of the nation. Modern socialism on the other hand has been somewhat inclined to ignore both social and national unities, and to develop an internationalism. This is generally the case among European Socialists, but English and American Socialists have generally and more wisely held that the nation is a natural unit; that if socialism is to be evolutionary it must develop around the natural unities of the town, city, state, and nation, and that only when these are somewhat developed can we gradually grow toward a healthy internationalism.

For further consideration of the subject, see POLITICAL SCIENCE, STATE SOVEREIGNTY, etc. For references, see STATE.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION: President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw; corresponding secretary, Kate M. Gordon, 1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La. (See WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.)

NATIONAL CASH REGISTER COMPANY, WELFARE WORK AT: The National Cash Register Company, at Dayton, Ohio, is undoubtedly the leading firm in America in welfare work or industrial betterment (*q. v.*). It began this work as early as 1893, the first steps being the improvement of the factory premises. To-day the thirteen massive buildings, covered here and there with vines, tho four fifths of the wall space are plate-glass, and surrounded by broad lawns, with trees, shrubbery, and asphalt walks, are among the most attractive factory buildings in the world. Inside they are kept scrupulously clean and attractive, and are equipped with the best appliances for heat, cold, and fresh air; 116 uniformed janitors attend to this; 23 girls and 4 men attend to the laundry. For the 8,000 employees (800 women), attractive lunches are served in a special building with a hall seating 3,000 at tables and 6,500 as an auditorium. The girls pay five cents a day for a good lunch; the men seventy-five cents a week. Entertainments (music, moving pictures, vaudeville) are given in winter at the noon hour. Rest rooms with nurses and two physicians are provided. There are nearly 200 shower-baths and 200 lavatories for free use. Twice a day the women stop ten minutes for calisthenic exercise. A "Women's Century Club" has a club house and cooperative homes for young women. The Men's Welfare League has two settlements for men. An athletic field provides football, baseball, and other sports. Vacation schools and camps are arranged. Employees are encouraged to make

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Historical Sketch

inventions and suggestions. Prizes are given for beautifying houses and gardens. Boys are taught gardening. Manual training of various kinds is taught in the schools. A newspaper is published. Lectures are given. Much else is done. The firm says that it all pays.

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE: A committee organized April 15, 1904, whose objects are: (1) To promote the welfare of society with respect to the employment of children in gainful occupations. (2) To investigate and report the facts concerning child labor. (3) To raise the standard of public opinion and parental responsibility with respect to the employment of children. (4) To assist in protecting children by suitable legislation against premature or otherwise injurious employment, and thus to aid in securing for them an opportunity for elementary education and physical development sufficient for the demands of citizenship and the requirements of industrial efficiency. (5) To aid in promoting the enforcement of laws relating to child labor. (6) To coordinate, unify, and supplement the work of state or local child labor committees, and encourage the formation of such committees where they do not exist.

For statement of general plan and scope of work, see **CHILD LABOR** (pp. 170-175). The chairman is Felix Adler; vice-chairmen, Homer Folks and Samuel McCune Lindsay; secretary, Owen R. Lovejoy; assistant secretary, A. J. McKelway. *Offices:* 105 East Twenty-Second Street, New York City, and Century Building, Atlanta, Ga.

NATIONAL CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY: A federation of twenty-six state societies, organized 1883. Altho several of these organizations are so new that their work is barely begun, 26,000 orphans and neglected children have been thus far cared for, more than half of whom are still under friendly supervision. The number handled last year was 4,013, of whom 2,356 were newly received. *President,* Prof. C. R. Henderson; *secretary,* Hastings H. Hart, LL.D., 601 Unity Building, Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF PURITY, THE: An organization, founded 1891, largely through the influence of Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, which strives "to elevate public opinion respecting the nature and claims of morality, with its equal obligation upon men and women, and to secure a proper practical recognition of its precepts on the part of the individual, the family, and the nation." The league holds meetings annually, and has increased in the number and influence of its patrons and members. It has for years tried to make infidelity a legal crime, and succeeded in having the New York Legislature pass the so-called Phillips Bill—taking effect Sept. 1, 1907—which makes adultery a crime punishable with imprisonment up to six months, and applies equally to both sexes. The law permitting the prosecution of the person proven guilty of adultery is now a law in every state of the United States. *President,* Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, 5 East Twelfth Street, New York City.

NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION: This organization grew out of conferences on arbitration and conciliation, held in Chicago, Dec., 1900,

under the auspices of the Chicago Civic Federation, of which Mr. Ralph M. Easley was the secretary and chief organizer, as he has been of the National Federation. A committee of twelve members was appointed, representing labor, capital, and the general public. This committee met and organized in Jan., 1901, and was able to avert a threatened anthracite coal strike by securing a conference of the operators and the mine-workers.

At a third conference, under the name of the National Civic Federation, held in New York in Dec., 1901, the executive committee was reorganized to include twelve representatives each from labor, capital, and the general public, afterward increased to fifteen members each. Headquarters were taken in New York City.

The objects of the federation are stated as follows:

The National Civic Federation aims to bring into cooperation the sane and patriotic leaders of the forces of employers and employed, and of the interested but too often forgotten and forgetting third party, the general public. Its purpose is constructive, not destructive. It would develop, through the agencies here described, the best elements in the organizations of capital and of labor, and it would keep awake a wholesome public concern in the profit of one, the welfare of the other, and the prosperity of all, through the diffusion of an intelligent understanding of economic laws. It would show that organized labor cannot be destroyed without the debasement of the masses. It would show that organized labor can be led to correct its errors. It would show that capital can be taught the practicability of securing industrial peace in accordance with business methods. It would show that the twin foes of industrial peace are the antiunion employers and the Socialists, and that the former are unconsciously promoting that class hatred which the latter boldly advocates. It would present a hopeful picture of future harmony between capital and labor, based upon the establishment of their rightful relations, instead of the pessimistic prophecy of the degradation of labor because of its exceptional and inexcusable errors or crimes, or of a social revolution provoked by capital when organized for oppression.

The federation works largely through various departments.

(1) The Public Ownership Commission composed of 100 prominent men representing every shade of opinion on this subject. (See below.)

(2) The Immigration Department composed of men selected to represent all localities in the union affected by the admission of aliens.

(3) The Department of Conciliation and Arbitration has a membership extending to every industrial center, but works largely through an executive committee composed of the most representative (in equal numbers) of capitalists, wage-earners, and the general public. It has been very influential and successful in settling a large number of important industrial conflicts in all portions of the country, and still more in preventing the development of conflicts.

(4) The Department of Trade Agreements works to establish such agreements (see **TRADE AGREEMENTS**), and in every way to advocate their adoption.

(5) The Welfare Department educates the public as to the meaning and value of welfare work, which is understood to involve especial consideration for physical comfort wherever labor is performed; opportunities for recreation; educational opportunities; and the providing of suitable sanitary homes. Plans for saving and lending money, insurance, and pensions are also included in welfare work.

The department interests employers in giving especial attention to the physical or mental welfare of their employees through conferences, and the publication of reports and articles.

Upon request, a consulting agent is furnished to study the particular needs of employees in a given plant, to advise the best way of introducing such methods of welfare work as may be deemed essential, and to direct their installation. When desired, a permanent agent or welfare manager to administer the work is recommended.

A central bureau, under the charge of Miss Gertrude Beeks, is maintained to furnish information relative to the success or failure of experiments in this work, the causes of either, and with reference to the latest efforts of employers in this direction.

(6) The Department of Industrial Economics, more recently organized, is composed of editors of the daily press and of politico-social magazines, trade papers, and labor

journals, and of economic and legal authors, lecturers, and the heads of the departments of political economy in universities. These are brought together at informal dinners, to consider some one of the industrial topics that have been enumerated.

A large part of the work of the federation has been done by important conferences on important subjects of the day, notably on arbitration and conciliation, on immigration, on primary and election laws. In 1906 the federation created an important public ownership commission, composed of twenty-one expert students of the question, equally divided between believers, non-believers, and those not committed on the question. This commission studied typical instances of private and publicly owned public services, both in the United States and in Great Britain, and made a notable report in 1907. (See PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.)

The executive committee of the federation representing its three component elements are:

On the Part of the Public

Grover Cleveland, ex-President of the United States Princeton, N. J.; Andrew Carnegie, capitalist, New York City; Cornelius N. Bliss, ex-Secretary of the Interior, New York City; Oscar S. Straus, member of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague, New York City; Charles W. Eliot, president Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Nicholas Murray Butler, president Columbia University, New York City; Seth Low, publicist, New York City; Archbishop John Ireland, of the Roman Catholic Church, St. Paul, Minn.; Bishop Henry C. Potter, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City; Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.; David R. Francis, ex-Secretary of the Interior, St. Louis, Mo.; Isaac N. Seligman, of J. & W. Seligman & Co., New York City; James Speyer, of Speyer & Co., New York City; V. Event Macy, capitalist, New York City; Ralph M. Easley, chairman Executive Council, New York City.

On the Part of Employers

Henry Phipps, director U. S. Steel Corporation, New York City; August Belmont, president Interborough Rapid Transit Company, New York City; Clarence H. Mackay, president Postal Telegraph Cable Company, New York City; Lucius Tuttle, president Boston & Maine Railroad, Boston; W. A. Clark, president United Verde Copper Company, Butte, Mont.; Frederick D. Underwood, president Erie Railroad Company, New York City; Frederick P. Fish, president American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Boston; Francis L. Robbins, president Pittsburgh Coal Company, Pittsburgh; H. H. Vreeland, president New York City Railway Company, New York City; Samuel Mather, of Pickands, Mather & Co., Cleveland; Charles A. Moore, of Manning, Maxwell & Moore, New York City; Franklin MacVeagh, of Franklin MacVeagh & Co., Chicago; Charles H. Taylor, Jr., ex-president American Newspaper Publishers' Association, Boston; Dan R. Hanna, of M. A. Hanna & Co., Cleveland; Marcus M. Marks, president National Association of Clothing Manufacturers, New York City; Otto M. Eidlitz, chairman Board of Governors, Building Trades Employers' Association, New York City.

On the Part of Wage-earners

Samuel Gompers, president American Federation of Labor, Washington; John Mitchell, president United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis; E. E. Clark, grand chief conductor, Order of Railway Conductors, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; James Duncan, general secretary Granite Cutters' International Association of America, Quincy, Mass.; Daniel J. Keefe, president International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association, Detroit, Mich.; Warren S. Stone, grand chief International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Cleveland; P. H. Morrissey, grand master Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland; William D. Mahon, president Amalgamated Association of Street-Railway Employees of America, Detroit; William J. Bowen, president Bricklayers and Masons' International Union, Indianapolis; J. J. Hannahan, grand master Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen, Peoria, Ill.; James O'Connell, president International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.; John F. Tobin, general president Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston; Joseph P. Valentine, president Iron Molders' Union of North America, Cincinnati; James M. Lynch, president International Typographical Union, Indianapolis; Denis A. Hayes, president Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the U. S. and Canada, Philadelphia; William Huber, president United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Indianapolis, Ind.

The president of the federation is August Belmont; vice-presidents, Samuel Gompers, Oscar S. Straus; chairman executive council, Ralph M. Easley. *Secretary*, Samuel B. Donnelly, office 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE: Organized in 1881. Object, "To advance the cause of civil-service reform in the United States." (See CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.) *President*, Dr. D. C. Gilman, Baltimore, Md. *Secretary*, Elliot H. Goodwin, 79 Wall Street, New York.

NATIONAL CURFEW ASSOCIATION: Founded by Alex. Hogeland in 1889. It agitates for the ringing of the curfew, after which children found unaccompanied on the streets are liable to arrest. It has been adopted in over 4,000 cities and towns of the United States and Canada, and a decrease of crime is claimed in these places from 50 to 80 per cent. *Corresponding Secretary*, Rev. J. H. Bradford, 1753 Park Road, Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL DIRECT LEGISLATION LEAGUE (founded 1896): See DIRECT LEGISLATION, p. 385. *President*, Eltweed Pomeroy. *Secretary*, G. H. Strobell, Kinney and Orchard Streets, Newark, N. J.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (Great Britain): Established in 1889, to promote a system of national education which shall be efficient, progressive, unsectarian, and under popular control. Its constitution and policy are controlled by a council of 300 members. *President*, Rt. Hon. A. H. D. Acland. *Secretaries*, Mr. A. J. Mundella and Mr. T. E. Minshall. *Offices*, Caxton House, Westminster, S. W., Eng.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION: Organized under the name of National Teachers' Association in 1857. Object: To further and shape national educational aims and progress. The annual meetings previous to 1884 were small in numbers, averaging about 200 members; since 1884 the annual conventions have averaged more than 6,000 members; since 1895 the average annual membership has been nearly 10,000. The establishment by Congress of the Bureau of Education of the United States and of the office of U. S. Commissioner of Education was secured through the early efforts of the association. The recent special committee reports indicate the lines of investigation which, in addition to the work of its annual conventions, have made the association the most important educational organization in the world. The forty-four annual volumes of Proceedings, including the Proceedings of the International Congresses of Education, constitute the chief publications of the association, and have come to be regarded as the most valuable library of educational literature extant. Congress has enacted a new charter of incorporation under the name of "National Education Association of the U. S.," which was adopted July 10, 1907, at the annual meeting, and became operative at once. According to this charter, the association has seventeen different departments: National Council of Education and departments of Kindergarten Education, Elementary Education, Secondary Education, Higher Education, Normal Schools, Superintend-

ence, Manual Training, Art Education, Music Education, Business Education, Child Study, Physical Education, Science Instruction, School Administration, Special Education, Indian Education, Library Department. *Secretary*, Irwin Shepard, Winona, Minn.

NATIONAL HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, THE: This association was incorporated March 16, 1893, under the name of the National Columbian Household Economic Association, but at its meeting in April, 1894, the word Columbian was dropped from its name. The object of the association, as declared in its constitution, is:

1. To awaken the public mind to the importance of establishing bureaus of information where there can be an exchange of wants and needs between employer and employed, in every department of home and social life. 2. To promote among members of the association a more scientific knowledge of the economic value of various foods and fuels; a more intelligent understanding of correct plumbing and drainage in our homes, as well as need for pure water and good light in a sanitariously built house. 3. To secure skilled labor in every department in our homes, and to organize schools of household science and service.

The management is vested in a board of sixteen directors, with headquarters in Chicago, but composed of members from all states. The association holds annual meetings, and has the following standing committees:

1. Committee on Sanitary Condition of the Home Correct Plumbing and Ventilation, Light, Heat, etc. The duties of this committee shall be to establish home science clubs and to make a study of sanitary science.

2. Committee on Cooking Schools, Industrial Schools, Housekeepers' Emergency Bureau, Cooperative Laundries, Cooperative Bakeries, Training School for Servants, Kitchen Gardens and Public Kindergartens, Diet Kitchens, Mothers' and Nurse Girls' classes, and Training School for Nurses. The duties of this committee shall be to keep itself informed of the work of each school and institution, and to direct all who wish to know where and at what hour one may visit these schools.

3. Committee on Food Supply. The duties of this committee shall be to prepare a descriptive list of wholesale and retail foods, such as meat, vegetables, butter, eggs, etc.; to compare New York and Chicago with other markets, and furnish statements of what articles of food are most desirable to buy, either in large or small quantities, with household recipes for cooking and all other matters relating to household economics.

4. Committee on Housekeepers' Clubs. The duties of this committee shall be to formulate plans to simplify housework in village communities, to suggest plans for cooperation in laundries, bakeries, and kitchens, to discuss plans for profitable market gardening, poultry and egg-raising on a small scale, and to furnish information on all topics connected with housework.

5. Committee on Sewing. The duties of this committee shall be to keep itself informed of the work done in various schools where sewing is taught, and give outlines of the methods used.

6. Press Committee. It shall be the duty of this committee to secure the publication of notes concerning the National Household Economic Association in some journal or periodical in the north, south, east, west, and middle sections of the country, in order to keep alive public interest in the science of household economics, each member of the committee taking charge of the matter in her own section.

All women may become members of this association by the payment of an annual fee of \$1.

The association works mainly not by establishing new clubs, but by inducing existing woman's clubs to establish departments of household economics, for the study of how better to manage the home, educate better servants, have more healthy food, etc. The honorary president of the association is Mrs. Potter Palmer; the corresponding secretary, Mrs. Alice J. Whitney, 453 Belden Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Mrs. Helen Campbell (*q. v.*) has been appointed national lecturer for the association, and the syllabus of her lectures has since been adopted as a part of the

program of the association, and gives something of the scope of this important subject, but cannot be reproduced here.

NATIONAL HOUSING REFORM COUNCIL FOR ENGLAND AND WALES: Objects: The council has a well-defined and practical program of municipal housing work, including the efficient usage of existing powers under the Housing and Public Health Acts. It strives also for the extension of these powers and the granting of new powers to local authorities to enable them to acquire municipal estates, to stop the process of new slum creation by proper methods of planning, etc., etc. An Advisory Committee, composed of members of Parliament and leading housing reformers, has been established by the efforts of the council. *Secretary*, Henry R. Aldridge, 432, West Strand, London, W. C., and *Central Office*, 18, Dulverton Road, Leicester, England.

NATIONAL IRRIGATION ASSOCIATION: Organized 1899 by G. H. Maxwell (*q. v.*), who conducted the campaign for irrigation resulting in the passage of the National Irrigation Act, 1901. *Secretary*, Guy E. Mitchell, 1419 F Street, Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE FAMILY: Formed in 1881. Object: Promotion of better public sentiment and legislation regarding the family, especially on marriage and divorce. The league publishes an important annual report. (See DIKE, S. W.) *Secretary*, Rev. Samuel W. Dike, LL.D., Auburndale, Mass.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE: Formed in 1894. Through its annual conferences it enables the workers in behalf of municipal betterment to come into personal touch and exchange views. Through active committees the league has brought together groups of acknowledged experts and public men who have formulated reports of great value to students and administrators. Through its executive officers the league is in constant touch with local and national movements concerned with municipal questions. Annual subscription, \$5. Its annual congresses are among the most important congresses of experts as to civic reform in the United States, and the reports of these congresses the most valuable statements upon these subjects. One of the most valuable features of these congresses and reports is the annual review (since 1894) of the municipal situation in the leading cities of the country, by the secretary, Mr. Woodruff. (See MUNICIPAL PROGRESS IN THE U. S.) *Secretary*, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, 703 N. American Building, Philadelphia.

NATIONAL PRISON ASSOCIATION: Organized in 1870. In 1907 its name was changed to the **American Prison Association**. Aims: The reform of criminal law; preventive and reformatory law; improvement of prison discipline; the police force of cities. An association of growing importance. Its congress at Chicago, 1907, had an attendance of 540. It has the following committees and chairmen (chosen 1907): Criminal Law Reform, Roger Phelps Clark, Binghamton, N. Y.; Preventive and Reformatory Work, T. B. Patton, Huntingdon, Pa.; Prevention and Probation, Homer Folks, New York, N. Y.; Prison Discipline, M. M. Mallory, Pontiac, Ill.; Dis-

charged Prisoners, Joseph S. Pugmire, Toronto; Statistics of Crime, S. J. Barrows, New York, N. Y. *General Secretary*, Amos W. Butler, State House, Indianapolis, Ind.

NATIONAL PURITY FEDERATION, THE: Organized at the National Purity Conference at La Crosse, Wis., Oct., 1905. "Its object is to unite in national cooperation all those forces in America that are striving to promote purity in the individual and in social relations through preventive, educational, reformatory, rescue, law enforcement, legislative, and sanitary lines of effort. It is in every sense non-sectarian, and is open to all who are sincerely and seriously striving to promote its object." The second conference was held in Chicago, Oct., 1906; the third in Battle Creek, Mich., Nov. 1907. *President*, B. S. Steadwell, La Crosse, Wis. *Corresponding Secretary*, Miss Hattie Dickson, 1110 West Main Street, Marshalltown, Iowa. *Organ*: *The Light*, published (since 1897) by the president. (See SOCIAL PURITY.)

The Canadian Purity Education Society is a branch of the Federation. *Secretary*, Rowena D. S. Hume, 226 Carlton Street, Toronto.

NATIONAL SECULAR SOCIETY: This society works against all creed or religious tests, practises, grants, recognition, or any connection whatsoever between the State and religion. *Secretary*, Miss E. M. Vance, 2, Newcastle Street, Farrington Street, London, E. C., England.

NATIONAL SUNDAY LEAGUE (Great Britain): Established 1855. Objects: The opening of museums, art-galleries, and libraries on Sunday afternoons, and generally aims at promoting intellectual and elevating recreation on that day. *Secretary*, Henry Mills. *Offices*, 34, Red Lion Square, High Holborn, London, W. C., England.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES: Objects: The society is organized to secure the parliamentary enfranchisement of women, and advances the claim that as the work contributed by women to the State increases year by year, the artificial disqualification which now renders that work more difficult should be swept away. It seeks to obtain the franchise on the same lines as it is, or may be, granted to men, and is persistent in memorializing members of Parliament and forming committees and societies in its area of work. A conference of M. P.'s favorable to women's suffrage is usually held at the commencement of the annual session, to promote the introduction of a bill or resolution.

President, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. *Honorary Secretaries*, Miss F. Hardcastle, M.A., and Miss F. Sterling. *Central Office*, 25, Victoria Street, S. W., London, England.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, THE (federated with the International Council of Women): Organized 1895. The union is organized in the interests of no one policy, and has no power over the organizations which constitute it; federated societies incur no responsibility on account of any action taken either by the council of the union or by any other federated society.

Objects.—1. To promote sympathy of thought and purpose among the women of Great Britain and Ireland.

2. To promote the social, civil, moral, and religious welfare of women.

3. To focus and redistribute information likely to be of service to women workers.

4. To federate women's organizations and to encourage and assist the formation of local councils and unions of women. *Secretary*, Miss Norah E. Green, Parliament Mansions, Westminster.

NATIONAL VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION (Great Britain): Objects: The suppression of the "white slave traffic" and the repression of criminal vice and public immorality. National committees have been formed in every country in Europe, in the Argentine, Egypt, and South Africa, to co-operate in dealing with the evil in question. *Secretary*, W. A. Coote. *Office*, St. Mary's Chambers, 161, Strand, W. C., London, England.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S LABOR LEAGUE (Great Britain): Formed 1906. Objects: To form an organization of women to work for independent labor representation in connection with the Labor Party, and to obtain direct labor representation of women in Parliament and on all local bodies.

The members of the society work with the Labor Party locally and nationally, and help Labor candidates in local and parliamentary elections. They educate themselves on political and social questions by means of meetings, discussions, distribution of leaflets, etc. They take an active interest in the work of the Poor Law Guardians, educational bodies, distress committees, registration of voters, town, district, and county councilors, and members of Parliament; work to secure the full rights of citizenship for all women and men.

President, Mrs. J. R. Macdonald. *Honorary Secretary*, Mrs. F. Macpherson, B.A., 34, St. Thomas's Mansions, Westminster Bridge, London.

NATIONALISM: The American name for the economic ideal, pictured in Edward Bellamy's novel, "Looking Backward," and also to the reform movement that arose in connection with this book. Says Mr. Bellamy:

This plan is called nationalism because it proceeds by the nationalization of industries, including, as minor applications of the same principle, the municipalization and State control of localized businesses.

Socialism implies the socializing of industry. This may or may not be based upon the national organism, and may or may not imply economic equality. As compared with socialism, nationalism is a definition not in the sense of opposition or exclusion, but of a precision rendered necessary by a cloud of vague and disputed implications historically attached to the former word.

Nationalists put deep emphasis upon the necessity for economic equality. Some Socialists do likewise, but some do not. In this respect, and in its starting from a distinctly national basis, lies its difference from socialism.

The Nationalist movement in the United States dates from Dec. 1, 1888, when the first Nationalist club was organized in Boston. The idea of the movement, as well as the name, sprang from a suggestion in Edward Bellamy's novel, "Looking Backward," the book which describes Boston as the author believes it would be under nationalism

The First Club

in the year 2000. (See "Looking Backward.") A club of business men had been formed the previous autumn, whose motto was, "Spread the Book"; but finding unexpected success and interest, the

Nationalist movement was conceived and the first club organized. The leaders in the movement were Cyrus Willard, Sylvester Baxter, Charles E. Bowers, A. T. Devereux, Edward S. Huntington, Henry W. Austin, Miss Anna Page, and others, Mr. Edward Bellamy himself being in correspondence with the movers. The first officers of the first club were Charles E. Bowers, president; Edward Bellamy, first vice-president; C. F. Willard, secretary. The following declaration of principles was adopted:

The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature.

The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning.

Therefore, so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system, the highest development of the individual cannot be reached, the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realized.

No truth can be applied unless practically applied. Therefore, those who seek the welfare of man must endeavor to suppress the system founded on the brute principle of competition and put in its place another based on the nobler principle of association.

But in striving to apply this nobler and wiser principle to the complex conditions of modern life, we advocate no sudden or ill-considered changes; we make no war upon individuals; we do not censure those who have accumulated immense fortunes simply by carrying to a logical end the false principle on which business is now based.

The combinations, trusts, and syndicates of which the people at present complain demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association. We merely seek to push this principle a little further and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation—the people organized—the organic unity of the whole people.

The present industrial system proves itself wrong by the immense wrongs it produces; it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its concomitant. Against this system we raise our protest; for the abolition of the slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate, we pledge our best efforts.

In May, 1889, the magazine, *The Nationalist*, was started and continued two years. Great interest was manifested, and clubs were started all over the Union, particularly in California. In Jan., 1891, Mr. Edward Bellamy started *The New Nation*, a weekly published in the interests of the movement. This continued two years. In Jan., 1891, the secretary reported 182 clubs.

The movement in certain places early took a political channel. In one electoral district in California in 1890 a Nationalist candidate polled 1,000 votes. Rhode Island put out a Nationalist state ticket. The movement, however, politically early passed into the People's Party movement (which see).

Mr. Bellamy's novel has had, in this country alone, a sale of some half a million copies, and everywhere scattered the seeds of nationalistic thought.

Edward Bellamy has described the aims of Nationalism as follows:

We who call ourselves Nationalists believe that the solution of the industrial and social question is to be found, and is only to be found, in the logical evolution of the idea on

Principles Described

which this nation is based, which is that of a union of the people in order to use the collective strength for the common welfare. We consider that this idea has always logically involved, when the time should be ripe, the nationalization of industry with a complete provision for the employment and maintenance of the people. When it shall in this manner have completed its evolution the nation will be, according to the hope and belief of the Nationalists, a great partnership for the general business of supporting and enjoying life, in which all the people shall be equal partners. It will be a universal insurance company, guaranteeing all its members against injustice, oppression, sickness, age, accident, and disability of every sort. It will be a mighty trust, holding the total assets of society—moral, intellectual, and natural—not only for the benefit of the present, but in the interests of future generations

and for the ultimate weal of the race, and looking to the ends of the world and the judgment of God. The membership of an individual in this great partnership, with all the rights it implies, will be absolutely fixed by the fact of his birth; the part he plays in its affairs being determined by his faculties and aptitudes.

There is nothing essentially new about the project of a society based upon and illustrating brotherly relations and obligations among men. The eventual realization of such a state of affairs has been the dream of humanity in all ages. Men have always acknowledged, even the most unjust, that if, instead of contending with one another for the means of livelihood, human beings could only be induced to unite their powers to secure and share a common welfare, the world would not only be a great deal better and a great deal happier, but likewise a great deal richer than it ever has been.

Heretofore, however, in the history of mankind the practical obstacles to such a change offered by existing conditions and institutions have been insuperable. It is the claim of Nationalists that these conditions have so changed and are so rapidly changing to-day as to render not only possible, but in the near future probable, a transformation of society which a generation ago it would have been chimerical to expect within any calculable period.

In view of the present extraordinary business situation, the unprecedented and portentous tendency of capital, the excusably alarmed and exasperated attitude of the masses of the people, we hold it not absurd to say that men now in middle age may live to see the present system give place to that grand industrial partnership of all for all which is the destined and sole possible solution of all labor problems and all social questions.

The greatest industrial revolution in history—greater by far in its destined consequences than the overthrow of the slave system at the South—is the present tendency to the monopolizing of the field of industry and commerce by the great capitalist organizations. The innumerable small business concerns which used to divide up every industry and trade are enduring a war of extermination at the hands of the great combinations of capital. The business of the people, which used to be in the hands of the people, is passing out of their hands into those of a small number of monopolists. It is in vain that we cry "Halt!" to this tendency. The economic necessities underlying and compelling the movement toward the consolidation of business are irresistible and beyond the power of legislatures to dam up with any quantity of statutes.

Americans who think are already beginning to see, and all Americans soon will be forced to see, that there are only two alternatives before the nation—either it must consent to turn over its industries, its entire business—and that means its social and political liberties as well—to a few hundred billionaires, or it must assume control of them itself; that is to say, it must nationalize them. Plutocracy or nationalism is the choice which, within a dozen years, at the rate things now are going, the American people will have wholly committed themselves to. Can any one who has faith in the people have any doubt as to what the choice between these alternatives will be?

In regard to the Nationalist program for introducing their ideas, Mr. Bellamy writes in *The Forum* (March, 1894):

Revolutions, however peaceful they may be, do not follow prearranged plans, but make channels for themselves, of which we may at best predict the general direction and outcome. Meanwhile Nationalists would prepare the way by a step-by-step extension of the public conduct of business, which shall go as fast or as slow as public opinion may determine.

The Nationalist Program

In making any industry or service public business, two ends should be kept equally in view, viz.: first, the benefit of the public by more cheap, efficient, and honest service or commodities; and second, but as an end in every way equally important, the immediate amelioration of the condition of workers taken over from private into public service. As to the first point, whenever a service or business is taken over to be publicly conducted, it should be managed strictly at cost; that is to say, the service or product should be furnished at the lowest cost that will pay the expense and proper charges of the business. Nationalism contemplates making all production for use and not for profit, and every nationalized business should be a step in that direction by eliminating profit so far as it is concerned.

As to the improvement in the condition of the workers, which is the other and equal end to be sought in all cases of nationalizing a business, it is enough to say that the State should show itself the model employer. Moderate hours of labor, healthful and safe conditions, with provision for sickness, accident, and old age, and a system for the admission, promotion, and discharge of employees strictly based on merit, and absolutely exclusive of all capricious personal interference for political or other reasons, should characterize all publicly conducted business from the start. In particular cases, such as the clothing manufacture now so largely carried on by sweaters' slaves, decent wages and conditions might temporarily raise the price of ready-made clothing. If it

did, it would only show how necessary it had been to make the business a State monopoly; and we may add that, on grounds of humanity, this is one of the first that should be brought under public management.

As to the general question of the order in which different branches of business should be nationalized, or (which is the same thing) brought under municipal or State control, ownership, and operation. Nationalists generally agree that chartered businesses of all sorts, which, as holding public franchises, are already quasi-public services, should first receive attention. Under this

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head come telegraphs and telephones, railroads, both local and general, municipal lighting, water-works, ferries, and the like. The railroads alone employ some 800,000 men, and the employees in the other businesses mentioned may raise that figure to 1,000,000, representing, perhaps, a total population of 4,000,000; certainly a rather big slice of the nation to begin with. These businesses would carry with them others. For example, the railroads are the largest consumers of iron and steel, and the national operation of them would naturally carry with it the national operation of the larger part of the iron business. There are about 500,000 ironworkers in the country, implying a population of perhaps 2,000,000 dependent on the industry, and making, with the railroad and other employees and their dependents, some 6,000,000 persons. The same logic would apply to the mining of coal, with which, as carrier and chief consumer, the railroads are as closely identified.

The necessity of preserving what is left of our forests will soon force all the states to go into the forestry business, which may well be the beginning of public operation of the lumber industry. If our fast vanishing fisheries are to be protected, not merely national supervision, but national operation, will soon be necessary.

In the field of general business, the trusts and syndicates, which have so largely stimulated the popular demand for nationalism, have also greatly simplified its progress. Whenever the managers of any department of industry or commerce have, in defiance of law and public interest, formed a monopoly, what is more just and proper than that the people themselves, through their agents, should take up and conduct the business in question at cost? In view of the fact that most of the leading branches of production have now been "syndicated," it will be seen that this suggestion, fully carried out, would go far toward completing the plan of nationalization.

Meanwhile the same process would be going on upon other lines. Foreign governments which have large armies, in order to secure quality and cheapness, usually manufacture their soldiers' clothing, rations, and various supplies in government factories. The British Government, which is most like our own, was forced, by the swindling of contractors, to go into making clothing for the soldiers in the Crimean War, and has since kept it up with most admirable results. If our government had manufactured the soldiers' supplies in the Civil War it would have saved a vast sum of money. It is highly desirable that it should forthwith begin to manufacture clothing and other necessities for its soldiers and sailors, and for any other of its employees who might choose to be so served, as it is safe to say all would; for goods as represented, proof against adulteration, and furnished at cost, would be a godsend even to the millionaire in these days of knavish trade. The policy of supplying the needs of government employees with the product of publicly conducted industries would bring about the whole productive and distributive plan of nationalism in proportion as the number of employees increased.

Among special lines of business, which ought at once to be brought under public management, are the liquor traffic and fire- and life-insurance. It is proposed that every state should immediately monopolize the liquor traffic within its borders, and open places of sale in such localities as desire them. The liquors should be sold at cost—that is to say, at rates to pay all expenses of the system—by state agents, whose compensation should be fixed without relation, direct or indirect, to the amount of sales. This plan would eliminate desire of profit as a motive to stimulate sales, would insure a strict regard to all conditions and requirements of the law, and would guarantee pure liquors. Pending the nationalization of the manufacture of liquors, the general government need be called on only for a transportation law protecting the states against illegal deliveries within their borders.

As to state life- and fire-insurance, this undertaking would need no plant and no backing save the state's credit on long-tested calculations of risks. It would be done at cost, in state buildings, by low-salaried officials, and without any sort of competitive or advertising expenses. This would mean a saving to fire-insurers of at least 25 per cent in premiums and of at least 50 per cent to life-insurers, and would, above all, give insurance that was not itself in need of being reinsured.

When private plants are taken over by a city, state, or nation, they should, of course, be paid for; the basis of valuation being the present cost of a plant of equal utility. This subject of compensation should be considered in view of the fact that the ultimate effect of nationalism will be the extinction of all economic superiorities, however derived,

The organization of the unemployed on a basis of state-supervised cooperation is an urgent undertaking, in line with the program of nationalism. The unemployed represent a labor force which only lacks organization to be abundantly self-sustaining. It is the duty and interest of the state to so organize the unemployed, according to their several trades and aptitudes—the women workers as well as the men—that their support shall be provided for out of their own product, which should not go upon the market for sale, but be wholly consumed within the circle of the producers, thus in no way deranging outside prices or wages. This plan contemplates the unemployed problem as being a permanent one, with periods of special aggravation, and as therefore demanding for solution a permanent and elastic provision for a circle of production and consumption complete in itself and independent of the commercial system. There is no other method for dealing with the unemployed problem which does not mock it.

In proportion as the industries, commerce, and general business of the country are publicly organized, the sources of the power and means of the growth of the plutocracy, which depend upon the control and revenues of industry, will be undermined and cut off. In the same measure, obviously, the regulation of the employment of the people and the means of providing for their maintenance will pass under their collective control. To complete the plan of nationalism, by carrying out its guaranty of equal maintenance to all, with employment according to fitness, will require only a process of systematization and equalizing of conditions under an already unified administration.

REVISED BY THE LATE EDWARD BELLAMY.

(For the objections to Nationalism, see SOCIALISM; section Objections to.)

REFERENCES: *Looking Backward*, by Edward Bellamy, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1887; *The Program of the Nationalists*, by Edward Bellamy, reprinted from *The Forum* for March, 1894; *Principles and Purposes of Nationalism*, an address by Edward Bellamy, delivered in Tremont Temple, Boston, Dec. 19, 1889.

NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC:

It has been proposed by the Nationalists in America (see NATIONALISM) to meet the enormous evils of the liquor traffic by putting the whole traffic into the hands of the government and having liquor sold under strict regulations, by government officials, in government dispensaries, and at cost. It is in this last respect that the Nationalist plan differs radically from the dispensary system (*q. v.*), from the Norwegian system (*q. v.*), and from all similar plans. All these plans provide for some one's making a profit from the sale of liquor. Nationalists, on the other hand, maintain that so long as there is a profit in the liquor traffic some one will be interested in the extension of the traffic, and that, conversely, the one way to kill the traffic is to kill the profits in it. They argue that this applies to government sales as well as to private sales. It will not do, they affirm, to allow even the government to make profits out of liquor, for if the government has an "interest" in the sales, it will lead to corruption. If, on the other hand, government made no profit out of the sales, it would be nobody's interest to sell, and therefore the strictest regulations concerning its sale could be both enacted and enforced. Sales could then be restricted to very limited hours; they could be made only to registered people or hotel guests, so that men could neither buy much at one place nor go from place to place and get a little. They could be absolutely prohibited to minors, to people whom physicians or their families declared unable to drink in moderation, etc. Yet the plan would allow other adults to drink in moderation who wish to do so. This, Nationalists urge, is the best law that can to-day be enforced. Prohibition (*q. v.*) they declare to be, in our large cities and even in most states, at present impracticable. The sale of liquor by government dispensaries, they claim, in South Carolina, Sweden, etc., has proved practical, and the best way to

restrict the traffic, and abolish its grossest evils. Only the Nationalists would go one step further and prevent even government from having any interest in the concern. To sell liquor at cost, the Nationalists claim, would not induce people to drink more, by making liquor cheaper; in the first place, because it is by no means clear that liquor would be cheaper. The cheaper forms of liquor are sold in such vast quantities to-day, and with such vile adulterations, that they can be sold very cheap, and at such a low margin of profit (the total sum of the profits, however, being enormous) that it is doubtful if the government could sell its limited quantities, which would be free from cheap adulterations, at any less price than to-day, and yet cover the cost. Cost price, therefore, would not necessarily be a lower price. Even if the price were slightly lower, the Nationalists urge that the small difference would scarcely increase temptation at all, because few, if any, except those wholly without money, are deterred from drink by the price. Again, government sales of liquors to registered persons would check all or almost all the treating that is to-day one of the greatest forms of the evil. The great argument for this system is, however, that it would at once cut off enormous money interest in the liquor traffic which to-day buys legislatures, corrupts politics, demoralizes the community, prevents temperance legislation, or mocks its enforcement. (See TEMPERANCE.)

Objections Considered

force all others to give everything they might have for food, as the alternative would be starvation. "What will not a man give for his life?" But such a combination is an impossibility, and every attempt to effect a combination, even on a comparatively small scale, with respect to a single staple, like wheat or cotton, has thus far proved a failure.

The following consideration of the subject is taken from various statements by Professor Ely. Concerning the difference between "natural and other monopolies," he says (*idem*, p. 217):

Socialists assert that every business is a natural monopoly, and that the expression itself, "natural monopoly," is as much out of place as would be the expression "natural adults," with reference to human beings. Every human being becomes in time an adult, and so, they say, every business becomes in time a monopoly. Proof is sought in a long list of trusts and combinations which have been more or less successful. When we look into this list of trusts in manufactures, however, we quickly ascertain that few of them have achieved anything like complete monopoly; and if we examine the list of unsuccessful attempts to form trusts, we shall discover that this is longer than the list of partially successful trusts. What we ascertain in reality is a demonstration of the advantages of production on a large scale, and a few attempts to secure a monopoly which have been partially successful, and a far larger number of cases of failure to establish monopoly in manufacturing industries. So far as any historical inductive proof is concerned, we must say that it is, as yet, lacking. The careful thinker will at least demand time for further observation. He will tell us to wait and see what tendencies are revealed by subsequent industrial development. If we turn to deductive proof, however, no convincing arguments have been advanced to support the hypothesis, either that unification of manufactures is, generally speaking, inevitable, or even possible. We must not overlook the immense difficulty of a management so watchful, so alert, so full of resources, so fruitful in initiative and enterprise, that it can permanently secure better results than a number of smaller and competing manufacturers.

As a proof that natural monopolies are such, we are told (*idem*, pp. 263-266):

NATURAL MONOPOLIES: This is a phrase that has come into general use, particularly in the United States, for that class of monopolies which are asserted by the users of the phrase to have become monopolies on account of some inherent property. Prof. R. T. Ely, who perhaps has done more than any other writer to give currency to the phrase, says ("Socialism and Social Reform," pp. 262-300):

Monopolies may be divided into two main classes—natural and artificial; and natural monopolies again may be divided into two subclasses, namely, first, those businesses which are monopolies by virtue of the qualities inherent in the business itself; and second, those businesses which are monopolies by reason of the fact that the supply of the raw material upon which they are based is so limited in area that the entire supply can be acquired by a single combination of men.

Natural monopolies of the first class are the natural monopolies ordinarily discussed, and they include the means of communication and transportation, as well as the lighting service by gas or electricity of cities. Railways, waterways, irrigation works, telegraphs, telephones, are especially important. But street-car lines, whether they are surface lines, subways, or elevated railways, and the means of lighting cities, are scarcely less so. These are all primary businesses in modern society; businesses of every other kind are dependent upon them.

Characterization

Natural monopolies of the second class are those which become monopolies because the supply of raw materials, consisting of natural treasures, is so limited that it can all be acquired by a single combination of men. Anthracite coal has been cited as an illustration; other similar cases could be instanced. It is said that it has been possible to purchase practically the entire supply of some raw materials found among barbarous or semibarbarous peoples; not so much, perhaps, on account of the limitation of the supply, as on account of the fact that it is easy to cheat them, and to buy a great supply at far less than its actual value. . . .

Land is frequently called a natural monopoly, but this hardly seems correct. Monopoly implies management or ownership by one person, or by a combination of persons who can act as a unit. Anything of the kind does not exist with respect either to landownership, or to the use of the land for agricultural or building purposes. A genuine monopoly in the ownership or exploitation of land would mean the virtual slavery of all persons not interested in the monopoly. If the farmers of the world could act together as a unit, they could

The proof that these pursuits are natural monopolies is twofold, namely, deductive and inductive, or historical. The deductive proof takes account of characteristics of businesses of the kind mentioned, and discovers that businesses with these characteristics must necessarily become monopolies. Their main characteristics are three: They occupy peculiarly desirable spots or lines of land; second, the service or commodity which they supply is furnished in connection with the plant itself; and, in the third place, it is possible to increase the supply of the service or commodity indefinitely, without proportionate increase in cost. Any business which has these qualities tends to become a monopoly by virtue of its inherent qualities, and it must become such in time.

Inductive or historical proof calls attention to actual experience. It is found that sooner or later attempted competition always gives way to combination and consolidation.

The gas business furnishes an excellent illustration, because the experience with respect to this is so superabundant, and because, furthermore, as the geographical area within which the business is conducted is small, the movement toward monopoly has always been comparatively rapid. Competition in the gas business has been attempted in countries with all kinds of political government, and under every circumstance which can be imagined. It has been tried repeatedly with the most solemn promises on the part of those starting rival companies, that competition would be genuine and permanent. But the nature of the business as monopoly has been strong enough to overcome every obstacle, and guaranties have not been worth the paper on which they have been printed. It is probably not too much to say that competition has been tried a thousand times in different countries, and no one can yet point to one single instance of permanently successful competition. It would seem that a thousand experiments should satisfy any one. The telegraph business also furnishes good illustration. Competition in telegraph service was tried many times in England, but always resulted in monopoly; and it has been tried perhaps a hundred times in the U. S., but the tendency to monopoly has been too strong. . . .

Competition of various sorts has been tried with respect to railways. . . . America will be held to offer the greatest difficulties in the way of the acceptance of a theory of monopoly in the railway business, but the difficulties only spring from the fact that it is a vast country in which the railway development is yet far from complete. Combination and consolidation are going forward every day, and it is simply a question of time when monopoly will be secured in the U. S. as well as elsewhere. Even now it would require a small book simply to print the names of railway companies which have been absorbed by other companies, and have ceased to exist.

Proof of Natural Monopolies

So conceiving of natural monopolies, those who use the phrase advocate that all natural monopolies should be at least owned and usually (tho not always) operated by the community. Professor Ely writes ("An Introduction to Political Economy," pp. 252, 253):

What shall be our policy? Monopoly is inevitable. Private monopoly is odious. Public monopoly is a blessing, and the test of experience approves it. Again and again it has been tried with fear and trembling, but the results have in the long run been gratifying.

Treatment Public ownership and management of railways have in Germany succeeded in many respects even better than their advocates anticipated, and the opinion of experts in Germany favors them almost if not quite unanimously. The writer happens to know of no exception. . . . It was long ago said by a shrewd English engineer that where combination is possible competition is impossible. Combination is always possible in the case of undertakings which are natural monopolies. It is inevitable, for it is not only cheaper to do a given amount of business by a monopoly than by two or more concerns, but very much cheaper. If two gas companies in a city, having each a capital of a million dollars, operating separately are able to make 10 per cent profit, when combined they will make much more than 10 per cent; possibly even 15 or 20 per cent. There is a force continually at work drawing them together. It works as constantly if not as uniformly as the attraction of gravitation.

This does not, however, according to this school of thought, always imply public operation ("Socialism and Social Reform," p. 293):

It does not appear evident at once that the collective management of the property collectively owned is essential. If the anthracite coal-mines were owned by the state or by the nation, satisfactory results might, perhaps, be secured by leasing the land, or by allowing individuals or companies to mine coal freely on the payment of a royalty which would absorb any economic surplus above the normal returns to labor and capital.

Concerning the advantages of the public ownership of natural monopolies, we are told, first, that the socialization of natural monopolies would lead to the better utilization of productive forces and the avoidance of wastes due to competition. A railroad manager is quoted as saying that even now it would involve an annual saving of \$200,000,000 if the railways of the U. S. were managed as a unit. Says Professor Ely ("An Introduction to Political Economy," p. 254):

The construction of only two needless parallel lines of railway in the U. S., the West Shore and the Nickel Plate, extending together from New York to Chicago, wasted \$200,000,000; a sum sufficient to build 200,000 homes for a million people.

Advantages Probably the waste in railway construction and operation in the U. S. during the past fifty years would be amply sufficient to build comfortable homes for every man, woman, and child now in the country.

Every city shows that attempted competition eats up a large part of what might be profit. Gas can well be supplied for a profit in great cities, if the business is a perfect monopoly, for seventy-five cents.

A second advantage claimed is that it would tend to decrease industrial crises. (See **CRISES**.)

A third advantage is that it would purify politics. (See **CITY**; **MUNICIPALISM**; **SOCIALISM**.)

Fourth, it would tend to the utilization of inventions. (See **COMPETITION**.)

Fifth, it would aid distribution. (See **WEALTH**.) These advantages we consider under their proper heads. But besides these are indirect advantages perhaps even greater, the breaking up of the great monopolies dependent upon natural monopolies (see **COAL**; **STANDARD OIL MONOPOLY**), and the abolition of railroad favoritism (see **RAILROADS**).

Concerning the purchase of private monopolies, Professor Ely says (*idem*, p. 289):

The difficulties of payment for these monopolistic undertakings are often mentioned. It must be remembered that public ownership increases their value, because it produces unification in these enterprises, and shuts off the waste of future competition. Frequently public ownership makes it a possibility to unite advantageously several services and thus effect a saving. Very often a municipal electric lighting plant is connected with the public water-works, and results in a better utilization of public property, and of the services of those already in the employment of the municipality. The railways, which include the larger part of the property of the kind under consideration, are generally brought forward as affording the chief illustration of the difficulties of acquisition by the government. The purchase of these practically means the conversion of railway stocks and bonds into government bonds, and while it would add enormously to the public debt, it would add to a still greater extent to the public resources. Besides, it must always be remembered that the change could not be made in a single day.

Reformers are often inclined to urge that the payments for railways, telegraphs, etc., should only be sufficient to duplicate the existing plant, and this generally means much less than the selling value of the plant. They make a serious mistake in taking this position. As a matter of policy, this course is not to be recommended, because it needlessly antagonizes such a large proportion of the population of the country. Those who are asked to part with their property at a price less than the market value will feel themselves aggrieved, and will oppose the reform in every way in their power. The plan proposed is also objectionable on the score of justice. The value which property of this kind has in excess of the cost of duplication of the plant is largely due to a public policy which has been approved by a majority, and a vast majority, of the people of the U. S. A large capitalization, so far as it exceeds the actual value of the plant, very frequently represents only the waste due to attempted competition, and this attempted competition has been encouraged in every way, directly and indirectly, by the general public. Even when such is not the case, the possibility of an excessively large income, which has brought about the large capitalization, has been due to a considerable extent to failures of the legislature to make proper laws, and of the other public authorities adequately to enforce existing laws. Now, if the property is appraised simply at the cost of duplication of the plant, it would make a portion of the community bear the entire burden of a false public policy, whereas, as the whole of the public is to blame, the burden should be diffused among the people as a whole. If it is necessary to raise large sums to pay off the debt necessitated by the acquisition of enterprises of this kind, it could be done through a wisely devised system of inheritance taxes.

When we consider the difficulties in the way of the socialization of natural monopolies, we must always remember what the alternative is. These difficulties are real, but the difficulties of the present system are even greater.

For the ways in which Socialists and nationalists would obtain the ownership of private monopolies, see **RAILROADS**, section **Nationalization** of. We are here considering simply the views of those who believe in the socialization of "natural monopolies" alone. For examples of the practical working of the socialization of national monopolies, see **BERLIN**; **BIRMINGHAM**; **GLASGOW**; **LONDON**; **ELECTRICITY**; **GAS**; **POSTAL SYSTEM**; **RAILROADS**; **STREET-RAILWAYS**; **TELEGRAPHS**; **TELEPHONES**; **POSTAL SAVINGS-BANKS**, etc., etc. Professor Ely says (*idem*):

The test of experience seems to be decisive. The same objections which we now hear against the nationalization of railways in the U. S. were heard fifteen years ago in Prussia, and the opinion of the people was divided.

Experience Now one who travels in Germany, and talks with the people, finds it difficult to discover any one adverse to public ownership and management of the railways. There are some who would like to go back to the old system; but they are few indeed, and they are very generally those who would be apt to derive some private advantage from the change. Professor Cohn of the University of Göttingen voices a general sentiment when he says that, in Prussia, the question of State ownership and management of railways has been settled by the test of experience. The people of the Australasian colonies are equally clear in regard to the advantage of public ownership and operation of railways. There is considerable enthusiasm in regard to the results of such ownership and operation in New Zealand; and recently the editor of an economic periodical complained because he could not find any one in Australia to write an article adverse to the government ownership and management of railways.

For the views of those who oppose the socialization of national monopolies, see **INDIVIDUALISM**.

REFERENCES: Prof. R. T. Ely's *Socialism and Social Reform* (Crowell & Co. 1894); C. W. Baker's *Monopolies and the People* (Putnam, 1889); A. Shaw's *Municipal Government in Great Britain* (The Century Co., 1895); John R. Commons's *Distribution of Wealth* (Macmillan, 1894). (See also **ELECTRICITY**; **GAS**; **RAILROADS**; **SOCIALISM**, etc.)

NATURAL RIGHTS: These may be, in general, defined as rights or asserted rights based on what are declared to be laws of nature, as distinguished from rights grounded on conventional relations or positive enactments. The phrase, however, is used by different writers and different schools of thought in such different meanings, or shades of meaning, that one must ask the exact sense in which a writer uses the phrase before one can be sure that he understands his exact thought. The use of the phrase, and the value of the ideas embodied in it, will be best seen in following the development of the theory of natural rights through its several phases. Popularly identified with the revolutionary political writers of the eighteenth century, and particularly with Rousseau, the theory is really as old as political thinking and by no means dead to-day.

The germs of the theory may be found in the Greek sophists and particularly in Aristotle, altho, as Professor Ritchie has pointed out in his latest book, "Natural Rights," Aristotle did not hold the theory usually held to-day by those who use the phrase. He speaks of *νόμος ἰδιος* and *νόμος κοινός*, meaning by the former any law which the State establishes for itself, and is therefore peculiar to it, and by the latter, the law which is conformable to the dictates of nature and appears to be recognized among all men ("Ethics," book v., chaps. vi., vii.; "Rhetoric" book i., chaps. x., xiii.). Aristotle's distinction is not between laws based upon nature and laws based upon human enactments. To Aristotle, as to all the Greeks, the State was a natural product. He simply distinguishes between laws peculiar to one State and universal laws common to all.

Some of the Greek Cynics, however, held a theory more close to the modern doctrine. Antisthenes says: "The wise man will live not according to the established laws, but according to the law of virtue" (quoted by Ritchie, *idem*, p. 33). Diogenes was more extreme. He disowned the State and considered himself "a citizen of the world." He opposed all conventions and preferred his tub to a house. From this Cynic school came the more balanced Stoic, with its maxim, "Live in harmony with nature." Nature, however, is not the whim of the individual; it is the divine element in the universe, and human laws may themselves be a manifestation of it. In Rome, Cicero popularized this view. "Universal consent is the voice of nature" ("Tusc." xv., § 35). Hence the Latin *jus gentium* and the *jus civile* are to be interpreted as almost exact translation of the Greek *κοινὸς νόμος* and *ἰδιος νόμος*. One great jurist, Ulpian, held that the *jus naturale* applied to animals as well as men; "It is that which nature has taught to all animals" (embodied in Justinian's "Institutes," i., tit. 2). From the Roman law the distinction passed into medieval thought.

Aquinas's conception of nature was derived from Aristotle, but he adds Cicero's conception of the *lex naturæ*. The natural law becomes a fixt law implanted in the human heart and in the universe, as contrasted with both the laws of men and the revealed law of God. Aquinas says, "Natural law is nothing else than the participation in the eternal law of the mind of a rational creature" ("Summa" Ia, 2æ, q. 94, art. 2). Medieval thought made a sharper distinction than the Roman jurists between the *jus civile* and the *jus gentium*. When Justinian codified the civil law, the law of nations was more sharply distinguishable from it. It became a distinct ideal code. To it men could appeal. First the authority of human law was questioned by the appeal to the Church. When the authority of the Church was shaken, the way was cleared, says Ritchie (*idem*, p. 42), "for revolution in the name of nature."

Through Grotius and Puffendorf the medieval distinction came to Locke, and with him played an important part. It lies in the background of all his theories. He says ("Treatise on Civil Government," ii., § 95): "Men being by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent."

He talks of a "state of nature," "a golden age" which has "a law of nature to govern it" ("Civil Government," ii., § 6). Civil society with

Locke is constituted by a compact of the original members; a compact renewed from generation to generation in the person of every citizen when he comes to an age of discretion to choose his allegiance. The sovereignty of society is limited, too, to the ends for which it was conferred. It is not hard to see outlined here all the essentials of Rousseau's social compact. Locke from this basis justified the revolution of 1688. Another English writer from the same principles deduced a condemnation of rebellion. Hobbes, like Locke, starts out from a state of nature. Men are by nature equal and live in a state of mutual fear, enmity, and war. This is intolerable. Hence, by a law of reason which is also "a law of nature," they mutually agree to surrender their natural rights to some sovereign man or body of men to govern over them. Hence, having surrendered their natural rights, they no longer have them, but must obey the sovereign power. From these English theorists sprang alike Rousseau's social contract and the "inalienable rights" spoken of in the American Declaration of Independence. Professor Ritchie has shown that the American "inalienable rights" came not from France, as is usually thought, but from England.

A bill or declaration of rights exactly analogous to the French declaration is found in most of the state constitutions of the U. S. originated after 1776, while the French Declaration of the Rights of Man was promulgated in 1791. The Bill of Rights of Virginia (June 12, 1776) declares, "That all men are by nature equally free and independent and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety. That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from the people, that magistrates are their trustees and servants and at all times amenable to them." The Declaration of Independence of the U. S., signed only a few days later, almost repeats the words, when it says: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

This theory was in the air—American and English air as truly as Gallic. Virginia, says Bancroft, "moved from charters and custom to primal principles; from a narrow alteration about facts to the contemplation of immutable truths. She summoned the eternal laws of man's being to protest against all tyranny" ("History of the United States," 5th ed., viii., p. 383). These metaphysics we have traced historically through Locke. But as Professor Ritchie says (*idem*, p. 6), "the theory of natural rights was not Locke's invention. Neither he nor Jean Jacques can claim the credit of having 'discovered the lost title-deeds of the human race.' The theory of natural rights is simply the logical outgrowth of the Protestant revolt against the authority of tradition, the logical outgrowth of the Protestant appeal to private judgment." In the Middle Ages privileges were claimed because of some real or fancied authority in the past. There were three great authorities, the Bible, Aristotle, and Justinian. Yet in each of these could be found some elements of the law of nature. The Levellers appealed to the law of nature. Thomas Edwards (in his "Gangræna," pt. iii., p. 16) says these "sectaries" held that "by natural birth all men are equally and alike born to like propriety [property], liberty, and freedom; and as we are delivered of God by the hand of nature into this world, every one with a natural innate freedom and propriety, even so we are to live every one equally and alike, to enjoy his birthright and privilege." Again Edwards says of them (*idem*, p. 20), "tho the laws and customs of a kingdom be never so plain and clear against their ways, yet they will not submit, but cry out for natural rights derived from Adam and right reason. This doctrine Ritchie traces back to Wyclif and his poor priests. Wyclif argued (see "De Civili Dominio," edited by R. L. Poole, pref., pp. xxii-xxiv) that "every one in a state of grace has real lordship over the whole universe," and deduces from this community of property. He held this only of the saints, but John Ball (*q. v.*) and others popularized this when they sang:

Protestantism

"When Adam dalf and Evè span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

Says Ritchie: "In the Puritan revolution of the seventeenth century, the appeal to historic right was replaced by an appeal to natural rights. The struggle for parliamentary liberties led some men to go behind parliaments and charters, just as the independent study of the Bible led some men to go behind the authority of the Bible and to rely on the authority of 'the inner light' alone. This," Ritchie continues, "is the logical outcome of Protestantism, however unacceptable to the majority of those calling themselves Protestants; however unsatisfactory and dangerous in the eyes of those who were more influenced by the historic spirit and who realized, in more or less intelligent fashion, the necessity of

social cohesion and continuity." Ireton ("Clarke Papers," i., p. 307) complains to Protestant extremists, "If you do, paramount to all constitutions, hold up this law of nature, I would fain have any man show me where you will end." Puritan England thus produced the theory, but it was developed mainly in the American Bills of Rights and the French Revolution. The convention at New York, Oct., 1765, while protesting loyalty to King George, declared "that trial by jury is the inherent right and invaluable right of every British subject in these colonies," entirely in the spirit of the English Bill of Rights of 1689. In the Declaration of Rights of the Philadelphia Congress of 1774, appeal is made not only to "the principles of the English constitution and the several charters or compacts," but to "the immutable laws of nature," including the right "to life, liberty, and property." In the declaration of July 4, 1776, no more is said of the rights of British subjects, but we have "inalienable rights" which come from God. We now understand the development of the theory in France better. It did not take, even here, an invariably atheistic form. The French declarations of 1791 and 1793 are proclaimed "in the presence of the Supreme Being." Nor is the theory in France by any means peculiar to Rousseau.

France

It is common to almost all the eighteenth-century writers and largely traceable to English philosophy, appearing through Diderot and the Encyclopedists. All the tendencies of the time—religious, scientific, philosophical, and political—favored the theory. It was developed on its religious side not only by the individualism of the Reformation, in the doctrines of the right of private judgment and Luther's salvation by faith, but quite as much by Calvin's sovereignty of God, since, by making man the predestined subject of God's omnipotent rule, the individual is placed above all the laws of State or government. The same exaltation of the individual was developed by the growing spirit of science, discovery, and invention. Men were breaking away from all covenants, theories, and institutions of the past. This was peculiarly true in politics. Instituted law was identified with despotism. It was popular to place above such law the "natural rights of man."

The view was particularly favored by the Physiocrats, who they deduced from it economic rather than political conclusions. Quesnay's "Le Droit Naturel" is a classic of this theory, and begins by laying down the proposition that natural right is "the right which a man has to do the things which are fit for his enjoyment."

It will be thus seen into what ready soil Rousseau dropped his brilliant words. So far from his being the originator of the theory, it is not even clear that he held it, in its extreme form, in his more careful writings. Professor Ritchie argues that it scarcely appears in his little read "Social Contract" (1762), but has been taken mainly from his more popular, tho weaker, "Discourse on the Origin of Inequality among Men" (published 1754). This discourse, however, belonged to Rousseau's most brilliant period, and tho its views seem seriously modified in the later "Social Contract," its teachings, and not the more careful statements of the latter, have become identified with Rousseau. The theory, however, in its essence, is contained in both books. We present Rousseau's statement as Professor Huxley has summarized it ("Nineteenth Century," Jan., 1890), that: "First, All men are born free, and politically equal and good, and in the 'state of nature' remain so; consequently, it is their natural right to be free, equal, and (presumably their duty to be) good. 'Contrat Social,' v. pp. 98-99. Mussay Pathay's edition, 1826. Second, All men being equal by natural right, none can have any right to encroach on another's equal right. Hence no man can appropriate any part of the common means of subsistence—that is to say, the land or anything which the land produces—without the unanimous consent of all other men. Under any other circumstances, property is usurpation ('Discours,' pp. 257, 258, 276). Third, Political rights, therefore, are based upon contract; the so-called right of conquest is no right, and property which has been acquired by force may rightly be taken away by force ('Discours,' pp. 276-280).

Rousseau

The relation of such theories to the French Revolution it is easy to see. The famous French Declaration of the Rights of Man was proclaimed in 1791, and undoubtedly embodied the principles of the Revolution, altho these principles can by no means be considered to have caused this revolution. The French Revolution simply accomplished suddenly and in bloodshed what England had gained quietly and with legal procedure. Nevertheless, the French Revolution called all men's attention to the dangerous aspects of the theory of natural rights. In England, where the theory had been largely developed, it was strenuously attacked, and with such success that to-day most English and American publicists consider it exploded. That this is not the case we shall later see; but it is true that the overwhelming judgment of modern English and American scholars is against the theory. This is probably mainly due to the development of the modern scientific and historic spirit,

Criticism

which asks for induction from facts, not for brilliant generalities from metaphysical arguments about unproven and unprovable "natural laws." The theory, however, was first attacked by statesmen and philosophers rather than by

scientists. In brilliant rhetoric Burke argued its dangerous and baseless nature. Paine, in his even more brilliant and rhetorical "Rights of Man," answers Burke; but thought and, above all, science were to answer Paine. Bentham more coldly argued its uselessness, and then science came to condemn it and ask what facts teach, not what different people assert to be "natural." The argument against it to-day is mainly based on the fact that nobody can prove what are natural rights. Modern disbelievers in the theory assert that what are called "natural rights" are simply what various men believe to be the ideal of what should be man's social status. Says Professor Ritchie (idem, p. 80), "Natural rights, when alleged by the would-be reformer, mean those rights which, in his opinion, would be recognized by the public opinion of such a society as he admires. . . . They are the rights which he thinks ought to be recognized; i. e., they are the rights sanctioned by his ideal society, whatever that may be." Further, Professor Ritchie says (idem, p. 82), "If we go back to the ordinary unreflecting opinions of mankind in comparatively primitive conditions, we shall find that those rights which people think they ought to have, are just those rights which they have been accustomed to have, or which they have a tradition (whether true or false) of having once possessed. . . . Thus to the average Greek, slavery undoubtedly seemed a 'natural' institution; it was familiar to him, and he did not know of any civilized society without it. . . . A Turk, a German, an American, would give somewhat different accounts of this natural status. The 'natural' in each case may, perhaps, be pitched a little above the average usage of the society in question; it represents the expectations of the society, of which expectations fulfillment may indeed fall short." Hence, as many modern thinkers have shown, the theory of "natural rights" may be made to support any theory. It is usually used to base an argument against any law or action of the State that the individual does not consider wise or right. It is used by anarchists to condemn existing inequalities of social conditions, and by conservatives to check attempts on the part of government to remedy those inequalities. The Liberty and Property Defense League plants itself on the same natural rights as did Tom Paine. In the name of natural rights Henry George argues that every man has a right to what he produces, and only to that, while Matthew Arnold says: "An author has no natural right to a property in his production. But, then, neither has he a natural right to anything whatever which he may produce or acquire" (*Fortnightly Review*, vol. xxvii., p. 322). Such contradictions prove to the critics of the theory its impracticality, baselessness, and unreality.

Says Jevons in "The State in Relation to Labor": "The first step must be to rid our minds of the idea that there are any such things in social matters as abstract ideas." Mr. Spencer quotes a writer "of high repute" as saying "to explain once more that there is no such thing as 'natural right' would be a waste of philosophy." Rousseau himself, in the preface to his "Discours," says: "It is more difficult than one would suppose to take the precautions necessary to basing an argument upon it [the doctrine of natural rights]. Professor Huxley shows that nature's laws 'contain in reality nothing but a statement of that which a given being tends to do under the circumstances of its existence.' A tiger has a natural inclination to eat men; certain cannibals are said to have the same inclination. Have they a natural right to eat men? As used against governments, the advocates of 'natural rights' and 'a state of nature,' which is supposed to be better than the organized state, forget what Aristotle did not forget, that the State itself is natural. It is halting metaphysics and stranger theology to assert that God made the country and man made the city. Is the plowed land unnatural? Is the city street contrary to human nature? The view held to-day by most publicists, in place of the theory of natural rights, is stated by Prof. John W. Burgess, as follows:

"The revolutionists of the eighteenth century said that individual liberty was a natural right; that it belonged to the individual as a human being, without regard to the state or society in which, or the government under which, he lived.

The Opposing View

But it is easy to see that this view is utterly impracticable and barren; for if neither the State, nor the society, nor the government defines the sphere of individual autonomy and constructs its boundaries, then the individual himself will be left to do these things, and that is anarchy pure and simple. The experience of the French Revolution, where this theory of natural rights was carried into practise, showed the necessity of this result. These experiences drove the more pious minds of this period to formulate the proposition that God is the source of individual liberty. *Dieu et mon droit* was the medieval motto made new again. But who shall interpret the will of God in regard to individual liberty? If the individual interprets it for himself, then the same anarchic result as before will follow. If the State or the Church or the government interprets it, then the individual practically gives up the divine source of his liberty. . . . We may express the most modern principle as follows: The individual, both for his own highest development and the highest welfare of the society and State in which he lives, should act freely within a certain sphere; the impulse to such action is a

universal quality of human nature; but the State, the ultimate sovereign, is alone able to define the elements of individual liberty, limit its scope, and protect its enjoyment. The individual is thus defended in this sphere against the government by the power that makes and maintains and can destroy the government, and by the same power through the government against encroachments from every other quarter. Against that power itself, however, he has no defense. It can give and it can take away. The individual may ask for liberties which it has not granted, and even prove to the satisfaction of the general consciousness that he ought to have them; but until it grants them, he certainly has them not. The ultimate sovereignty, the State, cannot be limited, either by individual liberty or governmental powers; and this it would be if individual liberty had its source outside of the State. This is the only view which can reconcile liberty with law, and preserve both in proper balance. Every other view sacrifices the one to the other" ("Political Science and Constitutional Law," vol. i., book ii., chap. i.).

Such is the ordinary view held at present by the large majority of thinkers in England and the U. S.

Yet there are a few and some of the most brilliant minds in England and America, and a whole school of thinkers upon the Continent of Europe, who do hold still to the doctrine of natural rights. Herbert Spencer has given the weight of his name to the doctrine. In his "Social Statics" he holds that all rights are derived from a single first principle, which he calls "the law of equal freedom." This principle is "that every man may claim the fullest liberty to exercise his faculties compatible with the exercise of like liberty by every other man" (chap. v., § 3), or, as he elsewhere expresses it, "every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided that he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man" (chap. vi., § 1). Accordingly, he says: "Rights are nothing but artificial divisions of the general claim to exercise the faculties—applications of that general claim to particular cases; and each of them is proved in the same way by showing that the particular exercise of the faculties referred to is possible without preventing the like exercise of faculties by other persons." His development of this theory is well known. (See SPENCER.)

In Germany the idea of *Naturrecht* is the root idea of German jurisprudence. Professor Pollok says of this school, that its authors "throw their main strength on investigating the universal moral and social conditions of government and laws, or, at any rate, civilized government and laws, and expounding what such governments and laws are, or ought to be, so far as determined by conformity to these conditions." English writers, he says, are apt to despair of systems of philosophy built up on somebody's conception of "things as they ought to be," "necessary inferences from the facts of nature," "natural laws" which, nevertheless, "never have been and probably never will be perfectly discovered. But," he adds, "allowance must be made for difference in meaning. We may discover this mysterious and terrible *Naturrecht* to be no worse than a theory of government and legislation; or, to preserve better the wide generality given to it by its authors, a kind of teleology of the State and its institutions."

In England Professor Lorimer in his "Institutes of Law," with its subtitle, "A Treatise of the Principles of Jurisprudence as Determined by Nature," most nearly represents the German school. But the characteristic modern English, and especially the American use of the theory, is the use made of it in politics by Jeffersonian Democrats, with their strict limitation of the power of the State, and in economics by Henry George and his followers, when they hold that each man has a natural and a divine right to what he produces, and to that only, so that land values should be held in common, since no individual has produced them, but that each individual should be allowed private property in other things. (See SINGLE TAX.) Professor Ritchie, in his volume above referred to, considers the specific natural rights most commonly claimed: the right of life, of liberty, of toleration, of public meeting and association, of contract, of resistance to oppression, of equality, of property, of pursuing and obtaining happiness. He shows, however, that nations like the U. S., most imbued with the theory of natural rights, have not scrupled to go contrary to them when it was popular. Protestants, who cannot understand why Roman Catholics should not allow legal divorce, are quite ready to suppress Mormon plural marriages by law. To sum up, the theory of natural rights is considered by its critics vague and useless; its truth to lie in its witness to the belief in a divine or general ideal of society toward which men are ever pressing.

(See POLITICAL SCIENCE; STATE SOVEREIGNTY; ROUSSEAU, etc.)

REFERENCES: *Natural Rights, a Criticism of Some Political and Ethical Conceptions*, by David G. Ritchie, 1895. (See also PAINÉ; ROUSSEAU.)

NAUMANN, FRIEDRICH: Christian Socialist and politician; born March 25, 1860, in Störmthal near Leipzig. After proper preparation in the gymnasium he entered the university at Leip-

sic, later Erlangen, and was appointed vice-superintendent at the Rauhe Haus, 1883-85. From 1886-90 he was pastor at Langenberg; 1890-95 he was the missionary of the Inner Mission at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, where he came in touch with the working men of all grades. He separated from the Christian Social Party because he was more democratic, and founded, 1895, a new party called the *National Sozialen*, with Paul Göhre (q. v.). For the furtherance of this object he founded a paper, *Die Hilfe*, and later *Die Zeit*; since the party dissolved in 1903 Naumann joined the Liberal Party, and has since been one of the foremost agitators in behalf of better industrial and political conditions of working people. Author: "Arbeiterkatechismus," 1889; "Was heisst Christlich-Sozial?" 1894-96; "Soziale Briefe an reiche Leute," 1894; "Jesus als Volksmann," 1894; "Demokratie und Kaiserthum," 1900; "Neudeutsche Wirthschaftspolitik," 1902; "Briefe über Religion," 1903, and of other books. Address: Hohenfriedstrasse, Berlin-Schöneberg, Germany.

NAVAL POWERS: (See MILITARISM.) The following table gives the latest data concerning the naval strength of the great nations, both present and prospective. (Supplied by the Office of Naval Intelligence, Navy Department):

WAR-SHIP TONNAGE OF THE PRINCIPAL NAVAL POWERS

Number and displacement of war-ships, built and building, of 1,000 or more tons, and of torpedo craft of more than 50 tons.

TYPE OF VESSEL	BUILT		BUILDING	
	No.	Tons	No.	Tons
Great Britain:				
Battle-ships, first class ¹	52	749,090	4	72,300
Coast-defense vessels ²	...	...	...	...
Armored cruisers.....	32	372,800	6	95,550
Cruisers above 6,000 tons ³	19	183,950	...	...
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons ³	45	200,280	1	3,300
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons ³	26	56,305	...	...
Torpedo-boat destroyers.....	142	53,235	8	7,556
Torpedo-boats.....	47	7,490	24	6,436
Submarines.....	39	9,966	9	3,352
Total tons built and total tons building.....	...	1,633,116	...	188,494
Total tons built and building.....		1,821,610		
France:				
Battle-ships, first class ¹	19	228,641	8	139,820
Coast-defense vessels ²	12	73,300	...	...
Armored cruisers.....	19	166,580	4	54,394
Cruisers above 6,000 tons ³	3	24,409	...	...
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons ³	13	52,449	...	...
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons ³	12	23,152	...	...
Torpedo-boat destroyers.....	35	10,594	25	9,001
Torpedo-boats.....	257	24,322	14	1,358
Submarines.....	41	5,532	58	22,460
Total tons built and total tons building.....	...	609,079	...	227,033
Total tons built and building.....		836,112		
United States:				
Battle-ships, first class ¹	22	292,146	7	114,000
Coast-defense vessels ²	11	45,334	...	...
Armored cruisers.....	10	128,445	2	29,000
Cruisers above 6,000 tons ³	5	43,800	...	...
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons ³	17	61,370	3	11,250
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons ³	19	26,317	...	...
Torpedo-boat destroyers.....	16	6,957	5	3,750
Torpedo-boats.....	32	5,015	...	...
Submarines.....	12	1,632	7	2,142
Total tons built and total tons building.....	...	611,616	...	160,142
Total tons built and building.....		771,758		

For footnotes, see next page.

TYPE OF VESSEL	BUILT		BUILDING	
	No.	Tons	No.	Tons
Germany:				
Battle-ships, first class ¹	22	260,250	6	98,400
Coast-defense vessels ²	8	33,200	...	...
Armored cruisers.....	8	79,600	2	34,200
Cruisers above 6,000 tons ³	1	6,300	...	...
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons ³	18	74,160	3	11,050
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons ³	19	40,685	...	...
Torpedo-boat destroyers.....	60	26,298	12	7,560
Torpedo-boats.....	48	8,539	...	...
Submarines.....	1	180	2	360
Total tons built and total tons building.....	...	529,032	...	151,570
Total tons built and building.....	...	680,602	...	...
Japan:				
Battle-ships, first class ¹	11	152,548	2	38,950
Coast-defense vessels ²	3	18,786	...	...
Armored cruisers.....	11	108,900	2	29,200
Cruisers above 6,000 tons ³	2	13,130	...	...
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons ³	10	38,994	1	4,100
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons ³	7	15,288	2	2,600
Torpedo-boat destroyers.....	54	19,413	3	1,143
Torpedo-boats.....	77	6,842	...	...
Submarines.....	7	800	2	626
Total tons built and total tons building.....	...	374,701	...	76,619
Total tons built and building.....	...	451,320	...	...
Russia:				
Battle-ships, first class ¹	5	62,600	4	58,600
Coast-defense vessels ²	4	21,380	...	...
Armored cruisers.....	4	46,200	3	24,000
Cruisers above 6,000 tons ³	7	46,460	...	...
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons ³	1	3,100	...	...
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons ³	7	8,800	...	...
Torpedo-boat destroyers.....	93	33,834	4	2,420
Torpedo-boats.....	57	6,834	...	...
Submarines.....	25	3,735	6	2,077
Total tons built and total tons building.....	...	232,943	...	87,097
Total tons built and building.....	...	320,040	...	...
Italy:				
Battle-ships, first class ¹	10	130,629	3	37,275
Coast-defense vessels ²	...	...	...	...
Armored cruisers.....	6	39,200	4	39,320
Cruisers above 6,000 tons ³	...	...	...	...
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons ³	1	3,530	...	...
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons ³	10	21,920	...	...
Torpedo-boat destroyers.....	13	4,133	4	1,460
Torpedo-boats.....	66	7,804	11	2,305
Submarines.....	3	407	3	450
Total tons built and total tons building.....	...	207,623	...	80,810
Total tons built and building.....	...	288,433	...	...
Austria:				
Battle-ships, first class ¹	3	31,800	...	...
Coast-defense vessels ²	6	41,700	...	...
Armored cruisers.....	3	18,800	...	...
Cruisers above 6,000 tons ³	...	...	...	...
Cruisers 6,000 to 3,000 tons ³	2	8,000	...	...
Cruisers 3,000 to 1,000 tons ³	3	7,050	...	...
Torpedo-boat destroyers.....	4	1,600	2	800
Torpedo-boats.....	36	4,285	3	600
Submarines.....	...	...	6	1,600
Total tons built and total tons building.....	...	113,235	...	3,000
Total tons built and building.....	...	116,235	...	...

Those not actually begun, altho authorized.
Transports, colliers, repair ships, torpedo depot ships, converted merchant vessels or yachts.
Vessels of less than 1,000 tons except torpedo craft.
Torpedo craft of less than 50 tons.

RELATIVE ORDER OF WAR-SHIP TONNAGE AT PRESENT

NATION	Tonnage
Great Britain.....	1,633,116
United States.....	611,616
France.....	609,079
Germany.....	529,032
Japan.....	374,701
Russia.....	232,943
Italy.....	207,623
Austria.....	113,235

RELATIVE ORDER OF WAR-SHIP TONNAGE AS WOULD BE THE CASE WERE VESSELS BUILDING NOW COMPLETED

NATION	Tonnage
Great Britain.....	1,821,610
France.....	836,112
United States.....	771,758
Germany.....	680,602
Japan.....	451,320
Russia.....	320,040
Italy.....	288,433
Austria.....	116,235

NEGRO, THE (IN THE U. S.): During the past twenty years the Southern negro has made substantial progress in many directions, has responded unmistakably to the demands of American civilization. Some measure of this progress is to be found in the answers to these questions: (1) Has the negro, succumbing to a competition too severe, exhibited tendencies to die out, as has, for example, the Maori population of New Zealand? (2) Has the negro—with reasonable rapidity—become more intelligent? (3) To what extent has the negro bought homes? (4) In his occupations is the negro advancing to higher levels?

The facts show pretty plainly that, severe to him as is competition with many races which centuries have made more efficient, the negro holds his own with dogged persistence. In 1880 there were 6,580,793 negroes in this country; twenty years later we find this number increased to 8,833,994, an increase of 2,253,201 souls, or 34.2 per cent. Certainly a new-born race that can merely maintain its numbers in the face of the severest competition the modern world can boast, deserves praise; but what shall be said of my race? It has not merely maintained its numbers, but has actually grown 34.2 per cent in twenty years. The red Indian of America and the Maori of New Zealand are not precedents for the negro of the United States. Neither death nor deportation will benevolently assimilate the American negro into non-existence; the negro is here and here to stay. His well-being and continued progress are essential to the welfare of the republic.

This solidarity of interest has been splendidly recognized by the white people of the South. I believe that the Southern white people realize more and more clearly the fundamental idea of the American common school—that all the property of the State should educate impartially all the children of all the people. It is not merely the man who enters the tax office who really pays the taxes; the laborers, each of whom pays one

¹ Battle-ships, first class, are those of (about) 10,000 or more tons displacement.

² Includes smaller battle-ships and monitors.

³ All unarmored war-ships of more than 1,000 tons are, in this table, classed according to displacement as cruisers. Scouts are considered as cruisers in which battery and protection have been sacrificed to secure extreme speed. The word "protected" has been omitted because all cruisers except the smallest and oldest now have protective decks.

⁴ Omitting the *Léna*.

N.B.—The following vessels are not included in the tables: Those over twenty years old, unless they have been reconstructed and rearmcd since 1900.

mill more to the pound for a commodity because of a license tax, really pay the license tax, however indirect the payment. The moral idea that underlies the American common school and the actual incident of taxation—these two things are winning increasing recognition in every one of the Southern States. Moreover, the value of land is largely determined by the relative intelligence and consequent efficiency of the laboring population, and the negro constitutes a very large percentage of the South's labor. Since 1880 \$105,807,930 have been spent for the negro schools in the former slave states. In the school year 1879-80, \$2,120,485 were spent for colored schools, and in 1900-1, \$6,035,550, an increase of \$3,915,065, or almost 85 per cent. In 1879-80 the expenditure per capita of school population for the colored was \$1.01, but in 1900-1, \$2.21. It is true that in the latter year the white child received \$4.92, or considerably more than twice the amount received by the colored child. However, the whole South is heartily interested in the cause of negro education.

Negro illiteracy is a stain which the schools are rapidly washing away. Of the population ten years of age and over, 70 per cent of the colored were illiterate in 1880, 57.1 per cent of the negro were illiterate in 1890, but only 44.5 per cent of the negro in 1900. Despite an increase between 1890 and 1900 of 1,087,000 in the negro population ten years of age and over, there was a decrease of nearly 190,000 in the number of negro illiterates. It is true that among Southern negroes illiteracy is more than four times as common as among Southern whites, but the South is determined to lessen this immense handicap upon the negro just as rapidly as possible. To an appreciable extent progress in literacy indicates progress in intelligence, in character, in general efficiency.

The schools have greatly aided the negro in the buying and the proper maintenance of homes. The white or black man, by the sweat of whose brow a home has been bought, is, by virtue of that act, an infinitely better citizen. In 1860 the negro was without a home of his own, without capital, without thrift, with nothing like proper appreciation of the value of a home. And yet in 1890, of the homes occupied by negro heads of families, 18.7 per cent were owned—an immense advance in civilization, and all in thirty years. Moreover, of the homes thus owned 88.8 per cent were owned free of all encumbrance. The significance of this fact is rendered more clear when you consider that only 71.2 per cent of the homes occupied by white heads of families in that year were owned. In the decade 1890 to 1900, the negro heads of families increased their ownership of homes to 21.8 per cent, and of this increased number, 74.2 per cent were owned as against 68 per cent for white heads of families. I am unaware that history records such an example of substantial progress in civilization in a time so short. Here is the unique fact that from a penniless population, just out of slavery that placed a premium upon thriftlessness, 372,414 owners of homes have emerged, and of these, 255,156 are known to own their homes absolutely free of encumbrance. In these heads of negro families lie the pledge of my race to American civilization.

In the occupations in which negroes are engaged, are they advancing to higher levels? Nearly four million negroes at least ten years of age were reported by the last census to be engaged

in gainful occupations; 33.7 per cent of the negroes occupied were agricultural laborers and 19 per cent were farmers, planters, and overseers, a total of 52.7 per cent being thus engaged in agriculture. Moreover, of the half million black "laborers (not specified)" it is probable that many were agricultural laborers. An investigation of the black farmers and laborers in the cotton belt of the South is an investigation of the great mass of the negro people in America.

The census for 1900 contains a considerable body of evidence that I might use for testing the progress of the Southern negro in agriculture. Thus, as we have seen, about 34 per cent of the negro wage-earners in the U. S. were merely agricultural laborers, and 19 per cent were farmers, planters, and overseers. These farmers, planters, and overseers, have simply lifted themselves by their boot straps! They have risen from a low to a higher level in their occupation and in American civilization. I might show how the negro agricultural laborer of exceptional ability has become share tenant, then cash tenant, then part owner, and finally full owner with almost lightning rapidity and against fearful odds. Moreover, I might cite in proof of the progress of the negro in agriculture the value of his farm products not fed to live stock. Thus, in the South Atlantic States, 35.5 per cent of the number of farms operated by negro farmers in 1900 had products in 1899, not fed to live stock, worth \$100 and under \$250, and 30.4 per cent had products worth \$250 and under \$500. And in the South Central States 31.6 per cent of the number of farms operated by negro farmers had products in 1899 not fed to live stock worth \$100 and under \$250, and 36.7 per cent had products worth \$250 and under \$500. This is an enormous advance for the negro since 1860.

But I propose to test the progress of the negro in agriculture by the severest test—not a comparison with European peasantry, but with native whites of native parents in the Southern States. Certainly no fair-minded man could wish a test more severe; certainly we should be surprised if these native whites of purest stock did not immensely outstrip the negroes. Let us, however, inquire how these two classes with respect to the relative number of owners added in forty years.

Practically all the negro owners of farms have become owners since 1860; in that year the negro was landless. In the South Central States since 1860 negro farmers have come to operate as owners and managers 95,624 farms and as tenants 348,805. The farms operated by owners or managers are thus 21.5 per cent of the total. The per cent of gain in ownership is about half that made by the white farmers since 1860. These facts spell progress unmistakably. In forty years 287,933 negroes have acquired control of farm land in the South Atlantic States, of whom 202,578, or 70.4 per cent, are tenants and 85,355, or 29.6 per cent, are owners or managers. In these eventful forty years the relative number of owners among the negro farmers of the South Atlantic States has grown from absolutely nothing, three fourths as rapidly as the relative number of owners among the whites, who in 1860 owned every acre of the land. In both the South Central States and South Atlantic States the negroes have thus compassed a magnificent achievement.

The total value of negro farm property is conservatively estimated at \$230,000,000.

In the short space at my disposal I have simply attempted to indicate some of the ways in which the negro of the South has made substantial progress, has responded to the demands of American civilization.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

Normal schools, with 8,147 students, and 61 industrial schools, with 1,750 students in attendance. In doing this great work, for buildings, repairs, teachers, etc., \$1,002,896.07 was expended. Of this sum the freedmen raised \$200,000.

The following table shows the progress since 1870:

STATE	Estimated number of persons 5 to 18 years of age		Pupils enrolled in public schools		Per cent of persons 5 to 18 years enrolled		Per cent of average attendance to enrolment	
	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored
Alabama.....	345,250	295,250	239,055	126,116	69.24	42.71	62.75	71.36
Arkansas.....	329,800	127,120	250,586	90,109	75.98	70.88	63.33	62.47
Delaware.....	40,094	18,888	130,754	16,141	76.70	69.09	69.91	61.88
District of Columbia.....	42,486	20,428	32,518	15,914	76.54	77.00	79.31	76.70
Florida.....	98,510	75,160	69,541	42,843	70.59	57.90	66.55	69.75
Georgia.....	238,470	236,050	298,181	204,706	76.50	56.39	63.99	64.02
Kentucky.....	596,410	87,654	436,014	62,975	73.11	71.84	63.12	67.66
Louisiana.....	241,600	227,500	125,272	73,624	51.85	32.36	72.18	67.06
Maryland.....	266,110	270,120	275,747	248,257	66.04	68.82	64.18	47.06
Mississippi.....	1215,240	232,070	279,142	208,346	83.23	64.69	60.74	57.21
Missouri.....	896,850	45,971	671,697	31,360	74.90	68.22	67.25	67.22
North Carolina.....	424,800	225,900	314,871	149,798	74.12	66.31	58.94	55.68
South Carolina.....	186,480	292,000	127,657	144,786	68.46	49.58	77.30	75.77
Tennessee.....	1,945,960	215,885	2392,263	106,747	79.09	67.61	67.89	67.24
Texas.....	840,050	227,660	568,267	144,362	67.65	63.41	76.26	63.05
Virginia.....	367,530	227,940	258,222	2123,339	70.26	54.11	60.60	56.30
West Virginia.....	290,670	11,487	228,129	7,886	78.48	68.65	64.43	55.94
Total, 1901-2.....	6,067,310	2,786,083	4,397,916	1,587,309	72.49	56.97	66.38	63.02
Total, 1889-90.....	5,132,948	2,510,847	3,402,420	1,296,959	67.15	32.85	63.64	62.74

¹ In 1899-1900.

² In 1900-1.

³ Some missing data supplied.

STATISTICS

POPULATION

Negroes imported into the U. S. from 1500 to 1800.....	10,137,000
Negro population of U. S., 1800.....	1,001,463
Imported from 1800 to 1860.....	3,999,000
Negro population, 1860.....	4,435,709
Negro population, 1900.....	8,848,749

Land and improvements, \$324,242,997; buildings, \$71,902,265; implements, \$18,859,757; live stock, \$84,936,215; total, \$499,941,234. Negro owners of premises: Virginia, 26,566; Mississippi, 21,973; Texas, 20,139; South Carolina, 18,970; North Carolina, 17,520; Alabama, 14,110; Arkansas, 11,941; Georgia, 11,375; Tennessee, 9,426; Louisiana, 9,378; Florida, 6,552; Kentucky, 5,402; Maryland, 2,262; West Virginia, 534; Delaware, 332; District of Columbia, 5. Homes owned by negroes, 1,832,723; farms, 757,427; other homes, 1,075,296; total, 3,665,446.

In Georgia, negroes owned, in 1901, 1,041,135 acres valued at \$4,656,042 and city lots and buildings valued at \$9,007,977. Personalty, \$6,621,834. (Report of Controller General.) In Virginia, in 1901, they owned 1,066,303 acres, valued at \$4,342,074, with city lots and buildings valued at \$12,856,417 and personalty of \$3,966,194. (Auditor's report.)

On the 29th of May, 1865, Major-General O. O. Howard was appointed Commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau. He gave great attention to the subject of education, and after planting schools for the freedmen throughout a great portion of the South, in 1870—five years after the

work was begun—he made a report: Schools established, 4,239; teachers employed, 9,307; pupils, 247,333. The emancipated people sustained 1,324 schools themselves, and owned 592 school buildings. The Freedman's Bureau furnished 654 buildings for school purposes. There were 74 High and

For 1901-2 the common-school expenditure in the sixteen former slave states, with the District of Columbia, for both races was \$37,567,552. About 20 per cent of this amount was expended upon the public schools for the negroes. The aggregate common-school expenditure in the South since 1870 has been \$687,691,329. It is estimated that at least \$125,000,000 of this sum has been expended to support common schools for negro children. While General Howard, General John Eaton, A. D. Mayo were the leaders in establishing the common-school system of the South, they found worthy assistants in the Rev. R. H. Cain of South Carolina, Rev. C. H. Pierce and Rev. J. H. Gibbs of Florida, Bishop Hood and G. W. Brodia in North Carolina, Dr. H. M. Turner, Rev. W. J. Gaines in Georgia. It was the joint work of the leaders of the two races. The progress of the colored schools has only been excelled by the progress of the colored teachers. When organized there were not more than 500 teachers, while now we have them manning all departments of educational work.

BENJAMIN W. ARNETT.

NEIGHBORHOOD GILDS: The name of certain social reform institutions first proposed by Dr. STANTON COIT (*q. v.*), as the result of his experience in the social settlements started by him in New York City and London. He embodied his ideas on this subject in a book entitled "Neighbourhood Guilds," published in 1891. According to this work (p. 7), "The very name, 'neighbourhood gild,' suggests the fundamental idea which this new institution embodies: namely, that, irrespective of religious belief or non-belief, all the people, men, women, or children, in any one street, or any small number of streets in every working-class district in London, shall be organized into a set of clubs, which are by themselves, or in alliance with those of other neighborhoods, to carry out, or induce others to carry out, all the

reforms, domestic, industrial, educational, provident, or recreative, which the social ideal demands." Dr. Coit's idea is that the forming of separate societies or clubs for special purposes tends to magnify out of all proportion that one side of life or culture which it aims to develop. It tends again to break up the family unit. It sends the boys to one club, the girls to another, the father to another, the mother to another. Thirdly, it breaks up neighborliness. The Neighborhood Guild aims at organizing the social life of all the people in one small district. It thus brings neighbors together, families together, different interests together. In the Neighborhood Guilds there are departments for boys, for girls, for men, for women, for art, for education, for recreation, for the various interests of life; and they are not all separate; for certain purposes, and at certain times, all come together. According to Dr. Coit, no guild should be so large as to prevent all the members forming a circle of acquaintance. To develop persons in all sides of character is its aim. Dr. Coit started the first guild in New York City, about 1885, and it has now grown into a University Settlement (*q. v.*). In 1889 Dr. Coit, on his removal to London, started one there in Kentish Town. For all details, see Dr. Coit's book, "Neighbourhood Guilds."

NEILL, CHARLES P., Ph.D.: United States Commissioner of Labor; born Rock Island, Ill., 1865; educated at University of Notre Dame 1885-88; University of Texas, 1888-89; Georgetown College, D. C., 1889-91; University of Chicago, 1894-97; instructor University of Notre Dame, 1891-94; instructor and associate professor of political economy, Catholic University, Washington, D. C., 1897 to 1905; assistant recorder of Anthracite Strike Commission (1902) (see **COAL STRIKE**); recorder of Arbitration Board, Birmingham (1903). Appointed U. S. Commissioner of Labor, Feb. 1, 1905. As commissioner has been active in settling important strikes. In 1906 with J. P. Reynolds (*q. v.*) made an important report as to the packing-house industry in Chicago. (See **PACKING-HOUSE INDUSTRY**.) Address: U. S. Bureau of Labor, 1429 N. Y. Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

NELSON, NELSON O.: Manufacturer and co-operator; born in Norway, 1844; came to United States as a boy; educated in public schools. In 1872 he established himself as a manufacturer of plumbers' and steam-fitters' supplies in St. Louis, with manufactories at Leclaire, Ill., and now recently at Bessemer, Ala. In 1886 he introduced profit-sharing (*q. v.*) into his works, and in 1890 established the cooperative village of Leclaire, Ill. (*q. v.*). In 1902 he established a "Consumptives' Camp" on desert sand at Indio, Cal., and in 1903 an industrial school at Leclaire. Mr. Nelson has been one of the most active leaders and workers in national and local movements for social reform, especially as regards cooperation, the single tax, and evolutionary socialism. In his views Mr. Nelson is a Tolstojan and non-resistant, and believer in "the simple life," tho largely favorable to the Socialist program, if adopted without any compulsion. Address: Leclaire, Edwardsville, Ill.

NETHERLANDS, THE: A European kingdom—formerly the Republic of The Netherlands—constituted a hereditary monarchy in 1815.

I. Statistics

AREA AND POPULATION

PROVINCES	Area sq. m.	Population 1904	Per sq. m.
North Brabant.....	1,980	589,725	298
Guilders.....	1,995	604,668	308
South Holland.....	1,166	1,263,136	1,083
North Holland.....	1,070	1,053,083	984
Zealand.....	600	225,562	377
Utrecht.....	534	272,913	511
Friesland.....	1,282	353,363	276
Overijssel.....	1,291	359,443	278
Groningen.....	790	315,873	399
Drenthe.....	1,030	162,141	157
Limburg.....	850	309,752	364
Total.....	12,648	5,509,659	436

The population is almost entirely Dutch, there being (1899) only 52,625 foreigners in the kingdom. The principal cities are: Amsterdam (population 551,415), Rotterdam (370,390), The Hague (234,459), and Utrecht (112,796). The birth-rate in 1904 was 31.02, and the death-rate 15.82. Total number of births, 171,495; of deaths, 87,128; surplus, 84,367. The illegitimate births numbered 3,659, or about 2.15 per cent of the total number. Marriages in 1904 were about 8 per 1,000 of population. The urban population numbers 2,049,779, or 37.2 per cent, and the rural 3,459,880, or 62.8 per cent.

With regard to religion the (1899) population is divided as follows: Dutch Reformed, 2,471,021; other Protestants, 598,111; Roman Catholics, 1,790,161; Jansenists, 8,754; Jews, 103,988; other creeds, 132,102. There is full religious liberty, and the State pays annual allowances to the main bodies as follows: To Protestants, 1,373,000 florins; Roman Catholics, 578,000 fl.; Jews, 14,000 fl. In 1904 the Protestant churches had about 1,900 clergymen; the Roman Catholics, 2,700; the Jansenists, 27.

The cost of primary education in The Netherlands is defrayed partly by the State and partly by the communes. Instruction is compulsory between the ages of six and thirteen, and illiteracy is rare. Elementary education is largely in the hands also of private schools, which are supported by the State. Religious instruction is separated from secular instruction. There were, in 1904, four universities (Leiden, Utrecht, Groningen, and Amsterdam) with 182 teachers and 3,135 students, of whom 331 were females. Elementary schools numbered 4,796 (3,216 public and 1,580 private), with 26,114 teachers and 831,589 pupils. There were 1,112 infant schools with an attendance of 118,230 children. The teachers are trained in normal schools supported by the State; and there are also several industrial, agricultural, and technical high schools, as well as a military academy, eleven navigation schools, an academy of art, and a polytechnic institute. The total expenditures for educational purposes (State and communes) were, in 1903, about \$12,000,000.

In 1903 there were 31 prisons and 36 houses of detention. Convictions for crime numbered (1904) 17,393, and for minor offenses 146,174. Workhouses for vagabonds and drunkards are five in number, having, in 1903, 6,304 inmates. In the same year there were 700 boys and 114 girls in four State reformatories. Pauperism is

Education

General
Statistics

largely relieved by private charity and by religious societies. About 3.25 per cent of the population received aid in 1903. Mendicants and vagabonds are treated as criminals and sentenced to work in State institutions.

The Netherlands is largely an agricultural and horticultural country. The soil is generally divided into small holdings, altho comparatively large estates prevail in some provinces. In 1904 there were 216,092 hectares under rye, 158,732 under potatoes, 144,762 under oats, and 54,081 under wheat. Buck-

wheat, legumes, and beet-roots are also important. Fishing engages 5,781 vessels with about 22,000 men. Herrings and oysters are the chief catches.

Mining is unimportant, with the exception of coal which yields an annual revenue of about 2,000,000 florins in the province of Limburg, the mines being nearly all owned and operated by the State. Manufacturing establishments comprize 531 distilleries, 40 sugar refineries, 39 salt works, 476 breweries, and 90 vinegar distilleries.

Trade is free in The Netherlands, the duties levied on imports being too insignificant to afford protection to home industries. The total exports for 1905 amounted to 1,994,000,000 florins, and imports to 2,584,000,000 fl. The chief articles of import were: Cereals and flour, 476,329,000 fl.; iron and steel, 301,405,000 fl.; textiles, 144,131,000 fl.; copper, 14,130,729 fl.; coal, 81,220,000 fl.; and rice, 66,448,000 fl. Chief exports: Cereals and flour, 188,476,000 fl.; iron and steel, 188,476,000 fl.; textiles, 107,343,000 fl.; copper, 105,127,000 fl.; oleomargarin, 51,432,000 fl.; vegetables, 45,300,000 fl.; wood, 53,670,000 fl.; butter, 23,607,000 fl.; and cheese, 16,363,000 fl. The values of imports and exports by countries were as follows in 1905:

COUNTRY	Imports, Florins	Exports, Florins
Prussia.....	577,500,000	1,008,300,000
Great Britain.....	263,900,000	409,700,000
Belgium.....	254,000,000	227,200,000
Dutch East Indies.....	399,600,000	70,500,000
Russia.....	319,000,000	12,000,000
United States.....	240,700,000	81,300,000
France.....	22,300,000	14,900,000

II. Constitution and Government

The present constitution of The Netherlands dates from its reconstruction as a monarchy in 1815, and was revised in 1887. The present ruler is Queen Wilhelmina who succeeded to the throne in 1890, the crown being hereditary in the female line in default of male heirs. The sovereign holds the executive power, while the legislative functions are vested in a parliament (the States-General) consisting of an Upper and a Lower Chamber. The Upper Chamber consists of fifty members elected for nine years by the provincial states from among the highest taxpayers. The Lower Chamber consists of 100 members who are elected for a period of four years by universal suffrage, all male citizens of more than twenty-five years of age being entitled to vote if they fulfil certain qualifications with regard to economical conditions. Bills can be introduced only by the government or by the Lower Chamber. The Upper Chamber passes on the bills, either approving or rejecting, but has no power of amending any measures introduced.

The main parties are Liberals and Anti-Liberals, the latter being composed of Catholics and orthodox Protestants, who are also called Conservatives. The Catholics and Protestants unite only in demanding that government recognize the supremacy of religious authority, and the Anti-Liberals urging that the religious questions be kept separate from the government.

In 1901 a split took place through the advanced section of the Liberals demanding universal suffrage on the "one man one vote" basis. This broke up the powerful Liberal Union, and the election of 1901 resulted in the return of 32 Protestant Anti-Revolutionists, 25 Catholics, and one Christian Democrat, forming the Right, 58 strong; and of 26 Liberals, 9 Radicals, and 7 Socialists, forming the Left, 42 strong. Dr. Kuyper, the leader of the Anti-Revolutionists, then formed a cabinet, in which three seats were given to the Catholics.

This ministry was overturned in the election of 1905, when there were elected to the Second Chamber 52 Liberals (24 Liberals of the Left, 10 Liberals of the Right, 11 Liberal Democrats, and 7 Socialists), against 48 Ministerials (24 Catholics, 16 orthodox Protestants, and 8 "Historic Christians"). M. de Meester formed a cabinet avowedly free trade. In the First Chamber there was a small clerical majority.

The present government is partly Liberal, partly Liberal Democratic, having only a very small majority in the Second Chamber, counting the Social Democrats on its side. The Roman Catholics base their program on the Encyclica *Rerum Novarum*. The Anti-Revolutionist Protestants represent the Orthodox religion. The Liberals are led by Goeman Borgesius and Professor Van der Vlugt. The Liberal Democrats, under leadership of Professors Drucker and Treul, aim at curtailing the privileges of capital and securing the rights of labor and of the laborers, and at a more equitable distribution of wealth. They maintain the urgency of changing the constitution in order to take away the obstacles against the introduction of universal suffrage.

For purposes of local administration each of the eleven states has its own House of Representatives whose members are elected for six years by a popular vote. These provincial bodies have full power of legislation and taxation within their jurisdiction, altho their ordinances must be submitted to the sovereign for approval. Municipal boroughs have an aldermanic board presided over by a mayor appointed by the sovereign.

The estimated expenditures for 1906 amounted to 181,714,219 florins, and the revenues to 171,432,295 fl. Of the revenues 54,080,000 fl. were derived from excise duties, and 24,141,500 from indirect taxes. The national debt (1906) is 1,144,757,450 fl., its annual interest being 36,674,411 fl.

Finances

The army, which is drawn partly by conscription and partly by enlistment, numbers 30,131 men on a peace footing, and about 68,000 men on a war basis. There is also a national guard, and a *landstorm* or emergency reserve which consists of all able-bodied men. The yearly contingent for the regular arms is about 17,500 men. The navy is maintained for coast defense and for the defense of the East Indian colonies. It numbers 8 battle-ships, 8 cruisers, 2 old ironclad turret ships, 6 unprotected cruisers, 30 old gunboats, several coast-defense monitors, and 40 torpedo

boats (about 20 additional building). The complement of officers and men is about 8,500; and of the marine infantry about 2,200.

There are (1904) 1,817 miles of railroads, of which 985 miles belong to the State, the balance to private companies. In 1904 the revenue of the State lines was 27,157,000 florins; expenditures, 23,572,000 fl.; freight carried, 8,335,000 tons; passengers, 13,714,000. The private lines had a revenue of 23,373,000 fl.; expenditures, 18,828,000 fl.; freight, 5,372,000 tons; passengers, 24,460,000. There are 1,907 miles of navigable canals. Post-office receipts (1904) amounted to 12,539,858 fl., and expenditures to 9,846,599 fl. Most of the telegraph lines are owned by the State. In 1904 there were 826 State telegraph offices, the length of the lines being 4,296 miles and that of wires 18,901 miles. Paid messages numbered 5,807,951; the receipts aggregated 2,557,330 fl., and expenditures 3,184,655 fl. In the same year there were 1,431 miles of telephone lines; 15,460 miles of wires; 1,390,520 interurban and 79,566 international conversations. Telephone revenues amounted to 507,675 fl., and expenses to 55,471 fl. There are 247 private savings-banks and 1 State postal savings-bank. The amount deposited in the former aggregated (1903) 83,976,000 fl., and in the latter (1904) 120,435,000 fl., the average per inhabitant being 15.46 fl. in private banks, 21.86 in the postal bank. The merchant marine numbers 467 sailing vessels of 59,364 tons, and 269 steamships of 341,964 tons.

The colonies belonging to The Netherlands are situated in the East and West Indies. The chief dependencies in the East Indies are: The western and southern parts of the island of Borneo (212,737 sq. m.; pop. [1900] 1,129,889); the islands of Celebes (71,470 sq. m.; 884,141); Java and Madura (50,554 sq. m.; 28,746,688), and Sumatra (161,612 sq. m.; 3,168,312); the Molucca Islands (43,864 sq. m.; 410,190); and part of New Guinea (151,789 sq. m.; about 200,000). In the West Indies: Surinam or Dutch Guiana (46,060 sq. m.; 73,542), and the Curaçao Colony (403 sq. m.; 53,244). These possessions enjoy religious liberty and a steadily increasing educational system based on that existing in the mother country. Commercially they are of vast importance.

III. Social Reform

The chief political question agitating Holland has long been that of the relation between Church and State, and the main parties are, therefore, largely formed according to this question. Attempts are constantly being made to effect party formation along lines of social reform; and despite lack of success in the past it is believed that a change in the franchise and taxation systems will in course of time alter political conditions.

In 1898, at the request of the government, Professor Drucker drafted a bill to regulate labor conditions, especially with regard to contract labor. According to more recent legislation the regulation of labor contracts is to be incorporated in the civil code. A bill has passed the Lower Chamber of the States-General, and is expected to pass also the Upper Chamber. It provides for the rights of married women to contract for their labor without the consent of their husbands; for the employers' liability toward workmen in cases of sickness; and for the employers' right to collect damages in cases where the

workmen, through neglect, cause deterioration in value of products or machinery.

The conditions of labor are regulated according to a law of 1889, and a "safety act" of 1895. These acts stipulate that women and young persons under sixteen must work no more than eleven hours per day, and that the hours of work must be between 5 A.M. and 7 P.M. Nor are women and young persons permitted to be employed on work of unhealthy and dangerous nature. Hours of rest are provided, Sunday labor prohibited, and the employment of children under eleven proscribed. A royal decree of 1896 further provides for sanitary requirements and inspection of workshops and factories, and makes the employment of safety devices obligatory on the employers.

An act of May 21, 1897, provides so-called chambers of labor, which are to mediate between employers and employees in cases of dispute. Each "chamber" embraces one or more communities and is composed of five employers and five employees chosen by the work people engaged in the particular industry in which it operates.

Accident insurance is provided for by Act of 1901, by virtue of which all industries in which motors or steam or gas-engines are used are liable to pay a workman certain damages for injury sustained in the line of duty. A notable clause in this act is one which reduces the amount to which a worker is thus entitled if he was intoxicated when meeting with his injury.

The Housing Act of Aug. 1, 1902, imposes upon each municipality certain rules regarding the construction and location of houses, and contains also measures intended to guard against overcrowding. Moreover, it regulates to a certain extent the amount of rent an owner may exact for his property, by stipulating a maximum percentage of interest which may be collected on the investment. In cases where private enterprise fails to provide adequate housing room, provision is made for the erection of dwelling-houses by the municipality.

In Amsterdam and Utrecht government committees have been appointed to investigate the question of providing against unemployment; and measures have been proposed introducing the so-called "Ghent System," by which each municipality is to cooperate with the local trade-unions who maintain insurance funds against loss of employment. In The Hague, Leyden, Haarlem, Schiedam, and other towns, municipal labor bureaus have recently been established; and a great many commercial and industrial agencies, as well as trade-unions and private concerns, operate similar bureaus.

Three acts passed in Feb., 1901, provide (1) for the care of children whose parents neglect them, (2) for the legal procedure against children who commit criminal acts, and (3) for compulsory education. There are in Amsterdam two societies which look after the welfare and protection of children. Orphans are cared for in municipal and religious homes; and there are also several private institutions that look after the education and care of destitute and neglected children. There are besides about twenty-five societies which are occupied in sending poor children to the seashore or country during the summer. School children who are in need may be provided with food and clothing at the expense of the municipality.

The first act to control the liquor traffic in The Netherlands was introduced in 1881. It provided merely for a limitation in the number of licenses to be granted, but otherwise imposed no restrictions. In 1904 a new law was passed, providing for fewer saloons, higher license fees, heavier penalties for transgressions, and forfeiture of licenses by order of the municipality at any time after five years. The principal antili liquor societies are: The People's Union, Utrecht; the General Dutch Teetotalers' Union, Amsterdam; the Roman Catholic Union for Combating the Abuse of Alcohol, Maastricht; and many others.

Charitable and philanthropic work are of a private nature. Associations with different

Social Legislation

tendencies exist in nearly every locality: lecture halls for workmen, food and clothing for children, dwellings for old servants, etc. Examples of these societies are the society "Charity According to Means" and "Meals for Children" at Amsterdam.

Among the associations with a general educational purpose the various Toynbee societies for university extension, especially in university towns, are most noteworthy. As to industrial education we may mention in the city of Amsterdam the Museum of Protective Appliances against danger in factories, where various provisions to prevent accidents can be seen. (See MUSEUMS OF SECURITY.) For the promotion of social education Amsterdam may boast of an Institute of Social Advice—an institute with a purpose similar to that of the American Institute of Social Service—and also of its Class for Education in Social Work.

Labor colonies, tho mainly penal, were early started in Holland.

They are of two kinds, penal and free, with three of each kind. The penal colonies are national workhouses, at Veenhuizen, Hoorn and Leyden. The first has 3,600 inmates in three establishments. The work is agriculture, gardening, handwork, and light manufacturing.

The free colonies have some 1,500 members, including 150 "free farmers' families." They are aided by the State, contented, but not progressive. They cost the State about \$7.50 per year per head. The colonies save a few children, and afford a shelter for a few families, through fault or circumstance unable by themselves to make headway in the world, but do little more.

Cooperation in the form of production is poorly developed in Holland, and consumptive cooperation, tho more flourishing, is still in the beginning. Still we may mention as examples of productive cooperation of capital, several agricultural associations of farmers for the manufacture of butter and cheese; of agricultural labor, the Society Van Marken's Printing Works at Delft, where, after ten years of existence, the shares have become the property of labor in its different forms (management, hand labor, control). In consumptive cooperation the society "Self - Help" ("Eigen Hulp"), managing several grocery stores in The Hague, Amsterdam, and other cities, is the most prominent. The Cooperative Union, a society for propagating cooperative principles, for procuring information and the organizing of wholesale business and cooperative production on behalf of the cooperative societies, has, however, separated itself from the "Eigen Hulp." This opens the way for working men's cooperative societies to become members of the union. To this they were opposed till now, because they could not agree with the lines on which the "Eigen Hulp" worked.

There existed at the end of 1904, 114 distributive societies, 4 cooperative butcheries, 70 bakeries, 14 societies for the distribution of fuel, 227 societies for distributing manure, seeds, fodder, etc., 42 other distributive societies—8 productive

Cooperation

tailoring societies, 2 boot and shoe societies, 1 cigar factory, 1 smithy (forge), 1 upholsterers' society, 504 cooperative creameries, 26 societies for the selling of agricultural products, 2 societies for the improvement of the breed of horses, 2 societies for the improvement of cattle, 2 societies of workmen in wooden shoes, 6 mills for preparing potato meal, 4 societies of beehivers, 1 society of

oil makers, 1 society for the preparation of fodder, 1 beet-sugar mill, 2 societies for the use of steam-thrashing machines, 4 straw pasteboard mills, 6 printing societies, 32 different productive societies, 309 people's banks, 4 life-insurance societies, 6 fire-insurance societies, 5 cattle-insurance societies, 9 societies for assistance in case of illness and inability, 143 building societies.

A large factory has made an experiment with small gardens for the children of working men.

There are, in The Netherlands, one post-office savings-bank and nearly 300 private savings-banks. The number of depositors per 1,000 inhabitants was 62 in 1890, and 200 in 1904; and the average amount deposited increased from 75 florins in 1890 to 106 fl. in 1904.

Trade-unionism in The Netherlands is characterized by its division into religious groups; and this is probably one of the main reasons why this movement is not very strongly developed. In 1905 there were 104 unions with about 1,600 local branches. The diamond-workers' union is the strongest of these bodies, embracing about 80 per cent of all the diamond-cutters in Amsterdam, this industry being confined to that city. Recent strikes are shown in the following table:

YEAR	No. of strikes	Decided in working men's favor	In employers' favor	Ended without decision
1902	128	48	42	27
1903	149	39	60	37
1904	85	22	34	25
1905	126	22	47	54

Socialism entered Holland in 1869, in connection with the International, but did not take permanent root. In 1878 a new Socialist movement sprang up largely

Socialism

under the lead of Domela Nieuwenhuis, a former Protestant clergyman. He started the *Recht Voor Allen*, a Socialist paper, and a Social Democratic Union. In 1888 he was elected to the legislature and remained till 1891. But gradually becoming anarchistic or communistic, most of the Dutch Socialists broke away from him and the movement became divided. In 1889 a Social Democratic League was formed, and since then the Socialist movement has been conducted mainly on Marxist lines. Cooperation in connection with socialism, as in Belgium, has been attempted, but with small success. There were reported in 1905, 65,743 Socialist votes and fifty-two Socialist or Labor journals.

Some of the leading Dutch societies are: Centraal Bureau voor Sociale Adviezen, 37 Vossiusstraat, Amsterdam; Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, The Hague; Het Volk (Socialist organ), 117 Gelderschke Kade, Amsterdam; Jordaan (Working Men's Dwellings), The Hague; Tiefdadigheit naas Vermogen (Charity According to Means), Amsterdam.

REFERENCES: *Jaarcijfers voor 1905 door de centrale commissie voor de statistiek*; *Nederlandsch Staatsalmanak*, Pyttersen, 1906; *Dutch Life in Town and Country*, by P. M. Hough, London, 1901; *Holland and the Hollanders*, by D. S. Meldrum, 2d ed., London, 1899.

NEW HARMONY: Though later identified with Robert Owen (*q. v.*), this community was founded by a small German sect, the followers of one George Rapp, a weaver, noted for his biblical knowledge and piety. Rapp gathered together in Württemberg a number of people who

shared his religious views, and, following the example of the early Christians in Jerusalem, they held all their property in common.

Being persecuted for their views, they decided to emigrate to the United States, and in 1803 the Rappites formed their first settlement in Butler County, Pa., giving to their village the name of Harmony. By dint of hard work and economy, in ten years they were in a state of comparative comfort; but wishing to make their position more secure, in 1813 they moved westward and bought about 30,000 acres of some of the richest land in Posey County, Ind., and there founded the world-famous village of New Harmony. The Rappites were a very industrious and inoffensive folk; their creed enjoined pure life, simple diet, and plain dress; the ambitions and wishes of the individual were to be entirely subject to the general good. After a time they took vows of celibacy, even those who were already married dissolving the relationship and taking the vows. For ten years they labored and prospered exceedingly, both in agriculture and manufacture; and then, selling all their land and the village buildings to Mr. Robert Owen, of New Lanark, Scotland, they emigrated east again to Beaver County, Pa., where they founded the village of Economy. (See *ECONOMY*.)

The purchaser of New Harmony, Robert Owen (*q. v.*), was a Welshman, born in 1771. He became manager and then proprietor of extensive cotton-mills on the Clyde, Scotland, and devoted much energy to promoting the interest of working people. He desired to abolish all class distinctions, and endeavored to show that the interests of the employer and employees could be made identical. His mills at New Lanark were ideal object lessons to support his theory, and it was to put into practical shape his theories for the advancement of working people that he bought the New Harmony estate. Associated with him in the scheme was a Mr. William Maclure, a Scotchman, who shared Mr. Owen's communist theories.

Their aim was to establish a community in which property was to be held in common, tho under the restriction of a constitution. All were to share in the common labor, and all should receive a liberal education, with facilities for continued study and pursuit of knowledge. The religious views of the members were entirely of their own choice, the only qualifications essential for membership being honesty of purpose, temperance, industry, cleanliness, and carefulness. When the settlement of New Harmony came into the possession of Robert Owen the village was regularly laid out as a town, with streets running at right angles to each other, and in the center a public square, surrounded by the large brick buildings built by the Rappites for their churches and schools. The land itself was well prepared; there were nineteen detached farms, and some 3,000 acres which had been cultivated by the Rappite society, besides a vineyard, several orchards, and other improvements. With the place so prepared, and 30,000 acres to fall back upon, the experiment of a secular community, based on honesty of purpose and moral integrity, seemed to have every material advantage that could be offered. In a very short time the village was a busy place. Within two or three months there were some 900 persons gathered from all parts of the U. S. and Europe. Many of these were inspired with an earnest belief in the ideals which the experiment was to prove, and worked zealously in the endeavor to put them into practise; but many, also, were lazy and shiftless and came seeking an easy mode of living, shirking their share of the toil, while others came with a view to making profit out of the benevolent feeling of the founder, and with no sympathy at all for the movement. With such material it was quite impossible to fulfil the original expectation, and in less than two years it had become evident that it was hopeless to try longer.

On April 27, 1825, Mr. Owen called all the members of the community together, and in an address explained the impossibility of an immediate total change in all their manners of life, and proposed that they should accept a constitution only partially communistic for a term of three years, that they might be better prepared to fully carry out the ideal community. This was agreed to, and under the name of the "Preliminary Society of New Harmony" the venture was formally

constituted. Mr. Owen then returned to Europe, and a committee managed the affairs of the society. In less than a year Mr. Owen returned to New Harmony, and soon after his return the members of the Preliminary Society held another convention, deciding to at once commence communism and adopting a constitution of a community which they called the "New Harmony Community of Equality." The management was to be in the hands of an executive council, who were to be subject to the direction of the community. Experience demonstrated that the plan of the executive council was not practicable, and the members were unanimous in requesting Mr. Owen to take the sole management. This was the inauguration of the most prosperous season in the short life of the community. There were soon no idlers, all being busily engaged; and the meetings, instead of being the scene of wrangles, were utilized for the benefit of all the members.

This was too good to last, and within a very few months there were disturbances, and attempts to divide the town into several societies. On May 30, 1826, in consequence of the continual disagreements which had arisen about the disposal of the property, a meeting of the whole of the population was held, at which it was decided to form four separate societies, each to purchase its own share of the property, and each to manage its own affairs, but to trade together by means of paper currency. Other changes followed fast, but each change left them no better than before. The trouble was not in the institutions so much as in the unpreparedness or greed of many of the members; and though there were many choice, noble spirits in the undertaking, they were outweighed by the others. After watching the spirit of the community depart, and his fondest hopes gradually crumble away, in June, 1827, Mr. Owen bade the community farewell. Leases were granted to such as desired to continue the cooperative experiments, and the some smaller communities were formed from the wreckage, the New Harmony Community of Equality had become a thing of the past.

The effect, however, was not to die away. The scheme of communal cooperative life took a deep hold on the imaginations of the people, and many smaller communities were formed; and, when nearly fifteen years later Fourier's scheme was advocated, many were prepared to sink their all in the new communities which sprang up in all directions—and, alas! died away as rapidly as they came into existence. But with all the failures, there is still some gain, and the bitter disappointments of those who fondly imagined they were remodeling society are only the defeats which will help to insure victory later on, even tho it should not come as they expected it.

A. H.

NEWSPAPERS: Kewell's American Newspaper Directory for 1906 reported the number of newspapers published in the United States and Canada as 23,461. Of these, 1,135 were Canadian publications. The following was the frequency of issue: Weekly, 16,782; monthly, 2,960; daily, 2,465; semimonthly, 287; semiweekly, 588; quarterly, 195; biweekly, 57; bimonthly, 69; triweekly, 55—total, 23,461.

The *World Almanac* estimates the total number of newspapers published in the world at present

at about 60,000, distributed as follows: U. S. and Canada, 23,461; Germany, 8,049; Great Britain, 9,500; France, 6,681; Japan, 1,000; Italy, 2,757; Austria-Hungary, 2,958; Asia, exclusive of Japan, 1,000; Spain, 1,000; Russia, 1,000; Australia, 1,000; Greece, 130; Switzerland, 1,005; Holland, 980; Belgium, 956; all others, 1,000. Of these more than half are printed in the English language.

Leading Economic and Reform Journals

M., Monthly; Q., Quarterly; W., Weekly.

UNITED STATES

Advocate of Peace. (Organ of Peace Society.) M. 31 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
American Journal of Sociology. Bimonthly. University of Chicago.
American Political Science Review. Q. Baltimore, Md.
American Statistical Association Quarterly. 491 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Bimonthly. Philadelphia, Pa.
American Federationist. (Organ of American Federation of Labor.) M. 423 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Appeal to Reason. (Socialist.) W. Girard, Kan.
Arena. M. Broad Street, Trenton, N. J., and Boston, Mass.
Bulletin of the Department of Labor. M. Official publication of department. Washington, D. C.
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen's Magazine. M. Indianapolis, Ind.
Call. (Socialist.) 6 Park Place, New York City.
Charities and Commons. (New York Charity Organization Society.) W. 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.
Chautauquan. M. Chautauqua, N. Y.
Chicago Daily Socialist. 163 East Randolph Street, Chicago.
Cleveland Citizen. (Trade-Union Socialist.) W. Cleveland, Ohio.
Club Woman. (Organ of Federation of Women's Clubs.) M. 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City.
Commoner. W. (W. J. Bryan, ed.) Lincoln, Neb.
Educational Review. Ten numbers per year. Rahway, N. J., and New York City.
Federation Quarterly. (Federation of Churches.) 119 East Nineteenth Street, New York City.
Good Government. (Journal of National Civil Service Reform League.) M. 79 Wall Street, New York City.
Hammer and Pen. (Organ of Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor.) Q. 416 Lafayette Street, New York City.
Independent. W. 130 Fulton Street, New York.
International Journal of Ethics. Q. 1415 Locust Street, Philadelphia.
International Socialist Review. M. 264 East Kenzie Street, Chicago.
Journal of Political Economy. Q. Chicago University.
Lend a Hand. M. (Lend a Hand Society.) 1 Beacon Street, Boston.
Mother Earth. (Anarchist.) M. 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York.
National Advocate. (Temperance.) M. 3 East Fourteenth Street, New York.
National Prohibitionist. W. 139 East Fifty-sixth Street, Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill.
Outlook. W. 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City.
Philanthropist. (Social Purity.) Q. 232 West Fourteenth Street, New York City.
Political Science Quarterly. Columbia University, New York City.
Public. (Single Tax.) W. Unity Building, Chicago.
Quarterly Journal of Economics. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Social Democratic Herald. (Socialist.) W. 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee.
Socialist Woman. M. 619 East Fifty-fifth Street, Chicago.
Southern Workman. M. Hampton, Va.
Single Tax Review. Q. 11 Frankfort Street, New York City.
Typographical Journal. (Organ of the Typographical Union.) M. Indianapolis, Ind.
Union Signal. (W. C. T. U.) W. The Temple, Chicago, Ill.
Wilshire's Magazine. (Socialist.) M. 200 William Street, New York City.
Woman's Journal. (Woman Suffrage.) W. 3 Park Street, Boston.
World's Work. M. 135 East Sixteenth Street, New York City.
World To-day. M. 67 Wabash Avenue, Chicago.
Yale Review. Q. 125 Temple Street, New Haven, Conn.

GREAT BRITAIN

Alliance News. (Temperance, United Kingdom Alliance.) W. 16 Deansgate, Manchester.
Board of Trade Journal. W. Wyman, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.
Brotherhood. (J. Bruce Wallace.) Q. Garden City, Hertfordshire.
Charity Organization Review. M. 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London.
Clarion. (Socialist, Blatchford.) W. 44 Worship, London, E. C.
Commonwealth. (Christian Social Union.) 3 Paternoster Buildings, London, E. C.
Contemporary Review. M. Fleet Street, London, E. C.
Cooperative News. W. Long Millgate, Manchester.
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Fabian News. M. 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, London.
Fortnightly. M. London, W. C.
Freedom. (Anarchist Communist.) M. 27 Ossulston Street, London, N. W.
Freethinker. (Secularist.) W. 2 Newcastle Street, London, E. C.
Garden City. M. Garden City, Letchworth, Hertfordshire.
Good Templars' Watchword. W. 168 Edmund Street, Birmingham.
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Humanitarian. M. 53 Chancery Lane, London, W. C.
Independent Review. M. 1 Adelphi Terrace, London, W. C.
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SWITZERLAND

Ärbeiter Stimme. 12 Waltonhofstrasse, Bern.
Le Grulli (Socialist). 24 Cité Derrière, Geneva.
Le Peuple. 27 Coulouvrenière, Geneva.
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Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Gemeinnützigkeit. Q.

SPAIN

El Socialista. 18 Espiritu Santo, Madrid.

NEWTON, RICHARD HEBER, D.D.: Clergyman, author; born 1840 in Philadelphia, Pa.; educated in University of Pennsylvania and the Episcopal Divinity School at Philadelphia. Rector of All Souls' Church, New York City, for thirty-three years; he was one of the earliest to introduce Institutional Church features into church work, free evening classes, working men's clubs, free kindergartens, summer homes, etc., and one of the first ministers in New York to use the pulpit for instruction in the ethics of sociology. Dr. Newton is a Christian Socialist and has lectured much on behalf of social reform. He wrote the article on "Cooperation" in the American Supplement to the "Encyclopædia Britannica." Also "Social Studies," "Church and Creed," among many other books. Address: East Hampton, New York.

NEW YORK CITY (see also NEW YORK CITY MONOPOLIES; CITIES (Statistics); LUXURY; CORRUPTION; TAMMANY; HOUSING; OVERCROWDING; SLUMS; TENEMENTS; LIQUOR TRAFFIC; PROSTITUTION, and other special topics):

The story of reform in New York City has always been involved. From the discovery of Manhattan Island in 1609 by Hendrik Hudson, an Englishman in Dutch employ, New York City, originally called New Amsterdam, has always had a composite population. Even under the Dutch, New Amsterdam had many English and other peoples. It was

History

mainly a commercial settlement and attracted from the start a few men of wealth and many lawless and dissolute. The people cared little at its conquest in 1664, by the English, without a gun being fired, nor later when it was recaptured by the Dutch and then handed back to England. The policy of the Dutch governors in giving grants and concessions, early created an aristocracy, while the presence of adventurers, sailors, slaves, and others of all races early produced a population differing from modern poorer classes of New York mainly in numbers and in being more lawless. Many of the wealthy classes conducted privateer-

ing and made wealth thereby, even as the wealthy New Yorkers organize their trusts to-day. During the Revolution, New York City, being the headquarters of the British, became more Tory and more aristocratic than most of the cities in spite of the fact that New York had stood prominent in asserting the rights of the colonies, and that the Stamp Act Congress had met in New York. But New York was mainly commercial. In 1795 the Tammany Society was founded as a social and political club, to oppose the Federalists, but by 1800 was influential in carrying the state for Jefferson, and so creating the Democratic Party. The city's rapid growth and wealth and the doctrine preached by the Clintons, that to the victors belong the spoils, early interested the Tammany Society, commonly called Tammany Hall in city politics, especially after 1834, when for the first time the mayoralty became elective. The city was, however, to a large extent really ruled from Albany, the governors being principally from the old aristocratic families and chiefly interested in state politics with unusually varied and equal party interests, New York State being from the start the pivotal state in every close election. All this favored secret corruption in New York City, working among the masses with the connivance of the rich. By 1820 the city numbered 125,000 people. The invention of steamboats, the opening of the Erie Canal, immigration from Europe, aided commerce and developed a city of the rich and of the poor. New York's wealth became famous and "the bread riots" of 1837 show the presence of the poor. Tammany found its chance among the latter. Fernando Wood, one of its first bosses, was elected mayor. In 1850 street-railways were started and franchises were obtained by corruption. By 1860 New York had 800,000 inhabitants. During the Civil War New York was a Democratic city, with many Copperheads, and her commercial magnates were accused of making money out of the war. Nevertheless, there was much patriotism, and some notable manifestations of it. The Seventh Regiment was the first in the whole country to go to the front. But "draft riots" broke out; negroes were persecuted. Political corruption grew open, culminating in the Tweed Ring and the election of Oakey Hall in 1869. Stock-watering and stock-gambling also ran riot in Wall Street. But the better citizens rose in 1871 and exposed the Tweed Ring, and William M. Tweed and others were convicted and imprisoned. The *Times*, *Tribune*, *Herald*, and *Harper's Weekly* led in the fight. It was proved that the ring had stolen over \$20,000,000. Tweed escaped from jail to Spain, but was surrendered and died in jail (hospital) in 1878. Many movements for reform now began. Comstock incorporated his Society for the Suppression of Vice in 1873; Elbridge T. Gerry, his Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in 1874. A Society for the Prevention of Crime was organized in 1876. In state politics S. J. Tilden largely purged the Democratic Party and was elected mayor in 1874. In New York City, however, a new Tammany boss appeared in "Honest John Kelly." Tammany became wiser and more powerful. It nominated comparatively good mayors and developed its systematic aiding of the poor, but also systematized its corruption. Kelly ruled till his death in 1886. In 1884 the "boodler" aldermen gave away the valuable Broadway franchises for a cash consideration (Broadway steals). Desire for radical reform became general. Henry George promulgated his ideas, and in 1886 was nominated, polling 68,110 votes against Theodore Roosevelt's (Republican) 60,435, but Abram S. Hewitt (Democrat) was favored by Tammany and won with 90,552 votes. The Reform Club was founded in 1888 and a People's Municipal League, but Tammany won again in 1888, 1890, and 1892. In 1900 the Republican Legislature investigated the city, and the Senate did so in 1894 (Lexow investigation). In 1894 the Independents united with the Republicans and elected William L. Strong as mayor. Colonel George E. Waring was appointed head of the street-cleaning department and revolutionized it. Theodore Roosevelt was president of the police board and enforced the law. In 1897, however, Tammany again won, and elected Robert A. Van Wyck against Seth Low, nominee of the Citizens' Union. Henry George was nominated by the progressive Democrats, but died during the campaign. Mr. Croker, who had been boss of Tammany since 1886, was really in power. In 1898 the area of the city was widened to Greater New York. Another investigation (Mazet) was made in 1899. In 1901 the Citizens' Union elected Seth Low, polling 294,992 votes, tho the Democrats nominated Edward M. Shepard, who polled 265,328. Mr. Low gave a good administration, but was personally unmagetic, and in 1903 George McClellan (Democratic) polled 314,728 votes to Mr. Low's 252,086. In 1905 William R. Hearst (*q. v.*), having formed a Municipal Ownership League, was nominated for mayor, and in the opinion of almost everybody was elected, but was counted out as having polled only 225,165 votes to McClellan's 228,651 and to Ivins's 137,049. Mr. Hearst has tried since to get a recount, but thus far has not succeeded.

In 1900 large attention was given to startling revelations as to the social evil and the betrayal of girls on the East Side (see PROSTITUTION), and many evil resorts were closed, tho the Raines

Law hotels, or hotels only nominally so to fulfil the law and gain a liquor license, were felt by many to be the main sources of evil, yet have largely been left untouched. The connection with the police and graft in disreputable houses was largely shown, but largely traceable to men higher up, as yet, however, unreachd. Outwardly the law, however, is now more enforced. In 1904 considerable agitation was raised as to gambling, and District Attorney Jerome had many pool-rooms raided and closed up. (See GAMBLING.) Tammany, however, remains in power, and reform is mainly on the surface. (See CORRUPTION; TAMMANY.)

Recent years, with prosperity in business, have seen large immigration, much of it dumped in New York. The growth of the city has caused much speculation in land, notably on Long Island, but more land has been sold than houses put up, and efforts to get the poorer classes into the country have been largely defeated by the speculative price of suburban land and the demand for cheap labor in the city. The City and Suburban Homes Company (*q. v.*), and other similar companies have erected a few successful model tenements, settlements (*q. v.*) in New York have multiplied (there are now 44), charity organization societies have been wisely managed and their work vigorously extended, but the overcrowding (*q. v.*) grows, and its results are not adequately met. Agitation against the tenement evil resulted in a much improved tenement-house law in 1901, which a tenement-house commission is somewhat vigorously enforcing, but the problem is so large as to make progress slow. (See TENEMENTS.) Considerable has been done, however, in the way of tearing down the worst slums and opening playgrounds and recreation centers for the children. (See SLUMS.) Free lectures for adults, started by Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, have had a marvelous extension. People's concerts, etc., are frequently given to crowded audiences, notably at Cooper Union, and in the summer city bands play nightly in different parks, recreation piers, etc.

The transportation problem of New York is one of the most difficult. The opening of the Subway has proved a success, and yet increased services do not keep pace with the growth of population; four bridges and four tunnels are in course of building over or under the East and North rivers, and the electrification of railroads is in process; yet the demand for improved transit is unceasing, and overcrowding a crying evil. The Rapid Transit Commission, first organized in 1875, claims to have done its best tho much criticized by radicals as playing into the hands of the corporations (see NEW YORK CITY MONOPOLIES), its answer being that rapid transit must be had at the first possible moment, that the city, with its political corruption and its limitations as to the borrowing limit, cannot develop the needed systems, and that capitalists will not incur the enormous initial expenses involved, except for franchises of considerable length and possibilities of large returns. Meanwhile the consolidation of the great public utility corporations has gone on apace till the city finds itself largely in their power. (See NEW YORK CITY MONOPOLIES.)

The present charter of New York City was reported by a Charter Revision Commission in 1901, and in the main adopted, tho frequently amended

since on minor points and in some important respects.

Under this charter power is largely lodged in a board of estimate and apportionment, composed of 8 persons with 16 votes—the mayor (the chairman, with 3 votes), the controller (3 votes), the president of the board of aldermen and the borough presidents of Manhattan and Brooklyn (each with 2 votes), and of the Bronx, Queens, and Richmond (each 1 vote). The mayor is the **Government** executive head of the city, and his signature is necessary to bills immediately affecting this city voted by the State Legislature, tho the bill can be passed over him, by a mere majority vote. The Board of Estimate and Apportionment is the money-voting power of the city. The borough presidents act to a certain extent as the mayors of their boroughs with large powers as to streets, improvements, etc. The controller has management of the city finances subject to the State Legislature and the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. The board of 73 aldermen has very limited powers, but grants small licenses, and under certain conditions can give a franchise for twenty-five years, as can also the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. The mayor, borough presidents, controller, and main officers are elected by popular vote for terms of four years, the aldermen for two years. The salaries of: the mayor, controller, and corporation counsel are \$15,000; city chamberlain and Board of Water Supply (3 members), \$12,000 each; president of Department of Taxes and Assessments, \$8,000; borough presidents of Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx, and commissioners of bridges, charities, corrections, fire, health, police, street-cleaning, water-supply, gas, and electricity, and the tenement-house commissioner, \$7,500 each; city clerk, \$7,000; borough presidents of Queens and Richmond, president of the Board of Aldermen, \$5,000; aldermen, \$2,000; various deputies and assistants, from \$10,000 down. The main departments are finance, police, fire, health, law, education, taxes and assessments, parks, charities and corrections, docks and ferries. The main bureaus are licenses, buildings, highways, sewers, public buildings, franchises, statistics. Other important offices are those of the coroners, the commissioners of public works, of juries, licenses, and the commissioners of the sinking-fund, accounts, aqueduct, municipal civil service, and the board of assessors. The Rapid Transit Railroad Commission was replaced in 1907 by the Public Service Commission. The commissioners and heads of departments are mainly appointed by the mayor.

Among the important New York City reform societies are:

The Citizens' Union, 252 Fourth Avenue.
City Club, 55 West Forty-fourth Street.
Bureau of Municipal Research, 32 East Twenty-third Street.
National Civic Federation, 281 Fourth Avenue.
Socialist Party, 239 East Eighty-fourth Street.
Daily People (Socialist Labor), 28 City Hall Place.
Defender (Prohibitionist), 404 West Twenty-third Street.
Anti-Saloon League, 103 East 125th Street.
American Federation of Labor, 25 Third Avenue.
Central Federated Union, 184 Eldridge Street.
University Settlement, 184 Eldridge Street.
College Settlement (Women's), 95 Rivington Street.
Charity Organization Society, 105 East Twenty-second Street.
City and Suburban Homes Company, 281 Fourth Avenue.
Consumers' League, 105 East Twenty-second Street.
Rand School (Socialist), 112 East Nineteenth Street.
American Institute of Social Service, 231 West Thirty-ninth Street.
New York Federation of Churches, 119 East Nineteenth Street.
Young Men's Christian Association, 215 West Twenty-third Street.
Young Women's Christian Association, 7 East Fifteenth Street.
Salvation Army, 112 West Fourteenth Street.
Volunteers of America, 34 West Twenty-eighth Street.

NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SERVICE MONOPOLIES: The following is a brief statement of the principle of these monopolies:

From an account of each it will be apparent that their record has been one of extortion. Their privileges were conceived in fraud and political corruption, and throughout their existence they have been a constant source of temptation to corrupt officials, have violated the law of the state, have made false reports to avoid the payment of just taxes, and have entered into a close

and friendly alliance with public officers whose duty required that they should protect the public from extortion.

THE GAS COMPANIES

Prior to 1880 competition existed among the gas companies of New York City. Since that time the companies have appreciated that monopoly was more profitable to their interests than competition. At present all the gas companies operating in the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx are controlled by or merged in the Consolidated Gas Company. The monopoly enjoyed by this company is absolute. Most of the very valuable franchises enjoyed by it have been obtained without any consideration being paid to the people. Notwithstanding the fact that their privileges were obtained free of charge, the rates exacted from the consumer by the gas companies have always been excessive and extortionate.

Down to 1885 the gas companies were furnishing gas to the consumer for \$2.50 and \$2.25 per thousand, altho the investigation of 1885 made it perfectly clear that at least one half of this price was clear profit to the company.

In 1885, the year of the investigation, the companies reduced the price to \$1.75, and in the following year it was reduced by act of the legislature to \$1.25. This price continued to prevail until 1897, when it was again reduced by law to \$1 per thousand. The alleged benefits which the people are supposed to have derived from this reduction have been almost wholly nominal, as poorer gas has been furnished under higher pressure with every nominal reduction in the rate.

It is perfectly evident from these nominal reductions that the price charged for gas bears no relation whatever to the cost of its production.

The report of the Thomas Committee in 1885 did good, however, because it supplied a great deal of information in reference to the dark and crooked ways of the companies. The companies appreciated fully the dangerous character of this report and copies of the report became very scarce. Professor Bemis says that, "according to the belief of many, the companies bought and burned all the copies on the market and hushed up the report most speedily." ("Municipal Gas," p. 70.)

The parent company of all the companies which are now merged in or controlled by the Consolidated Gas Company was the New York Gas Company, which was formed in 1823 with \$1,000,000 capital. The Board of Aldermen granted to this company a thirty-year exclusive franchise to lay pipes in the streets south of Grand Street. The franchise was given away, as the city received absolutely no compensation.

Various other companies were similarly formed from time to time, and also got franchises virtually for nothing.

In 1884 the Consolidated Gas Company was formed—a "holding company." It possess no public franchise, but held the stock of, and, therefore, controlled the following-named companies: New York, Manhattan, Mutual, Harlem, Metropolitan, Municipal, and Knickerbocker Gas-Light Companies. It was originally capitalized for \$39,078,000, of which \$35,430,060 was issued for acquisition of the properties and franchises of the constituent companies, subject to certain indebtedness. The Consolidated Gas Company did not include in its pool the Mutual or the Standard Gas

Companies. The Mutual agreed to enter the combination, but was prohibited by a provision of its charter which made its directors liable for a criminal offense if they voted for such combination. The Standard was also prohibited by its charter from consolidating. The Gas Trust represented by the Consolidated Company circumvented the law by buying the stock of these two companies and thus while avoiding responsibility for a criminal violation of the law accomplished its purpose and reaped the benefits that came from violating the law.

The capitalization of the Consolidated has since been raised to \$100,000,000, of which \$80,000,000 has been issued.

The New Amsterdam Gas Company was formed in 1898, a consolidation of other gas companies.

It is interesting to note that nearly all the shares of stock of the New Amsterdam Gas Company are owned by the Consolidated Gas Company. Thus the Consolidated owns 89,775 preferred shares out of a total of 90,000 preferred shares and 121,095 common shares out of a total of 121,650 common shares of the New Amsterdam Company.

It is exceedingly doubtful if any of the companies owned by the Consolidated possess any franchises at all at the present time. The status of the franchises under which the Consolidated is operating in Manhattan and the Bronx is well summed up in the following extract from the report of the Stevens Committee:

But it is doubtful whether the Consolidated Gas Company has any extensive rights in the city of New York. It appears that no franchise other than the franchise to be a corporation has been granted to the Consolidated Gas Company, and it would seem that several of the constituent companies have expired or will soon expire.

In the Borough of Brooklyn the Brooklyn Union Gas Company holds complete sway. Its monopoly is as complete within its territory as is that of the Consolidated within Manhattan. This company operates under franchises which it claims are practically perpetual. The report of the Stevens Committee, speaking of this company, says:

It is a serious question to what extent the Brooklyn Union Gas Company is lawfully exercising rights in the streets of the borough. It is evident that the matter should at an early date be made a matter of judicial inquiry upon proper action taken by the municipal authorities.

THE ELECTRIC COMPANIES

The Edison Electric Illuminating Company obtained the first electric-lighting franchise in 1881. It was authorized to lay wires, tubes, and conductors for supplying electricity in all the city streets. Under the terms of the franchise it was obligated to pay the city one cent per lineal foot of the streets occupied. The resolution granting the franchise was vetoed by Mayor Grace upon the ground that the compensation provided for was inadequate, but it was passed over the mayor's veto. (Myers's "History of Franchises," p. 184.)

Subsequent to this many new companies were formed and franchises were granted to them. These franchises were all acquired by the New York Gas and Electric Light, Heat, and Power Company.

In 1901 the New York Edison Company was formed. This company possesses no franchises,

but is merely a "holding company." It acquired all the rights and privileges of the old Edison Electric Illuminating Company and the New York Gas and Electric Light, Heat, and Power Company. The New York Edison Company is to the electric-lighting industry what the Consolidated Gas Company is to the gas industry. The capital stock of the New York Edison Company is \$45,200,000, which is the aggregate amount of the capital stock of the two constituent companies. This sum represents gross overcapitalization. Bonds were issued by the company until its total outstanding obligations aggregated \$40,232,883.80. Witnesses on behalf of the company before the Stevens Committee endeavored to make it appear that the company owned valuable patents, trade prospects, and equities, but when these nebulous assets were analyzed it was found that a majority of its patents had expired and that all of these items did not exceed \$3,159,000. Notwithstanding the enormous and fraudulent overcapitalization of the company, its profits were so large that it paid \$2,000,000 interest on its inflated bonded debt and accumulated a surplus of \$8,000,000. No dividends were paid upon its stock, nearly all of which, it is interesting to note, is held by the Consolidated Gas Company.

The cost of electric current averages about 3.66 cents per kilowatt hour in Manhattan and the Bronx. Add to this all incidental expenses which the company incurs, whether necessary or unnecessary, including the payment of interest upon an inflated debt and dividends on "watered" capitalization, and the total cost would be 6.32 cents. The Edison Company has charged private consumers as high as 15 cents per kilowatt hour for electric current. It has charged, therefore, over 125 per cent more than the total cost, including all incidental expenses, fraudulent as well as honest.

For incandescent lamps furnished under a blanket contract, for which other large private consumers would have paid \$25,000, it appeared from the testimony of one of the officers of the company before the Stevens Committee that the city had been obliged to or rather did pay \$80,000. The proceeds of this "graft" yielded the Lighting Trust at the expense of the city \$55,000, for which the city got no value at all. It is strange that in view of examples such as these objection is made to public ownership on the ground that it would encourage corruption in our politics.

Brooklyn's electric-lighting monopoly is exercised in practically the same manner as that of the New York Edison Company. The Kings County Electric Light and Power Company owns the stock of the Edison Illuminating Company of Brooklyn, but the latter continues to be the operating company for its own plant and for the other plants which are controlled by the Kings County Electric Light and Power Company.

The sum charged by the Kings County Company for electric current was twenty cents per kilowatt hour. On Jan. 1, 1905, the rate was reduced to fifteen cents for the first two hours, ten cents for the third and fourth, and seven cents for the fifth and sixth, and so on. Current was furnished to special consumers as low as four cents per kilowatt hour.

THE STREET-RAILWAY MONOPOLY

The history of the street-railroad franchises in New York City is a record of fraud and municipal

corruption. Its record is too long and intricate to trace in this place.

The first grant of a franchise in the Borough of Manhattan was in 1832. Since that time the Board of Aldermen have bestowed the city's franchises with a lavish hand. The city's most valuable properties have literally been disposed of by wholesale. Most of the franchises were given away without any compensation being received by the city. Eighth, Sixth, Third, Second, and Ninth Avenues were rapidly acquired by the franchise grabbers. Several attempts to secure Broadway were made before Jake Sharp finally obtained the present franchise from the "Boodle Board of Aldermen" of 1884.

At present all the street-railroad franchises in Manhattan and the Bronx, whether in, over, or under the streets, are controlled by two companies. The street surface-railroad franchises are controlled by the New York City Railroad Company, and the elevated railroad and subway franchises are controlled by the Interborough Rapid-Transit Company. The Interborough Rapid-Transit Company was incorporated May 1, 1902. It was organized principally for the purpose of maintaining and operating the Rapid-Transit Railway under the Manhattan-Bronx franchise originally granted to John D. McDonald. This company also acquired the rights in the Brooklyn-Manhattan franchise. In Jan., 1903, the Manhattan Railway Company leased to this company all of its railroads and property for a period of 999 years from Nov. 1, 1875, the date of the organization of the Manhattan Railway Company. This company is capitalized for \$35,000,000. Of the total issue of stock, \$13,600,000 was used to acquire the \$6,000,000 stock and all interests of the Rapid-Transit Subway Company; \$9,000,000 was offered to stockholders of this last-named company at par and \$2,400,000 was sold to the public at 110. In June, 1904, the stock of the company was held by 415 stockholders. All of the stock was held under a voting trust for five years from May 12, 1902. Mr. August Belmont is president of the company.

In 1902 the Metropolitan Street-Railway Company leased to the Interurban Street-Railway Company its railroad and railroad routes, connections, rights, and privileges for a term of 999 years. In Feb., 1904, the Interurban Company changed its name to the New York City Railway Company. In Feb., 1902, the capital of the company was increased to \$20,000,000. The Metropolitan Securities Company was organized in 1902 as a security-holding company with a capital of \$30,000,000 for the purpose of providing for the present and future needs of the Metropolitan Street-Railway Company. Generally speaking, it may be said that the Metropolitan Securities Company owns the stock of the principal companies, which latter companies control and hold the bonds of smaller companies and lease at large rentals the franchises of various other companies.

Each company has watered its stock many times, and the organization of a Securities Company is a convenient method by which more water is pumped into them when they are reissued as the stock of the new company. The one fact that is perfectly clear through all this complicated tangle is that all the dividends that are paid on all the stocks of the various companies, and all the interest that is paid on all the inflated "debts" of these companies, together

with all other charges, rentals, and expenses, come out of the people of the community.

The Rapid-Transit Act was passed in 1891. It was entitled "An act to provide for rapid-transit railways in cities of over 1,000,000 inhabitants." It provided for the continuance in office of William Steinway, John H. Starin, Samuel Spencer, John H. Inman, and Eugene L. Bushe, who had been appointed as commissioners under the Act of 1875.

The Manhattan-Bronx franchise was the first franchise granted by the Rapid-Transit Commission. The contract constitutes a printed volume of 180 pages, and was executed and delivered on Feb. 21, 1900. Under this contract the contractor agreed to construct and equip the Rapid-Transit Railroad upon the routes and general plans of the Commission, to put it in operation, and to maintain and operate it under a lease from the city for the term of fifty years. The city agreed to pay \$35,000,000 in case the whole of the road is constructed, and other specified sums in case it should determine to construct less than the whole. The city also agreed to give the contractor the right to construct and operate the railroad "free of all right, claim, or other interference, whether by injunction, suit for damages, or otherwise, on the part of any abutting owner or other person."

With reference to terminals, the contract provides that the city shall itself purchase the real estate for the terminals by condemnation or otherwise, and that the contractor is to construct them and receive the cost of such construction, with a profit of 10 per cent. The total amount to be paid by the city is stipulated shall not exceed the sum of \$1,750,000. This amount which the city pays is in addition to the \$35,000,000 paid for the cost of construction. The contract also provides that the city shall, if necessary, acquire lands for station and other purposes of the railroad in an amount not exceeding \$1,000,000, and that if the necessary real estate should cost more than that sum, such excess is to be borne by the contractor.

The city leases to the contractor the whole railroad for fifty years from the time of completion, and at the option of the contractor a new lease of the road is to be granted to him for a period of twenty-five years from the expiration of the lease provided for in the contract.

The contractor agrees to pay as rental a sum equal to the interest payable by the city upon the bonds issued by it to provide means for construction, and also 1 per cent upon the whole amount of such bonds, except that for the first five years the payment is not to be made unless the contractor's profits amount to 5 per cent a year.

The contractor is, under the contract, entitled to charge for a single fare not more than five cents during the life of the contract, and the franchise, rolling-stock, and equipment are exempt from taxation.

In 1894 the Rapid-Transit Act was amended so as to provide that the person, firm, or corporation operating the road should be exempt from taxation upon his or its "interest under said contract, and in all respects to the rolling-stock and other equipment of said road, but this exemption shall not extend to any real property which may be owned and employed by said person, firm, or corporation in connection with the construction and operation of the road."

This tax exemption was a very important amendment, as the original Act of 1891 provided that "every corporation organized under this act shall have its principal office and be taxed on its property in the city where its railway or railways are situated."

Under the contract the contractor is to furnish the equipment, but it is also provided that at the final termination of the lease the city is to buy of the contractor the equipment at a price to be fixed by agreement or by arbitration. This contract was awarded to John B. McDonald upon his offer to construct the road for \$35,000,000. McDonald also furnished a bond of \$1,000,000 for the faithful performance of the conditions of the contract. August Belmont & Co. organized the Rapid-Transit Subway Construction Company with a capital of \$6,000,000 to enter into a contract with McDonald to promote the construction of the road, to furnish the security given by him, and to finance his undertaking.

On their part, what do Mr. Belmont and his associates give in trade for this splendid possession? First, they pay the interest on the money which we supplied, about $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, and they pay 1 per cent sinking-fund—or much less than what they would have had to pay had they borrowed the money in the open market and undertaken the work as a private enterprise. That is all they pay—everything. The question of equipment may be disregarded, because the city must purchase the equipment at the end

of the contract term. As to the damage cases of adjacent property-owners, which most corporations have to pay—why, the city in its goodness also engages to satisfy all of them. The city will not get, all told, as much as if the property were subject to ordinary taxation and no other payment made whatever to the city.

In upholding the constitutionality of the Rapid-Transit Act, Judge Barrett reviewed some of the objections to the law in the following language (*Sun Publishing Ass'n vs. Mayor*, 8 App. Div., 230, 247): "The plaintiff's argument rests necessarily upon the theory that the board will not faithfully discharge its duties to the city, but will act entirely in the interests of the contractor—an inference which is purely gratuitous."

This decision was, of course, rendered before the McDonald-Belmont contract was made. What was at that time a "purely gratuitous" inference became afterward an actual fact. The board did act in the interests of the contractor rather than of the city. It did require the minimum compensation allowed by law. It did make the worst possible contract which by law it was authorized to make.

On Sept. 11, 1902, the board awarded the contract for the Brooklyn-Manhattan Railroad to the Rapid-Transit Subway Construction Company. All that can justly be said of this contract is that it is not in all respects as bad as was the Manhattan-Bronx contract. The enormous profit which the company will derive from this contract, providing, as it does, for exemption from taxation, is evident from the fact that the company consented to construct the road, the estimated cost of which would be almost \$9,000,000, for \$3,000,000.

Notwithstanding that the Brooklyn Rapid-Transit Company enjoys valuable franchises in hundreds of miles of the city's streets and has been accorded franchises which are practically perpetual, probably no corporation which has ever operated in the city of New York has shown a more consistent contempt for the public and a more complete disregard of their rights and convenience than has this company. Its cars are in bad repair and are permitted to remain in a dirty condition, while during the winter months little or no attempt is made to keep them adequately heated. The services accorded the public of the Borough of Brooklyn, that is at present absolutely dependent upon it, are simply atrocious. The treatment of its employees has always been bad, and, in common with the other railroad companies operating in the city, it has paid no attention whatever to the provisions of the labor law.

On Oct. 9, 1902, the Rapid-Transit Commission issued its certificate granting a franchise to the Pennsylvania, New York & Long Island Railroad Company, a franchise of which a committee of the Rapid-Transit Commission, consisting of A. E. Orr, Charles Stewart Smith, and Edward M. Grout, declare in their report: "Your committee has no hesitation in saying that its terms are, on the whole, *very greatly in the interest of the city of New York.*"

The committee in their report offer no excuse for accepting terms which secure to the city grossly inadequate compensation, altho the committee seem to offer their apology to the railroad company for having charged it the paltry and ridiculous sum of \$200 a year in return for the rights under the North and East rivers.

The New York and Jersey franchise was granted by the Rapid-Transit Commission July 10, 1902.

This valuable franchise is, by the terms of the grant, given in perpetuity upon absurdly inadequate compensation.

The only theory upon which it seems possible to understand the extraordinary policy pursued by the Rapid-Transit Commission in disposing of the franchise wealth of the city is that the commission is under the impression that any corporation which consents to accept and operate a public franchise confers a benefit upon the public.

The Hudson and Manhattan franchise was granted by the Board of Rapid-Transit Railroad Commissioners on Nov. 24, 1903.

The franchise is granted in perpetuity upon grossly inadequate compensation. For the right to enter the city the company is to pay \$100 per annum for twenty-five years. For rights under dock property the company is to pay at fifty cents per foot per annum for ten years and \$1 per annum for the next fifteen years. For street or vault rights in Cortlandt, Dey, and Fulton streets, contiguous to terminal stations, the company is to pay at the rate of forty cents per square foot per annum for ten years and eighty cents per square foot per annum for the next fifteen years.

For tunnel rights under the streets the company is to pay \$9,000 per annum for ten years and \$15,000 per annum for the next fifteen years.

The total estimated sum per annum which the city would receive is, for the first ten years, \$13,040.80; for the next fifteen years, \$22,993.60.

The Belmont monopoly, by the grace of the Rapid-Transit Commission, is grasping New York City in its toils, and unless the people take decisive action at once, the city will be completely at its mercy. Mr. Ray Stannard Baker's summary contains a warning against, as well as a description of, the growing Belmont power:

"The people do not realize what this Belmont monopoly has already come to be. It is not only the greatest combination of street-car interests New York ever had but it promises to be the most piratical. The aim of Belmont, and the European Rothschilds behind him, is complete monopoly. Already he controls the subway and all the elevated railroads in Manhattan, he owns the surface-car lines in Long Island City, and he has just acquired the old perpetual franchise of the Steinway Tunnel Company, which enables him to build another tunnel to Brooklyn, and he is on the way to obtain other important rights. Through his associates, also, he is interested in the new Hudson River Tunnel, which recently obtained a franchise up Sixth Avenue, thereby giving him a grasp of the passenger traffic of Jersey City. And now he is trying to get hold of the financially dishonest Metropolitan Railway Company, which controls the surface lines of Manhattan. When he gets that he can rest with smiling content, having captured the city."

That Mr. Belmont is well satisfied with the existing situation we know, for he has told us. He has even gone so far as to congratulate the public upon the contract which it made with him for the building and operation of the subway and to warn us of the dangers of municipal ownership.

Listen to what Mr. Belmont says:

At a time when there are so many ill-digested and ill-considered plans under discussion, having for their object not only municipal ownership but municipal operation of transportation lines, the city of New York has reached the true

solution of this problem—that municipal participation is justified to the extent of furnishing credit for the construction of such a work, but should stop short of the operation of the property when constructed. To private interests should be committed the risks and the burden as well as the profit of constructing, equipping, and operating the road, the latter not being within the governmental functions or other legitimate province of a municipality.

NEW ZEALAND: New Zealand, from the standpoint of social reform, is one of the most interesting and, in very many respects, the most advanced country in the world.

I. Statistics

The colony of New Zealand consists of three main islands, with several groups of smaller islands lying at some distance from the principal group. It has an area of 104,751 sq. m., about one fourth larger than Great Britain. Population, 1906 (including 47,845 Maoris), 888,758, or 7.4 to the square mile; 471,008 were males. There were 2,570 Chinese. The birth-rate fell from 37.32 in 1882 to 25.12 in 1899, since when it has risen to 27.22 in 1905. The marriage rate has steadily risen from 5.94 per 1,000 of population in 1898 to 8.28 in 1905. Illegitimate births increased from 3.70 in every 100 born in 1893 to 455 in 1903. Divorces increased from 25 in 1893 to 103 in 1901 and 91 in 1902. The death-rate is lower than in

Vital Statistics

any country of which we have statistics; it was only 9.27 in 1905. In 1906 the chief cities, Wellington (the capital) had a population of 58,563 (with suburbs, 63,807); Auckland, 37,736 (with suburbs, 82,101); Christ Church, 49,928 (with suburbs, 67,878). Education is free and compulsory, and mainly in the hands of the State. The number unable to sign their marriage certificates was 205 in 1881, 117 in 1891, and 68 in 1903. There were in 1905 1,806 public primary schools with 137,623 pupils and 295 private schools with 16,378 pupils. The regularity of attendance is high, being some 85 per cent of the average roll number. The school age is from five to fifteen.

A great advance was made during 1902 in respect to manual and technical education. The total number of recognized classes, which at the end of 1901 was 425, increased to 980 at the close of 1902.

There were in 1905 27 endowed or incorporated secondary schools, with 4,060 pupils. There were also 3 schools of mines, 4 normal schools, 5 schools of art, and 11 industrial schools, all more or less aided by the government. The New Zealand University is a degree giving body with several affiliated colleges, giving advanced education. There were in 1903 364 public libraries subsidized by the State.

Crime is on the decrease (see CRIME, page 240). Drunkenness, however, seems increasing, tho mainly among persons who have come to the colony from abroad. At the census of 1901, out of the total population of New Zealand over fifteen years of age, 51.85 per cent were found to have been born here; while the proportion of the convictions for drunkenness of New-Zealand-born Europeans to the total convictions was in the year 1900 about 17 per cent only. Of those in jail only 28 per cent were New-Zealand born.

In 1904 there were 1,180 various relief institutions. There are 19 benevolent asylums for the indigent, with 1,167 inmates. The needy are aided by relief boards. There are 4 orphan asylums, but the boarding-out system is largely adopted for needy children. In 1903 there were 2,174 inmates of various asylums. It is educational rather than charitable. Under the First Offenders' Probation Act, such offenders are placed under probation officers.

There is a school for deaf-mutes and one for the blind. The main occupation is agriculture. In 1901 there were employed in agriculture 89,222; in manufactures, 60,819; in commerce, 33,394; in the professions, 23,509; in mining output, 17,816; in fisheries and forestry, 3,667; in domestic occupations, 34,394.

Two thirds of the country is suitable for agriculture and grazing, tho 20,000,000 acres are still under forest. In 1906 there were reported 37,167,460 acres in 69,942 holdings; of these 19,787 had 1 to 10 acres; 17,745. 10 to 50; 7,562, 50 to 100; 9,950, 100 to 200; 20,405 had 200 to 1,000; 811 had 1,000 to 50,000; 90 had 50,000 and over. (For the land system, see below.) In 1901, of those engaged in agriculture, 28,337 were farmers, 12,908 family or relative assistants, 19,749 farm-laborers, 3,220 run-holders, and 7,662 station hands. The principal crops wheat, oats, and barley.

The natural mineral resources of New Zealand are great, and have exercised in the past an important influence on the development and progress of the colony, particularly as to gold. In the earliest years the gold was obtained from alluvial diggings, but at the present time the greatest quantity is taken from gold-bearing quartz, which is distributed widely through the colony, and thus there is a prospect of more permanency than alluvial diggings could give.

Up to 1906 the value of the gold produced was nearly

£70,000,000; in 1905 it was £2,093,936. The same year silver was produced to the value of £1,179,744; coal, £838,531. Manufactures in 1900 had a capital estimated at £7,959,000 with a product (1900) of £17,141,149.

Commerce is on the increase. The main exports are wool, frozen meat, gold, butter and cheese, sheepskins and pelts, tallow, gum, grain; the chief imports, clothing, steel goods, and machinery. In 1905 the exports were: to the United Kingdom, £7,795,284; to the Australian states, £1,815,717; to the United States, £1,438,501. Exports from the United Kingdom, £12,087,118; Australian states, £2,294,271; U. S., £716,301. The registered vessels of the colony (foreign and coast) were, in 1905, 338 sailing vessels, of 41,576 tons, and 271 steamers, of 76,543 tons.

In no country in the world are general conditions so favorable to all. Wages are high, while other features (see below) make labor secure and

PUBLIC PROPERTY, 1903

Public property—i. e., land and improvements not owned by individuals, exclusive of government railways:

Crown lands.....	£15,303,184
Local authorities' lands.....	4,319,539
Educational lands.....	3,181,739
Church and other lands.....	2,249,378
	£25,053,840
Government railways, open and under construction, March 31, 1903.....	20,366,000
Other public works—viz., telegraphs, light-houses, harbors, and water-supply on gold-fields.....	4,916,771
Total public property.....	£50,336,611
Private.....	256,402,400
Native lands.....	7,500,000
Total wealth.....	£314,239,011

PROGRESS IN NEW ZEALAND

YEAR	Population	Occupied and cultivated holdings over one acre in extent	Exports (the produce of New Zealand), total value	Imports, total value	Public debt: debentures and stock in circulation. (Prior to 1880 the figures are for calendar years)	Bank deposits	Post-office and other savings-bank depositors	Government Life-Insurance	
								No. of policies	Scholars at primary schools
1854.....	32,554		£ 320,890	£ 891,201					
1860.....	79,711		549,333	1,548,333		644,521	1,104		
1870.....	248,400	10,211	4,544,082	4,639,015	7,841,891	3,127,769	12,137	59	
1880.....	484,864	24,147	6,102,300	6,162,011	28,185,711	8,538,935	47,462	11,656	82,401
1890.....	625,508	38,083	9,428,761	6,260,525	38,830,350	12,368,610	118,344	28,102	117,912
1900.....	768,278	62,780	13,055,249	10,646,096	49,591,245	15,570,610	228,883	40,368	130,724
1901.....	787,657		12,690,460	11,817,915	52,966,447	16,034,848	245,024	41,291	131,351
1902.....			13,498,599	11,326,723	55,899,019	17,231,767	261,948	42,406	132,262
1903.....			14,838,192	12,788,675	57,522,215	19,011,114	280,011	43,116	133,568
1904.....			14,601,787	13,291,604	59,912,000		297,569		137,623
1905.....			15,503,530	12,828,857	62,191,040	20,545,601	316,376		
1906.....	888,578	69,912							

¹ Net debt, £59,670,471.

with many advantages. Wages in 1903 in the provincial districts of Auckland and Taranaki, respectively, were:

	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Farm laborers:				
With board, per week.....	15	0 to 25	0	0
Without board, per day.....	7	0	7	0
Per day, without board:				
Masons.....	10	0 to 14	12	0
Bricklayers.....	10	0 to 14	12	0 to 12
Carpenters.....	9	0 to 12	10	0
Smiths.....	8	0 to 10	9	0
General house servants, with board, per week.....	10	0 to 17	10	0 to 15
Housemaids, with board, per week.....	8	0 to 15	10	0 to 15
Nursemaids, with board, per week.....	5	0 to 10	5	0
Coopers.....	8	0 to 10	8	0 to 10
Watchmakers.....	8	0 to 12	8	0 to 10
General laborers, without board, per day.....	7	0 to 8	8	0
Miners, without board, per day.....	7	6 to 10	8	0
Dressmakers.....	10	0 to 25	12	0 to 36
Machinists.....	15	0 to 30	20	0 to 42

The estimates of the wealth of New Zealand, from the *Official Year Book of 1904*, are as follows:

ESTIMATED PRIVATE WEALTH

YEAR	Amount	Average per head
1893.....	£156,058,273	£232
1900.....	228,236,158	296
1901.....	229,587,916	291
1902.....	240,054,835	297
1903.....	256,402,400	308

The above table seems a sufficient answer to those who have questioned the advantage to New Zealand of her progressive policy.

In 1901 the unimproved value of the land was estimated at £75,832,465 and of improvements at £46,392,564, a total of £122,225,029; in 1905 the corresponding figures were £122,937,126 and £74,747,349, a total of £197,684,475.

II. Government and Constitution

The government consists of a governor appointed by the crown (Lord Plunket), a ministry, and two houses of Parliament (a Legislative Council and House of Representatives). The High Commissioner in London is the Hon. W. P. Reeves (*q. v.*). The Council has thirty-five members, nominated by the governor; the House, eighty members, elected triennially by adult suffrage, and includes four Maoris.

The qualifications for electors are residence in the colony for a year, and in the electoral district for three months. Women have the suffrage, but the proportion of women enrolling shows some signs of falling off and in general woman's suffrage in New Zealand has shown no remarkable results either favorable or unfavorable. There is little or no tendency to elect women to offices. Members of the Lower House receive £300 and of the Upper House £200 a year. For local government the country is divided into 91 counties and 103 boroughs, the counties being further divided into town districts and road districts.

The Ministry, consisting of eight, is the responsible governing body, and since 1890 has

been in the hands of the Liberals with a large policy of public works and governmental activities. This has meant large government expenditures, and considerable increase of debt, but in reality only an apparent increase, since the expenditures in almost all cases have been on activities sufficiently remunerative to bring in revenue enough to pay off the interest on the debt they have created and supply a sinking-fund to gradually pay off the debt. The few exceptions have been for expenditures so plainly for the benefit of the colony as to call out little general censure. The average debt per head of population in 1896 was 60*l.* 20*s.* 6*d.* and in 1906, 67*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.* The average taxation per head in 1901 was 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, and in 1906, 4*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*

The chief sources of revenue (1906) were: Customs, £2,697,411; railways, £2,338,418; post and telegraph, £1,201,263; land tax, £383,756; income tax, £261,816; total (with other sources), £7,828,570. The chief expenditures were: Public debt charges, £2,187,437; railways, £1,594,954; education, £714,071; post and telegraph, £577,115; constabulary and defense, £291,808; total (with other items), £7,122,340.

Nearly all public works are now in the hands of the government. In the early days these simply kept pace with the spread of settlement, but by 1870, however, the progress of the country seemed to demand inauguration of the "Public Works and Immigration Policy," which provided for carrying out works in advance of settlement. Railways, roads, and water-races were constructed, and immigration conducted on a large scale. Hence largely the increased debt.

Government activities now include operation of all public utilities, government banking, postal savings-banks, nationalization of much of the

State Activities

land, government loans to home-builders, State operation of coal-mines, State trusteeship and management of estates, State title guaranty, progressive taxation of land values and exemption of improvements, State purchase of patents, village and farm settlements for the poor, direct employment on public works, mandatory arbitration of labor disputes.

Government railways (1906) included 2,520 miles (a private line has 89 miles). The surplus of returns above expenditures (see above) was £743,464. The total expenditure on government lines to March 31, 1901, has been £24,092,085. The freight carried was 4,241,422 tons, and the passengers numbered 8,826,382. (See RAILWAYS, section New Zealand.) The telegraph system, wholly in the hands of the government, had (1906) 8,355 miles of line. The net surplus of receipts above expenditures for the post and telegraph was £106,152. The telephone is similarly in the hands of the government, and quite remunerative, being very generally used and the rates low.

There are five banks of issue doing business, the Bank of New Zealand being the government bank. In 1894 the government voted £2,000,000 to save it, and now virtually runs it, several of its directors being appointed by the governor. The government postal savings-banks also do a large business. Practically all the money-order post-offices are savings-bank offices, and give the people far more banking facilities per head than in England or the U. S. They are largely used because perfectly safe. No postal bank has ever closed its doors or experienced a run on its funds. The deposits are invested in public works and im-

provements. The government also makes favorable loans to farmers. Life-insurance is also largely in the hands of the government, as shown by the following table of New Zealand insurance for 1902:

NAME OF OFFICE	Number of years of business in the colony	New Zealand Business only	
		Number of existing policies at end of year 1902	Gross amount insured by policies at end of year 1902
Australian Mutual Provident Society.....	41	29,544	£8,015,240
Nine other societies.....	.....	26,958	6,785,985
Life-Insurance Department of the New Zealand Government.....	33	42,406	9,896,572
Total, Dec., 1902.....	.....	99,908	£24,697,797

In the year 1903 was passed an act "to establish a State Fire-Insurance Office and to make other provisions for the insurance and protection of insurable property in New Zealand against loss or damage by fire."

Besides this, in 1899, the government Commissioner of Life-Insurance was given power to insure persons against accident, and specially employers against liability for accident to any person employed, besides generally doing the business of an insurer against accident.

In 1903 the receipts of this department were £24,449, and expenses £19,690, of which £13,230 were paid in claims.

The government conducts a Public Trust Office which (1904) managed 836 wills and trusts (including sinking-funds accounts), 1,062 intestate estates, 854 lunatic estates, 119 native reserves, 333 West Coast Settlement Reserves, 266 unclaimed lands; total, 3,475.

In 1903 the State commenced operation of some State coal-mines, producing some 3,500 tons per week.

The famous land system of New Zealand rests mainly on the Land Act of 1892. The general policy consists (1) of breaking up land monopoly

by progressive taxation of the larger holdings; (2) of conserving the remaining public lands for genuine settlers; (3) of limiting the areas of holdings and the right of transfer; (4) of buying up and dividing large estates; (5) of establishing long leases, with periodic revaluations, instead of freehold purchase, as the tenure for land; (6) of preference of the landless in sales, and of aiding, by State loans, etc., the unemployed and the artisan class to get on the soil. Carrying out this policy, land under the Act of 1892 can be had: (1) as freehold, but subject to improvement within seven years to the amount of £1 per acre for first-class land, and half that for second-class, title not being given till the expiration of the seven years; (2) for occupation with right of purchase—a twenty-six-year lease for 5 per cent annually on the cost price of the land, with the right of purchase at the end of ten years, and the fulfilment of exacting conditions as to residents and improvements; (3) for lease in perpetuity (999 years) at a rental of 4 per cent on the cash price, subject to conditions of improvement and residence, without revaluation

and without right of purchase. No lease can be assigned in law or equity, or taken in execution, or charged in any way for twelve months. Transfer of leases cannot be made without the consent of the Land Board of the district, and mineral lands, resumed lands, special settlements, and improved farms can only be obtained on lease in perpetuity. Purchase in this form is favored in other ways so that as a matter of fact a very large proportion of holdings are now given under this tenure. In 1896 the sale of large estates to the government was made compulsory, on favorable terms to the owner, but the possibility of this together with the pressure of graded taxation has made it seldom necessary to use compulsion, while large areas have come into government ownership and the profit to the government has been large.

Crown lands are divided into three classes: (1) Town and village land, the upset prices of which are respectively not less than £20 and £3 per acre; such lands are sold by auction. (2) Suburban lands, the upset price of which may not be less than £2 per acre; these lands are also sold by auction. (3) Rural lands, being lands not reserved for towns and villages, classified into first- and second-class lands, which may be disposed of at not less than £1 per acre for first-class and 5s. an acre for second-class lands; such lands may be either sold by auction after survey, if of special value, as those covered with valuable timber, etc., or be declared open for application. Pastoral lands are included within the term "rural lands," and are disposed of by lease. Besides these general forms of tenure special enactments have been made to aid the landless and working classes to get land.

(1) Under the Small Farms Association system any group of persons numbering not less than twelve may apply for a block of land of not less than 1,000 acres nor more than 11,000 acres; but there must be a member for every 200 acres in the block, and no one may hold more than 320 acres, except of swamp lands. The price of lands within a special settlement cannot be less than 10s. an acre. The rental may not be less than 4 per cent on the capital value of the land; the tenure is lease in perpetuity. Residence, occupation, and improvements are generally the same as required under ordinary tenure.

(2) Land may be had under the Improved Farm Settlements Act on application to the commissioner, preference being given to married men. The area of the farms may vary from 10 to 200 acres, according to locality, and no settler can select more than one farm. The land is leased for 999 years at a rental of 4 per cent on the unimproved capital value, to which is added the amount advanced by government for clearing, grassing, etc. Residence for the first ten years is compulsory, and the improvements to be effected are similar to those on leases in perpetuity.

Village settlements are disposed of under regulations made from time to time by the governor, but the main features are as follows: Such settlements may be divided into—(1) Village allotments not exceeding 1 acre each, which are disposed of either at auction or upon application as already described, with option of tenure, the cash price being not less than £3 per allotment; and (2) homestead allotments not exceeding 100 acres each, which are leased in perpetuity at a 4-per-cent rental on a capital value of not less than 10s. per acre. Where a village-settlement selector has taken up less than the maximum area prescribed, he may obtain an additional area in certain cases without competition, on the same tenure and terms as the original holding. Residence, improvements, and applications are the same as already described. The leases are exempt from liability to be seized or sold for debt or bankruptcy. The governor is empowered in certain cases to advance small sums for the purpose of enabling selectors to profitably occupy their allotments.

Under these different forms large areas have been taken up, especially under the Small Farms Association system.

Special efforts have been made to get the unemployed out of the cities on to the land. Land

within any borough of 15,000 or more inhabitants or within fifteen miles of it can be taken by compulsory process for working men's homes. A man may take a lot not exceeding five acres, and government advances of up to £50 will be made him for fencing, planting, and building. The unemployed are also helped to secure work on public works, while considerable areas of forest-clad lands have been set aside and small contracts given for clearing, burning, and sowing these with grass. As the result of all this, holdings of over one acre have increased from 46,676 in 1895 to 69,942 in 1906; an increase of about 50 per cent in eleven years.

A vital portion of the government's policy is its system of taxation.

In 1891 a land and income assessment act was passed repealing the property tax formerly existing, and providing for an ordinary land tax on the actual value of land, exemptions or deductions being granted on account of improvements. The rate for 1905-6 was 1d. in the pound, yielding a revenue of about £281,000. In addition to the ordinary land tax there is a graduated tax on land, rising from one sixteenth of a penny in the pound on values from £5,000 to £7,000, up to 3d. in the pound on values of £210,000 and upward. This graduated tax yields in round numbers £105,000 per annum. The income tax-rate is 6d. in the pound on the first taxable £1,000 (i. e., after deducting the £300 exemption), and 1s. in the pound on taxable incomes over £1,000. The indirect taxation is by way of customs duty and excise duty on beer made in the colony.

The avowed object of this taxation is to break up monopoly and free the small producer. Mortgages are deducted from the land, but the lender is taxed three farthings in the pound.

Taxation

The old, infirm, widows, and orphans with small incomes may also be exempted. Absentee owners of large estates have their taxes increased 20 per cent. The working of the law is such that out of 18,000 people having incomes below the level of the income tax or graded land tax, who were taxed under the old property over £10,000, under this system are released from direct taxation. Yet the large estates pay so much more that the total receipts from taxes have been increased. There is also a progressive inheritance tax rising from no tax on the first £100 to 7 per cent on estates of £1,000; £4,000 and estates above £4,000, 10 per cent. Strangers in blood excepting adopted children pay 3 per cent more. Local authorities are also allowed, on the vote of a certain proportion of their cities, to convert their property taxes into a land value tax, of equal amount, and improvements being exempt as in the national taxation. This embraces, as far as it goes, the single-tax principle, but how far New Zealand is from adopting the single-tax is seen in the extent to which other things than land are taxed, and the small extent to which the land values are taxed. It simply embodies one feature of the single tax in a generally socialistic system. (See INCOME TAX; INHERITANCE TAX; SINGLE TAX.)

Another well-known portion of the government's policy is its industrial legislation on compulsory arbitration, and toward labor. As to compulsory arbitration, for other details, see p. 61.

The essence of it is that either side may demand arbitration, and that the decision has the binding force of a judicial decision. It has

Labor Legislation

made of New Zealand "the land without strikes," and has been copied in Australia and elsewhere. Factory legislation generally in New Zealand, beginning as early as 1873, to-day is in advance of that of any other country. Except in a few specified instances, no man can be employed in a factory over 48 hours a week, nor over 8½ in one day, nor more than 5 hours continuously; females and boys under 16 can only be employed 45 hours a week, and not more than 4½ hours continuously, or 8½ in one day. Children under 14 may not be employed in factories. Factories are carefully inspected, and good ventilation and hygiene strictly enforced. Any room where two or more persons are employed is a factory. To prevent sweating, records must be kept of all work done outside of factories, with the names and addresses of the workers, all subject to government scrutiny, and all articles so made must be so labeled.

A shop act of 1905 limits the employment of females and boys under 18 in shops to 52 hours per week, and 9½ hours in one day. This practically compels stores to close at supper-time; weekly half-holidays are required; offices, with a few specified exceptions, must close at 5 P.M. on ordinary days, and 1 P.M. Saturdays. The Saturday half-holiday is universal. Seats must be provided for girls in stores.

One important part of the government's labor program is the carrying on of public works by co-operative labor, instead of by contracts. Under this system, begun in 1891, four or more workers may unite in a cooperative group, elect a foreman, and take a contract for a given piece of work, each man in the group having an equal interest, the government buying the materials and supervising the work. The railways and public works of New Zealand since 1891 have frequently been built in this way, the result being better work, lower cost, and better men. The average number employed on public works in 1904 was 3,798. The government is also urging and teaching cooperation in agriculture, and does commission work for the farmers. In every way the government has sought to aid labor. The government has a Labor Department and its head is a member of the cabinet. It collects statistics, but its *first* duty is to find work for the unemployed. The chief agents in this work are the factory inspectors and secondly the police. The police all over the

The island are on the lookout for opportunities for employment to be reported to the labor bureaus. The main effort is to get the men out of the cities into the country. To this end the government gives men looking for work free passes on the State railways, they undertaking to refund the price from their future wages, or it to be deducted from their wages, if they get employment on public works. (See above.) From June, 1891, to March, 1904, the Labor Department found work for 35,257 men, with 74,007 persons dependent on them. There is also a State farm at Levin of 800 acres of heavy forest and scrub, managed by the Labor Department, where the unemployed can be given temporary work and families given temporary shelter. Its improvement has met the cost of the work, tho the majority sent there are elderly men unused to such work and who have to be taught.

The Old-Age Pension Law is also well-known, passed in 1898 (amended 1905). Every person, not an alien, Asiatic, criminal, or drunkard, is en-

titled to a pension of £20 a year after the age of sixty-five. No one whose property amounts to £260, or who has a yearly income of £60, can receive a pension, and in the case of those who have less, deductions are made proportionate to their property and income. The total number of pensions in force on March 31, 1906, was 12,583, representing a yearly payment of £513,018, the average pension being about £24 18s.

All this government activity rests on a democratic basis. All property qualifications for the suffrage were done away with in 1896. Representatives are nominated by petitions in writing signed by two or more voters of the district and transmitted, with the candidate's assent and a deposit of £10, to the returning officer, who immediately publishes the name of the candidate.

Electoral System

When the election comes, each voter is given a ballot which is simply a list of the candidates in alphabetical order, with no party name, symbol, or description of any kind. There is no party machine nor boss. A referendum system has also been adopted. At every triennial election there is a referendum as to the liquor traffic, there being full local option. The voters of each district are asked to vote for the continuance, the reduction, or the prohibition of licenses. The result is a growth of the prohibition vote and the extension of prohibition territory.

Municipal manhood suffrage was not adopted till 1898. Municipal ownership is consequently not so developed as national public ownership, tho all the cities own and operate their own street-cars, gas-works, water-works, and electric plants. Rates are much lower than in the U. S. A penny is the average street-car fare within city limits. To some extent, however, as in Australia, the State operates local services.

The police is wholly in the hands of the State and numbers 656. There is a militia liable for service of 140,000 (permanent, 262) and a volunteer force (1905) of 18,545. The colony has some torpedo boats but no navy.

III. Social Reform

The story of social reform in New Zealand is the evolution of the government activities described above. The following brief outline of its development is abridged from Professor Parsons's "The Story of New Zealand":

Discovered by Tasman (1642); visited by Captain Cook (1769); the first British resident arriving in 1833; the first body of the New Zealand Company's immigrants arrived and New Zealand was annexed to the British Empire as a part of New South Wales in 1840, and made an independent colony in 1841. The real founder of the colony was Gibbon Wakefield (*q. v.*), who directed the New Zealand Company, and whose aim was scientific colonization. Its first great governor was George Grey (*q. v.*), who arrived as governor in 1845. In 1850 the interests of the company were surrendered to the imperial government and the present constitution adopted 1862. Gold was discovered in 1861. Real executive power passed to the ministry in 1868. The chief questions in the early years were as to the natives and the colony *vs.* the local provinces. One of the early policies was cheap or free land, with the use of the Torrens transfer system. This developed very large holdings. Necessities of development, however, called out State activ-

ities and able leaders. The first railway was opened 1863; postal savings-banks were established 1865; government life-insurance, 1869; Public Trust Office, 1872. This public works policy was largely due to Sir Julius Vogel, treasurer in the ministry of William Fox. In 1875 Sir George Grey commenced a strong campaign for liberal and democratic principles, and influenced the whole colony and all Australasia. He sat in New Zealand's Parliament continuously from 1879 till his death in 1890. His Land Tax Act (the first land value act) was carried in 1878. The perpetual lease system, the first proposed by Liberals, was enacted by a Conservative ministry (Whitaker's) in 1882. The Village Settlements system, the first efforts for the unemployed, and other land features were mainly due to John Ballance, Minister of Land, and occasioned by the bad years of 1885 and 1886.

The year 1890, however, saw a political revolution. The years from 1885-90 had been years of depression. During that period 20,000 left New Zealand. The unemployed were numerous. Yet millions of acres lay idle in the hands of monopolists. Meanwhile the seeds of liberal and radical thought, sown by Vogel, Grey, and Ballance, with the beginnings of land-value taxation, had found ready soil. Henry George lectured through Australasia early in 1900, and the no Australasian commonwealth adopted his ideas, they set men thinking.

The defeat, too, in 1890, of the great shipping strikes in Australia and New Zealand (see AUSTRALIA) drove the trade-unionists to the ballot. In New Zealand, however, they did not form a new Labor Party as they did in Australia, but joined with the small farmers in supporting the Liberal Party, led by John Ballance, who as Land Commissioner had shown himself a radical friend of the people. There is no Labor Party distinctively in New Zealand, tho five or six Labor men have been elected to Parliament since 1890. These and other causes led to the political overturn of 1890. The campaign turned on land and labor and taxation. The larger estates were held responsible for the depression. The result was that Ballance became Premier with a Liberal Labor House. The council was against the ministry, but Mr. Ballance demanded that the governor appoint twelve new councilors to enable the ministry to carry out its pledges. The governor objected, but consented to refer to the English colonial office. This supported the ministry as constitutionally in power and the councilors were appointed. The Liberal Labor legislation then began. The first work was the taxation of the land monopolists (see above), the ministry declaring its purpose to be to check monopoly, aid the poor, and equalize wealth. The Hon. John McKenzie was made Land Minister and the land reforms were carried out. In 1893 the women were enfranchised. In 1894 the Bank of New Zealand was practically nationalized (see above). John Ballance died in 1893, and then Richard J. Seddon was made Premier, and enthusiastically carried on the Liberal Labor program. In 1891 the Hon. W. P. Reeves, Ballance's Minister of Justice and Education, was made Labor Minister, at the head of the new Labor Department, and much of the advanced labor legislation of New Zealand, especially the great Arbitration Act and the aiding of the unemployed, is due to him, altho since 1896 Mr. Reeves has been Agent-General for New Zealand in London. In 1898 the old-age pensions were established; in 1901

universal penny postage and the State coal-mines act was passed. Mr. Seddon died in 1906. The elections of 1902 and 1905, however, guarantee a continuance of the Liberal Labor policy, in 1905 (December) the opposition securing less than 20 seats in a House of 80. In Sept., 1906, the New Zealand Government introduced a new land bill of a drastic nature, "especially the clauses compelling all owners to sell within ten years excess of land held beyond £50,000 unimproved value, and the provisions preventing present owners of 1,000 acres of first-class land, or 5,000 acres of second-class land, from adding to their estates either by freeholds or leaseholds. Under these clauses future sales or leases of first- and second-class land would have to be in 1,000-acre and 5,000-acre lots or less respectively."

Labor, however, wants more.

The New Zealand Trades Council's Conference in 1906 passed a resolution in favor of the following six items of policy: (a) Nationalization of land and of mineral wealth. (b) Nationalization of marine, coastal, and intercolonial services. (c) Government State clothing and boot factories, flour- and woolen-mills, bakeries, ironworks, and ship-building yards. (d) Nationalization of kauri gum industry. (e) Rating on unimproved values. (f) Stoppage of sale of crown lands and revaluation of crown lands held on lease.

The *Daily Mail Year Book* for 1907 prints the following extract from a private letter from Mr. Tregear:

Here, in New Zealand, we keep pegging away, sapping little by little the foundations of one monstrous privilege after another. We got arbitration upon its sturdy legs, and I know you have followed its career with interested eyes. Now we have again a crusade against the landlords in cities and suburbs, because every advantage in wages, etc., gained for the workers by arbitration is being exploited and neutralized by robber rents. We are taking voluntarily, by sale, or compulsorily, lands near towns for workmen's homes, to enable the holder to erect homes, etc., thereon, secured, of course, on the land and improvements themselves. The result is, no country is prospering in the world at the present time like New Zealand. Let no man think, however, that our prosperity leaves us without evils to combat. We have barely touched the fringe of the soiled economic garment. So long as the wage system endures, so long as capital holds the land, machinery, and other means of production, so long is the bulk of our population only a collection of well-fed, well-clothed slaves.

REFERENCES: *New Zealand Official Year Book; A Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand*, T. A. Cogan (annuals); *The Story of New Zealand*, Frank Parsons, 1904; *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*, William P. Reeves, 1902; *Newest England and A Country Without Strikes*, Henry D. Lloyd, 1900; *Our Foes at Home*, Hugh H. Lusk, 1897; *Labor Conditions in New Zealand*, V. S. Clark in *Bulletin 49 of U. S. Bureau of Labor*, Nov., 1903.

NICHOLLS, GEORGE: Member, British Parliament, of the Labor Party for Northants, N.; born 1864 at Whittlesea; became a farm hand at the age of eight, a navvy in 1883, and went back to Whittlesea to take up work in the gravel pits. He was a lay pastor of the Congregational Church at Chatteris from 1894-1902. Elected to Parliament by the Labor vote in 1906. Address: Chesterton, Staffordsire, England.

NIEUWENHUIS, FERDINAND DOMELA: A Dutch Socialist; born at Amsterdam, 1846, and educated for the ministry at Luther College; clergyman in Harlingen, 1870; Beveruyk, 1871, and in 1875 at The Hague. Here he became a celebrated preacher; but in 1879 left the Church, feeling that it was on the side of the rich against the poor. Henceforth he devoted himself to the Socialist propaganda, being for long the head and front of the movement in Holland. In 1879

he founded the *Recht voor Allen*, the main Dutch Socialist weekly. From 1888-91 he was a member of Parliament, a position he cared very little for at the last, believing that the government was so completely in the hands of the capitalists that for Socialists to attempt to work through it was worse than useless. The feeling grew upon him till he utterly opposed the participation of Socialists in politics, and was therefore opposed by the majority of the Dutch Socialists, who often called him an anarchist, tho his ability and radical utterances made him popular among the masses. He was sent, however, to Socialist international congresses at Paris and Zurich (1893), where he entered into heated controversies with Liebknecht and others. He found himself in a dwindling minority till his influence largely passed away. He has published numerous books and pamphlets in Dutch or German, among which are "My Farewell to the Church," "The Labor Day," "Capital and Labor," "The Book of the Kings," "The Life of Jesus," "The Bible," "Essays on the French Revolution," "The Future Social Democracy," etc.

NÖRREGÅRD, JENS: Norwegian educator; director of the Testruje Popular High School; born 1838 in Copenhagen; educated at the theological school (1862). He volunteered in Dano-German War, 1864. In 1866 he founded Testruje High School; he received the degree of Ph.D., 1886. He believes that society is to be socialized, chiefly in accordance with the ideas of Henry George. Dr. Nørregård is the author of "Kristi Ore ag Menighedens Taro," 1877; "Ingemanns Digstirillingog Spencer," 1886. Address: Testruje, Marslet, Denmark.

NORTHAMPTON ASSOCIATION: A non-religious community, organized April 8, 1842, located near Northampton, Mass., owning some 500 acres, a silk factory, sawmill, six dwelling-houses, etc., valued in all at \$31,000. Its projectors were David Mack, S. L. Hill, George W. Benson, and William Adam. There were no "articles of faith," and very little to hold the community together. It dissolved Nov. 1, 1846. The cause of the failure seems to have been mainly a debt incurred in part on the original capital, which finally proved too heavy to be carried.

NORWAY: A monarchy with a constitution dating from 1814, and severing its connection with Sweden in 1905.

I. Statistics

Area, 124,130 sq. m.; population (1905), 2,311,000, or 18.62 per square mile. Lapps, 19,677; Finns, 7,777. Principal cities with population (1900): Christiania, 227,626; Bergen, 72,251; Trondhjem, 38,180; Stavanger, 30,613. In 1900 there were: 15,222 marriages; 66,149 births; illegitimate births, 4,824; deaths, 34,932; excess of births over deaths, 31,217. Emigration is on the increase; 6,699 left in 1899 and 26,784 in 1903; but only 21,059 in 1905. Of this number 93 per cent in 1903 went to the U.S.

Religion is almost exclusively the evangelical Lutheran, the only church endowed by the State.

Education is general, and has been compulsory for a number of years. The school expenses are borne partly by the communes, partly by the counties, and partly by the State. The total expenditure for primary education in 1903 was 11,391,000 kroner, supporting 6,017 elementary schools with 266,095 pupils in the country, and 2,697 classes with 84,309 scholars in towns. There are 90 secondary schools, with 16,332 pupils; 27 of these have higher departments for classics or mathematics; they are coeducational. Eighty-nine

private and communal schools give a more advanced education; 10 normal schools had 953 students. The university at Christiania has about 1,600 students. (See EDUCATION.)

Occupations are chiefly agricultural; 1,612,382, or 72 per cent of the population in 1900, living in rural districts, and 627,650, or 28 per cent, in towns. Owing to mountains, northern latitude, and numerous

Industries water-courses, only 3 per cent of the total area are under cultivation; 22 per cent under forest; and 75 per cent under grass or unproductive. There were 159,255 land proprietors, the vast majority of whom were small owners. The main crops are barley, oats, rye, potatoes.

Forestry is a great industry, the total area being estimated at 26,330 sq. m., 73 per cent of which is under pine and spruce. The State forests cover about 3,530 sq. m., and are administered by a special staff under the Minister of Agriculture. In 1905 Norway exported lumber to the amount of 34,963,800 kr., and wood pulp to 30,068,500.

Mining is unimportant, the total output being valued (1904) at 6,645,000 kr.—consisting principally of sulfur pyrites, copper, and silver ores.

Fisheries engaged (1904): in cod, 77,460 men; in herring, 11,226; in mackerel, 4,483. The total value of the output was 26,910,000 kr. Other fisheries, e. g., in the North Sea, deep sea for whale, walrus, seal, shark, etc., produced in 1904 a total of 7,587,000 kr.

Commerce.—The imports (1905) were 312,236,300 kr. (about \$36.22 per capita); exports, 188,920,200 kr. (\$21.91 per capita). Imports (1905) were chiefly from: Germany, 87,189,600 kr.; Great Britain, 77,748,000; Sweden, 38,469,600; Russia and Finland, 32,154,400; Denmark, 26,986,800. Exports to: Great Britain, 82,167,000 kr.; Germany, 31,412,700; Netherlands, 20,222,700; Sweden, 15,229,100; Spain, 13,225,500.

Shipping and Navigation was carried on by a mercantile marine of 5,843 sailing vessels with 808,768 tons, and 1,477 steamers with 642,657 tons in 1905. The principal ports are Christiania, Bergen, Trondhjem, and Frederiksstad.

II. Constitution and Government

The present king is Haakon VII.; born 1872; elected by the Storthing, 1905. The constitution, dating from 1814, vests the legislative power in the Storthing. The king possesses the veto to a limited extent; he is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and appoints to all higher offices.

The Storthing meets every year for two months, and expires by limitation every three years. The king's permission is needed if the sessions extend over two months. All male citizens of twenty-five years may vote; election is direct. There are 123 Representatives; 41 from the towns; 82 from the country. They must be at least thirty years of age, residents of Norway for ten years, and voters in their districts. In 1903 the number of electors was 457,541, or 19.96 per cent of the total population; 236,650, or 51.72 per cent of the whole number, cast ballots. Women have the suffrage on questions of education and excise.

When in session, the Storthing divides itself in two houses, the *Odelsthing*—one fourth of the total members—and the *Lagthing*, the remaining three fourths. The rights and duties are those usually assigned to an "upper" and a "lower" house in legislative bodies; but common sittings are very frequent. The king is assisted by a cabinet of nine ministers.

The finances for 1905 were: revenue, 92,694,000 kroner; expenditure, 94,185,000 kr. The revenue came chiefly from indirect taxes and customs duties; the expenditure went chiefly to the State railways, army and navy, posts and telegraphs.

Railways have a total length (1906) of 1,584 miles, 1,347 of which are owned and operated by the State. The State railways received in 1905-6 the sum of 14,542,788 kr., and expended 10,860,731; surplus, 3,682,057; they carried 9,112,434 passengers. There were 2,836 post-offices in 1905; receipts, 6,200,000 kr., expenses, 7,648,124; deficit, 1,448,124.

The length of the State-owned telegraph lines

was (1905) 9,170 miles; receipts, 3,885,011 kr.; expenses, 2,718,876; surplus, 1,166,135.

The army is of the militia type, resembling that of Switzerland. The first and second lines comprise about 75,000 men, from the age of 22 to 34. The navy numbers about 1,500 men on permanent duty, with a large reserve, since all seafaring citizens between 22 and 38 years of age belong to the latter. (See MILITARISM.)

III. Social Reform

The best known social reform in Norway is its company temperance system. (See special article NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM. See also TEMPERANCE.) Poor relief is well provided for.

The communes are obliged to give relief. Settlement is gained only by two years of continuous residence. Differences are settled by the ecclesiastical ministry in the courts. The nearest relative must support where possible. Miners must and industrial regions can establish their own poor districts. Each district has a poor commission consisting of the pastor and persons chosen by the communal council. Any citizen may be required to act as a relieving officer without pay. The sources for relief are endowments, gifts, and a State fund, and repayment of expenditures. Institutions are rare, paupers mainly being boarded out. In 1894 only 2,390 were in poorhouses. Idleness and neglect to support a family are punishable by imprisonment or labor in a workhouse. Pauperism is extensive, but seems to be decreasing. Christiania has built a few blocks of artisan buildings and created a fund to be lent for the purchase of homes. Factory inspection and protection of laborers in mines and handicrafts exist. Child labor is restricted and education insured. Children under 14 may not be employed in factories, and youths from 14 to 18 not over 10 hours. Women may not be employed in mines nor with machinery, nor for six weeks after confinement. Adult men may not labor after 6 P.M. before a Sunday or a holiday nor till after 10 A.M. on a Sunday or a holiday.

By a law of 1894 working people are assured an indemnity in case of accident, and others may insure in the State office. About 80,000 persons are insured. The premiums are paid by employers and cannot be charged to employees. The indemnity is expenses of medical treatment after the fourth week. For the first four weeks, sick benefit clubs are supposed to meet the expenses; 60 per cent of the wages is paid for complete disability and less for partial. Funeral expenses and an annuity of not over 50 per cent of the wage are paid to the family in case of death. If the man is to blame, no indemnity is paid.

Cooperation has had considerable development. There were reported, in 1900, 830 co-operative dairies and cheeseries, and 260 stores, with 28,000 members. (See COOPERATION.)

Organized socialism entered Norway in 1885. In 1887 a Norwegian Labor Party was formed, and declared itself a Socialist party in 1889. It did not grow, however, till toward 1900. In 1897 it cast only 947 votes. In 1900, however, with a universal suffrage it polled 7,440 votes; in 1903, 24,779, and in 1906, 45,000. It elected in that year 10 deputies to the Storting. In 1901 it elected 31 municipal councilors, and in 1904, 75. The party is organized in 396 groups with 20,000

members. It has four dailies and nine other journals, published one, two, or three times per week. The leading journal is the *Social Demokraten* of Christiania. Considerable other literature is circulated. In 1905 the Socialists strove hard to make Norway adopt republicanism. The party is called the Norwegian Labor Party.

In Norway, as in other Scandinavian countries, the Socialist and trade-union movements are virtually one. All the trade-unions are federated in the *Arbeidernes faglige lands organisation i Norge*, and enroll 25,308 members.

NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM, THE: The Norwegian Company system is an attempt to control the traffic in spirituous liquors for the benefit of the community, and to reduce its evils to a minimum. It is often called the Gothenburg system, since it began in that city, tho in detail there is considerable difference between the Swedish and the Norwegian systems.

The system is a growth. At the beginning of the nineteenth century both Sweden and Norway had the largest per-capita consumption of spirits among civilized nations. Climate and other causes contributed to this result; but the ancient custom of drinking on every social occasion was, perhaps, the most powerful. There was also free trade both in the distilling and the sale of spirits, with very few limitations.

In order to check this, laws were passed in Sweden and Norway between 1845-55, forbidding free distillation, and putting both the manufacture and sale of spirits under government control. These laws benefited the country districts, but not the cities.

In 1865 a committee of the Town Council of Gothenburg reported proposing that the municipal authorities avail themselves of a provision of the law passed in 1855, and hand over to a company the licenses for the sale of brandy. (1) Neither capitalists nor liquor dealers were to derive any profit from the traffic, so as to remove the temptation to push the sale. (2) Publicans could no longer give credit nor act as pawn-brokers. (3) Public houses were to be well lighted and ventilated, spacious and clean. (4) Food—well-cooked and wholesome—was to be supplied at moderate charges. (5) Liquor should no longer be sold to minors and intoxicated persons.

A company was formed, consisting of twenty highly respected firms and private individuals. The town council approved the recommendations, the magistrates sanctioned them, and the royal assent to the company's statutes was granted. Oct. 1, 1865, the company, or *Bolag*, took over thirty-six licenses, some of which it operated directly through its agents, others through sub-licenses. Its aims were: To make drinking more expensive; to lower the percentage of alcohol; to limit the quantity obtainable at one time by one person; to turn the saloon premises as far as possible into eating-houses; to reduce the number of drunkards both present and future; to reduce the time during which liquor could be obtained.

The law permitted the sale of liquor from 8 A.M. to 7 P.M. for home consumption and from 9 A.M. to 10 P.M. on the premises on week-days, and prohibited it on Sundays and holy days except to persons taking their meals in public places. The *Bolag* had a law passed that no saloons should be established in close proximity to a factory, and that they should have at least two rooms; it reduced the time for sale in the places it controlled to 6 P.M. in the winter and 7 P.M. in the

Industrial Reform

summer for all workmen; and to 6 P.M. all through the year on the eve of Sundays and holy days; on Sundays and holy days the *Bolag* establishments were open only from 1 to 3 P.M. to persons taking their meals there, when *brännvin* was supplied only as an appetizer. The law considered boys under fifteen as minors; the *Bolag* raised the age to eighteen, and limited the quantity to be sold to one person over the bar to 2 drams—not at too frequent intervals. The company, furthermore, established four eating-houses apart from the saloons where meals could be obtained from 7.30 A.M. to 9 P.M. on week-days, and from 1 to 3 P.M. and 6.30 to 9 P.M. on Sundays—with only one dram of brandy. In order to provide places where people might spend their leisure time profitably reading-rooms were established by the *Bolag*.

Owing to the fact that the *Bolag* obtained control of all licenses for spirits only in 1875, statistics before that date are misleading, since the public houses conducted for private gain had large sales, not only over the bar, but in half-gallon bottles for home consumption, from 1866 to 1874. The company's record really dates from that year.

SALE OF SPIRITS IN GOTHENBURG (IN LITERS)

YEAR	Popu- lation	In the saloon	Per head	For home con- sump- tion	Per head	Total	Per head
1875..	59,986	779,371	12.99	867,369	14.46	1,646,740	27.45
1885..	84,450	712,974	8.44	812,449	9.62	1,525,423	18.06
1895..	112,670	560,945	4.98	916,559	8.13	1,477,504	13.11
1899..	122,370	728,354	5.95	1,229,843	10.05	1,958,198	16.00
1900..	130,619	743,222	5.69	1,367,580	10.47	2,110,803	16.15
1901 ¹	134,000	723,360	5.48	1,394,240	10.37	2,117,600	16.05
1902..	134,000	771,840	5.76	1,187,240	8.86	1,958,080	14.62

¹ Population for 1901 and 1902 estimated.

In order to better appreciate the decrease in the consumption of spirits, as shown by these figures, it must be stated that Gothenburg is surrounded by a prohibition zone, and that consequently a large part sold for "home consumption" goes to farmers and villagers near the city. In 1868 the *Bolag* had acquired all of the 61 licenses at the disposal of the town, altho some of them did not expire until 1875; it appropriated for public houses 27; transferred to hotels and clubs, 16; left unused, 18. There were consequently 43 licenses used, making one to every 1,172 of the inhabitants. The *Bolag* persistently reduced the number of licenses after the above date, and transferred more of them to eating-houses and hotels, where the sale of liquor was regulated by laws passed on its own initiative by the town council. It also reduced the percentage of alcohol from 50 and 47 to 44, and raised the price of spirits per glass from 6 to 8 öre, or about 25 per cent.

The good effect which the Gothenburg system had in reducing the consumption of spirits was soon noticed by other cities. The consequence was that they introduced it, with similar beneficial results. In 1896 their number was 92 with a total population of 1,006,666. Instead of giving figures for each of these towns to prove the beneficial action of the company plan, it may be better to give them for the whole of Sweden.

The total consumption of brandy was, in liters, in 1870, 43,004,162, or 10.3 per head; 1875—53,967,336, or 12.4; 1880—37,204,801, or 8.1; 1885—39,304,133, or 8.4; 1890—33,478,019, or 7.0; 1895—33,458,088, or 6.9; 1898—40,200,000, or 8.0. Concerning this increase in 1898, see below.

The company system of Norway is based on

that of Gothenburg, but differs from it in various important respects. The movement in Sweden started from one city, and was more or less copied by other towns; but the decision as to local option, licenses, etc., was left with the town authorities;

Norway

the *Bolags*, moreover, have never had full control of all the licenses in the towns and country districts. In Norway the system started from the central government. By the Act of May 3, 1871, the power to grant or refuse licenses was reserved to the Department of the Interior, at least by implication. Practically the right to allow the sale is expressly denied to the country districts—i. e., to 82 per cent of the total population in 1875—and also to 5 of the smaller towns. The central government holds, moreover, that the temptation on the part of towns to ask for licenses in order to reduce taxation by other means should be avoided by providing that the profits from the sale of liquor should not go to the defraying of expenses which the towns are bound to meet by regular taxation. Furthermore, the law of July 27, 1894, provided that the profits from the sale of liquor should be divided between the municipality, the company, and the State, the latter's share increasing constantly. In 1897, for instance, the town might get 15 per cent, the company 60, the State 25; but in 1901, when the law had taken full force, the proportion was 15, 20, and 65, respectively. The companies were by this law put in charge of the beer and wine licenses, and had a practical monopoly of the sale of all alcoholic beverages. The law also provided that all inhabitants of a town over twenty-five years old, whether male or female, should have the right to vote for local option or company licenses every five years. In order to reduce the number of wholesale dealers the law raised the amount of liquor which might be sold to an individual from 40 liters to 250, and exacted 1,000 kroner—about \$280—yearly for a license. The State thus discouraged the sale of spirits in every possible way.

In order to carry out its benevolent purposes the liquor traffic was put into the hands of companies, or *Samlags*, consisting of the most respected and philanthropic men in each town, under whose supervision reforms have been introduced similar to those in Sweden, e. g., in regard to reduction of licenses, cleanliness, credit, eating-houses, reading-rooms, etc. The hours of sale were, however, further restricted.

Christiansand was the first town to form a *Samlag*. Its example was rapidly followed by others. In 1891 all but 8 out of the 59 towns had formed *Samlags*; of these 8 the petition of 5 was denied, and 3 had private licenses.

To illustrate the operation of the company law, Bergen, the chief port and second city of Norway, may serve as an illustration.

Sale of spirits in Bergen (in liters), per head: 1877—2.45; 1885—1.68; 1895—1.35; 1899—0.96; 1901—0.87. Bars were abolished in 1902. The sales for home consumption remained practically the same, changing from 4.20 in 1897 to 4.99 in 1899, and 5.27 in 1905.

The sales in other cities were similar to those in Bergen. For the whole of Norway the total consumption of spirits was, in liters: 1875—11,842,000; per head, 6.0. In 1885—6,840,000; per head, 3.5. In 1895—7,111,000; per head, 3.5. In 1899—7,247,000; per head, 3.3. For Norway the consumption of absolute alcohol in brandy,

wine, and beer, per head, was: 1877—about 3.3 liters; 1885—about 2.4; 1895—2.5; 1898—2.5; 1905—1.98.

(1) The amount of spirits has gone down in both countries per head of the population; in Norway about 45 to 50 per cent. (2) The number of rum-shops has been reduced, e. g., in the towns of Norway from 501 in 1871 to about 130 in 1902, notwithstanding the increase in population.

Results

(3) The saloons have been divested of their various attractions to vice, e. g., immorality, gambling, etc. (4) Eating-houses, libraries, waiting-rooms, etc., have been established to act as counter attractions and serve as places where men may spend their leisure hours without temptation to drink. (5) The time for the sale of liquor has been reduced on week-days, and almost abolished on Sundays and holy days—the time of greatest temptation; and the age of minors has been raised from 15 to 18—the company's inns in Norway have, e. g., refused to sell liquor to about 872 minors, and over 26,000 intoxicated persons. (6) Considerable sums of money have been given for public purposes from the profits of liquor, e. g., the *Samlag* of Bergen turning over 2,652,723 kroner, or about \$736,865, from 1877–97; that of Christiania, 4,662,445 kr., or about \$1,249,535, from 1886–1903. (7) The liquor traffic has practically been eliminated from politics. (8) The people have been educated to a greater appreciation of sobriety, as is proved by the growth of the Norwegian Abstinence Society from a membership of 8,000 in 1876 to about 400,000 in 1906.

It must be confessed, on the other hand, that the system has not done all that was claimed for it: (1) The consumption of beer has largely increased in both countries, e. g., from 16.5 liters per head in 1875 to 45.0 in 1898 in Sweden, and from 12.3 in 1871 to 23.2 in 1899 in Norway. (2) The arrests for drunkenness have also increased in both countries, e. g., in Gothenburg from 39 per 1,000 population in 1875 to 58 in 1899; in Bergen from 20.6 in 1877 to 25.9 in 1899.

What are the causes of these facts? In Sweden wine and beer licenses have been left in the hands of private persons, and these made every effort to make up for the loss sustained through the transfer of the liquor licenses to the *Samlags*. It is admitted, moreover, that in smaller towns the company saloons have not always been well managed. In regard to arrests it may suffice to say that the sentiment in favor of punishing drunken persons is keener now than it was before, and does not necessarily argue an increase in drunkenness. Stockholm, for instance, shows a decrease from 49 in 1876 to 42 in 1898 per 1,000. The figures gradually decreased from 1876 to 1884, when arrests were only 24 per 1,000; then they rose again. As a matter of fact, the statistics of arrests for drunkenness can be explained only as a sign of greater or smaller strictness.

In conclusion it may be said that the company system has proved a success in both Sweden and Norway, particularly in the latter, since its laws were better framed and gave the companies complete control over alcoholic drinks in 1894. A gradual decrease in the consumption of both beer and liquor has since taken place in Norway; e. g., in 1903 the decrease was 26,955 liters in liquor and 46,745 quarts in beer over 1902. If the laws have not done everything that was ex-

pected, one must bear in mind that men are not made sober by law, but by moral and religious influences; neither can customs, centuries old, be suddenly eradicated by a legal decree, but by the slow process of education.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

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NOYES, JOHN HUMPHREY: Founder of the Oneida Community; born 1811 at Brattleboro, Vt.; graduated from Dartmouth College and began to study law. During the great revival of 1831, being converted, he gave up his legal studies, and prepared for admission to Andover Theological Seminary; completed theological course at New Haven, Conn., and was there ordained a minister of the Congregational Church. The views of Christian doctrine he held at this time, particularly as to the possibility of living a sinless life, brought him into conflict with the authorities both of seminary and church. Surrendering his license, he began preaching independently, chiefly in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont, and in a few years was the acknowledged leader of a considerable body of disciples. Returned in 1836 to his father's home in Putney, Vt., where for the next eleven years he was engaged in publishing his new doctrines in periodicals, pamphlets, and books. During this period, with the members of his family and others, he formed a small community of about forty members; but the opposition of the town to the community was so active that in 1847 he and his associates withdrew from the place. Preliminary steps had been taken the previous summer toward forming a community in central New York, and to this place he and his disciples retired, leaving Putney. This movement resulted in the organization of the Oneida Community, with which the name of Mr. Noyes has ever since been connected. (SEE ONEIDA COMMUNITY.)

NUREMBERG (Medieval): We present here on its economic side a brief account of Nuremberg at the close of the Middle Ages, as in many ways typical of those ages and full of suggestiveness for modern times. We abridge the account from an article by W. D. P. Bliss in *The Outlook* (March 17, 1906):

Medieval Nuremberg was a city of success. This breathes from every point. Æneas Sylvius, who wrote in the fifteenth century, says: "The burghers' dwellings seem to have been built for princes. In truth, the kings of Scotland would gladly be housed so luxuriously as the ordinary citizen of Nuremberg." No one can doubt the substantial and widely distributed prosperity of the Burgher City.

One wonders still more at the high quality of its life. Equality here spelled Quality. Art, learning, religion, were universal. There was no artistic set, no learned class, no 5 per cent or 20 per cent who attended church. In Nuremberg, more than elsewhere in the world, the artist was an artisan and the artisan an artist. Her greatest poet was a cobbler. When Adam Kraft carved his ciborium, that "miracle of German art," he represented himself and his assistants in working costume supporting the beautiful creation. Education, too, was popularized. If Gutenberg discovered printing with movable metal type in Mainz in 1455, Nuremberg, before 1500, had twenty-four presses and had printed 200 different works. Nuremberg was the first city in Germany, if not in the world, to found a gymnasium, a secondary school for the people. Equally was her religion for all. Vischer wrought his shrine "to the praise of God Almighty above and the honor of St. Sebald." Each trade guild had its patron saint, its saint's feast, its guild church or chapel.

It is this commingling of art and of commerce, of learning

and of trade, of religion and of daily life, that gives to Nuremberg its greatest charm.

Nuremberg was by no means a perfect city; its citizens were by no means ideal neighbors. The streets were ill kept, if not filthy. The 6,205 "poems" of Hans Sachs were often coarse. The government of the city was habitually cruel and harsh, even when just. The subterranean passages under the Rathaus, the dark dungeons of the castle, the torture-chamber with its horrors, above all, the "Iron Virgin," deliver us from any sentimental desire for the return of "the good old times." Nevertheless, just this, that out of such darkness and ignorance and evil there did arise such art and freedom, such individuality and success, makes us hasten to ask the question how it all arose.

We do not hesitate to answer: It arose first and foremost—we do not say solely—because Nuremberg was a city of gild rule. No Nuremberger ever seriously dreamed of leaving trade or art or manufacture, or indeed any portion of life, to the accident and incident of unrestricted competition. "Competition," the Nuremberger would have said, "is the death of trade, the subverter of freedom, above all, the destroyer of quality." Every Nuremberger, like every medieval man, thought of himself, not as an independent unit, but as a dependent, altho component, part of a larger organism, church or empire or city or gild. This was of the very essence of medieval life. According to the theory of the times, the town held the right to practise trades as a feudal tenure from the

Economic Basis

emperor, who held it from God. This tenure—the right to practise trades—the Rath, or Town Council, parceled out between the guilds or groups of citizens, each gild having the right to practise only that art or subdivision of art granted it by the Rath. Finally, in its turn, the gild granted to its different individual members the right to practise the trade, conditioned, however, upon restrictions and within very definite limits. The gild determined what raw material might be bought and how much, the number of apprentices any master might employ, and the conditions under which they should work. It determined the number of journeymen in any shop, and the wages they were paid. It held the right to determine, and often did determine, the very methods and mechanism of production. Above all, it fixt the price of the finished product and scrupulously controlled the market.

It will be said, with truth, that the medieval trade-gild was not like the modern trade-union, in that the latter is composed of operatives only, while in the medieval guilds master and workman, employer and employee, tho with fixt order of precedence, nevertheless sat and voted in the same gild. This was true, at least, in the period in which Nuremberg was laying the foundations of her great development. We are not forgetful that the system did not endure. Even under a beneficent feudalism the interests of labor and capital, inherently diverse, broke forth in open strife in Nuremberg as early as the fourteenth century. The artisans formed a new council composed mainly of artisans. This council did not endure, but it sowed the seeds of lasting conflicts between the masters and the men, and the struggle went on till the power of the old guilds was forever gone. But it shows how much Nuremberg owed to the old system.

Take the vexed question of apprenticeship. The gild, as we have seen, determined the number of apprentices. According to the rules of the times, the master "must maintain his apprentice night and day in his house, give him board and attention, and keep him under lock and key." It does not sound very free, nor very inviting; but listen. The master had to teach the apprentice his trade, with all its mysteries. He must keep no secret back, on pain of losing his license to trade. When the apprenticeship (*Lehrjahre*) expired, the young worker was given time and money to travel and study his trade in other countries, for one, three, or even five years (his *Wanderjahre*). If he was an iron-worker, he would go to the Low Countries and see the marvelous iron-work of Antwerp and Liège. If he was a silversmith or goldsmith, he would go to Florence and North Italy. Finally, when he came home, when his *Wanderjahre* were over, then, while working for a master, he was required to make a masterpiece, and only when he had done this and proved himself a master workman could he be admitted to rank as a master in his craft. Do we wonder still that Nuremberg workmanship was renowned?

It will be said that Nuremberg's success was based upon thorough training. But it was the gild rule that made this training possible. The gild did not allow the untrained workman or the mean-spirited trader to cut prices to spoil or steal the market. The guilds measured and weighed and tested all materials, and determined how much each pro-

ducer could have. The guilds said where materials should be bought. No open market or free trade for them. They equally measured or counted, weighed and tested, the finished product. No dishonest goods, no adulterated wares, were to be foisted on the market to deceive the purchaser or lower the price. As late as 1456 two men were burned alive at Nuremberg for having sold adulterated wines.

Gild Rule

Wares, the gild laws said, must be, "in the eyes of all, good, irreproachable, and without flaw." To buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market was not Nuremberg's commercial law. The gild regulations, indeed, went into every possible and even absurd detail. The gild laws determined even what the artisan should wear and eat. It was a quarrel over this latter item that largely led to the disruption of the old guilds and the development of the journeymen's guilds.

But it was not only in economic matters that the guilds held sway. They legislated in the realm of morals and behavior. Only the right of life and of limb was reserved to the emperor. The guilds were charitable and benefit societies. The gild system covered the whole domain of life and entered every province. Even the poets had their gild.

Nuremberg, however, was not unaware of the dangers of combinations. A rescript of a commission of the Reichstag, held in Nuremberg, 1522-23, says:

"Item: The aforesaid monopolies, uniting, combining, associating and their sellings, have not now for the first time been found out not to be borne; but the same were regarded as very noxious to the commonweal and distinctive and worthy to be punished, as aforetime by the Roman emperors and jurisconsults, and especially by the blessed Emperor Justinian, so that such trespassers should be made to lose all their goods, and, moreover, should be adjudged to eternal misery [exile] from their homes, as standeth written. . . . Lege Unica Cod. de Monop. . . . But therefore it is not said that all companies and common trading should be wholly cut away. This were indeed against the commonweal and very burdensome and harmful and foolish to the whole German nation. . . . If each one trade singly and should lose thereby, that would then be to his undoing. . . . such a forbidding would only serve the rich and their advantage, who in all cases everywhere do pluck the grain for themselves and leave the chaff for others."¹

Nuremberg thus saw very well that competition only served the rich and the strong, that collective trading was the hope of the poor and the plain people. The guilds were therefore encouraged but controlled. According to the rescript, they could have a capital of only 50,000 gulden, with three storehouses, outside family stores. They must make sworn reports to the town councils. Dispersed companies were not to join. Only limited amounts of material could be bought. They were to be trading companies. Money was not to be lent on usury (interest). The guilds were to serve the people, not to become their masters. Indeed, the gild system cannot be rightly judged unless one take into consideration the control of the guilds by the Rath or town council. This was paternal, often socialistic in the extreme. It was, as we have seen, cruel—but it was with a just cruelty. Extortion, false measures, adulteration of goods, were abominations in a trading town and punished usually by death. There was to be no cornering of the market. This was particularly so in the matter of food. The town built granaries and filled them with grain against the day of drought, when they could be opened and the grain sold at low prices to prevent a monopoly price. The town government, if not by the people, was of the people, and for the people.

Such, in brief, was the system that produced Nuremberg's art and commerce. It most certainly developed freedom and individuality. The first gunlocks, the first air-guns, the first clarionets, the first globes, were made in Nuremberg. In 1500 Peter Hemlein made the first watches, and they were called Nuremberg eggs. The first paper-mill in Germany, if not in Europe, was established here. A machine for drawing wine was invented in Nuremberg. Printing, as we have seen, tho not discovered here, was early introduced. The first playing-cards were printed here; still to-day Nuremberg is the great manufacturer of toys. Marvelous quality of work, equality of effort, freedom in inventiveness and creation, grew up largely because by the gild laws the Nuremberg man found deliverance from competition in cheapness of work and of prices.

REFERENCES: *The Story of Nuremberg*, C. Headlam; *The City of the Closed Shop*, article by W. D. P. Bliss, *Outlook*, March 17, 1906.

¹ Belfort Bax's "German Society of the Middle Ages," Appendix.

O

OASTLER, RICHARD: English reformer; born in Yorkshire, near Huddersfield, 1789, and succeeded his father as steward to Mr. Thornhill, living at Tirby Hall. Early interested in the abolition movement, he suddenly became aware that there were slaves in England. In a letter to the *Leeds Mercury*, in 1830, he exposed some of the evils existing in the neighboring mills. Agitation was aroused, and a bill was laid before Parliament by Lord Morpeth, limiting the hours of work and raising the limit of age for work in the mills. The opposition of the manufacturers was bitter, and they succeeded in getting the bill amended so that it was almost useless. Calumny was heaped upon Oastler, but he did not swerve from his course. His advice to the working classes was, "Let your politics be 'ten hours a day and a time book.'"

Oastler now became associated with T. Hobhouse and M. T. Sadler (members of Parliament); and, in 1831, Sadler introduced a ten-hours bill into the House of Commons. The bill did not pass, and in 1832 Sadler lost his seat.

Another leader, however, appeared, Lord Ashley, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury. The mass of testimony which Oastler had produced showed that it was the custom to employ children, from five years old upward, from five in the morning till ten at night, and that during the whole time they were on their feet, with a short interval for dinner. Several cases of death resulting from beatings were proved. Lord Ashley brought in a ten-hours bill for women and children in 1833. A government bill was, however, finally accepted by Oastler and Lord Ashley, as the best that could be procured. While it did a certain amount of good, it permitted manufacturers to act as justices and punish offenses committed by members of their own body; and, naturally enough, punishments were few, while infractions of the act were many. The law was so openly disregarded that Oastler began his campaign afresh. The cry went out, "Yorkshire slavery still exists." As a result the government was finally obliged to promise to enforce the factory acts.

In the midst of his work Oastler was cast into prison for a debt which had been incurred in keeping up his position and pursuing his labors. From Fleet Prison he each week issued a journal called *The Fleet Papers*, devoted to a discussion of factory and poor-law questions. After five years' imprisonment his friends subscribed enough to clear him from debt, and he was released. His entry into Huddersfield was made a great public event, and crowds of people thronged to greet their liberated champion.

Oastler's final victory was gained in 1847 by the passage of the Ten-Hour Bill of that year.

Oastler's wife died soon after his release from prison, and his remaining years were passed in seclusion and poverty. He died in 1861 at the age of seventy-two, "The Old Factory King," as his admirers called him, an example of self-sacrifice and devotion.

OBERHOLZER, SARA LOUISE: Authority on school savings-banks (*q. v.*); born in Uwchlan, Pa.; educated in Friends' schools; president of various literary and philanthropic societies; superintend-

ent for School Savings-Banks department of the National and World Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and has been personally instrumental in placing the system in a very large number of schools. Besides literary works in prose and verse, she has written numerous pamphlets and articles upon school savings-banks. Address: 1905 Tioga Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

O'BRIEN, JAMES BRONTERRE: British reformer; born in Longford, Ireland, 1805; educated in the school conducted by Miss Edgeworth, the novelist, and Dublin University, where he won honors and gathered around him a brilliant coterie of admirers and friends. He entered Gray's Inn, London, and fell under the influence of Cobbett and Hunt, and was drawn into the radical movement. He became one of the leaders of the Chartist cause, and was widely known as "the Chartist Schoolmaster." He was several times arrested and sent to prison. He emphasized the economic aspects of the Chartist movement, and to some extent was a precursor of Karl Marx and apparently the first to use the term "surplus value." He also called himself a "Social Democrat" and urged the formation of a "Social Democratic Party," being the first writer so far as is known to use the terms which have become so significant. For years he edited the most influential Chartist organ, *The Poor Man's Guardian*. He published a translation of Buonarrotti's "History of Babeuf's Conspiracy for Equality," with a valuable introduction and copious notes; "Life of Robespierre"; "Human Slavery: How It Came Into the World, and How It Shall Be Made to Go Out" (posthumously issued in 1885). O'Brien died in 1864. J. S.

OCCUPATIONS: The following world statistics are taken from the German *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* for 1906:

Agriculture and fishing employ the largest proportion of the bread-earners in this order: Hungary, Italy, Russia, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, France, Norway, Germany, Switzerland, the U. S.

Manufacture and mining employ the largest proportion of the bread-earners in this order: Scotland, England and Wales, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland.

The largest proportion of bread-earners engaged in commerce are in Holland, the U. S., Norway, England and Wales, Scotland, Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany.

The largest proportion in the army and navy are in Russia, Germany and France; the smallest number are in Switzerland, the U. S., Scotland, and Norway.

The largest proportion in public or professional life are in Great Britain, Holland, France, Italy, Russia, Germany.

The largest number in domestic or personal service are in Belgium, the U. S., Great Britain, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Denmark.

The first two tables on page 844 give the occupations for the principal countries of the world. The first gives the actual numbers, the second the percentage in the same order as the first. Some interesting figures will be noticed, e. g., that the comparatively poor countries have the largest percentage of domestic servants.

COUNTRIES	Year	Agriculture, forestry, fishing, and dependent occupations	Industries, mining, hotels and inns	Commerce and transportation	Army and navy, police	Public service and professions	Domestic and personal service	Other occupations
Germany.....	1895	8,292,692	8,281,220	2,338,511	630,978	794,983	1,339,316	432,491
	1882	8,236,496	6,396,465	1,570,318	451,825	579,322	397,582	1,324,924
Austria.....	1900	8,205,331	3,138,731	1,035,451		1,727,939		
	1890	8,469,223	2,880,897	845,073	187,507	324,591	456,277	.....
Hungary.....	1900	6,055,390	1,184,400	362,709	132,336	213,910	385,324	496,926
	1890	5,425,205	943,448	262,116	114,393	165,089	376,270	479,643
Russia.....	1897	18,245,287	5,596,889	2,218,642	1,132,723	1,174,513	1,617,489	1,285,806
Italy.....	1901	9,666,467	3,989,816	1,196,744	204,012	640,632	482,080	92,775
	1881	8,580,978	4,185,461	592,784	160,155	498,923	596,172	537,435
Switzerland.....	1888	488,534	531,005	140,289	816	49,837	80,304	14,865
France.....	1896	8,421,319	6,373,239	1,790,968	498,000	907,382	863,321	139,550
	1891	6,535,599	4,548,098	2,185,818	561,875	768,245	1,609,432	119,082
Belgium.....	1900	697,372	1,372,251	385,236	33,400		811,889	
	1890	649,252	1,081,503	327,091	48,282		724,040	
Holland.....	1899	592,774	650,574	332,225	19,622	104,655	197,511	33,346
	1889	541,274	532,181	208,730	20,880	98,005	166,495	25,164
Denmark.....	1901	531,165	275,743	130,634	.....	54,092	92,356	22,549
	1890	228,316	200,700	69,300	8,429	44,723	217,232	73,378
Sweden.....	1900	982,986	413,023	148,439	38,847	56,891	212,753	121,061
	1890	944,562	263,317	102,381	39,455	46,137	237,918	116,634
Norway.....	1900	359,763	242,642	122,256	6,053	29,851	98,413	17,692
	1891	384,426	177,511	91,257	3,902	22,989	81,380	13,947
England and Wales.....	1901	1,152,495	8,350,176	1,858,454	168,238	804,447	1,994,917	.....
	1891	1,336,945	7,336,344	1,399,735	126,473	799,659	1,900,320	.....
Scotland.....	1901	237,311	1,197,495	245,715	8,057	93,004	201,238	.....
	1891	249,124	1,032,404	180,952	7,588	103,731	203,153	.....
Ireland.....	1901	876,062	639,413	97,889	32,468	98,567	219,418	.....
	1891	940,621	657,154	95,440	31,293	176,538	238,215	.....
Great Britain and Ireland.....	1901	2,265,868	10,187,084	2,202,058	208,763	996,018	2,415,565	.....
	1891	2,526,690	9,025,902	1,676,133	165,354	1,079,928	2,341,696	.....
U. S. of America.....	1900	10,512,029	7,039,177	4,778,233	126,744	1,264,737	5,565,002	.....
	1890	8,626,088	5,478,541	3,326,122	30,845	913,488	4,360,577	.....

PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPATIONS ACCORDING TO LAST TWO CENSUSES

COUNTRIES	Latest		Previous		Latest		Previous		Latest		Previous		Latest		Previous		Latest		Previous	
Germany.....	37.5	43.4	37.4	33.7	10.6	8.3	2.8	2.4	3.6	3.1	6.1	2.1	2.0	7.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Austria.....	58.2	64.5	22.3	21.9	7.3	6.4	2.2	1.4	.....	2.5	.....	3.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hungary.....	68.6	69.9	13.4	12.1	4.1	3.4	1.5	1.5	2.4	2.1	4.4	4.8	5.6	6.2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Russia.....	58.3	.....	17.9	.....	7.1	.....	3.6	.....	3.8	.....	5.2	.....	4.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Italy.....	59.4	56.7	24.5	27.6	7.4	3.9	1.2	1.0	3.9	3.3	3.0	3.9	0.6	3.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Switzerland.....	37.4	.....	40.7	.....	10.7	.....	0.1	.....	3.8	.....	6.2	.....	1.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
France.....	44.3	40.0	33.6	27.9	9.4	13.4	2.6	3.4	4.8	4.7	4.6	9.9	0.7	0.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Belgium.....	21.1	22.9	41.6	38.2	11.7	11.6	1.0	1.7	.....	.....	24.6	25.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Holland.....	30.7	32.7	33.7	32.2	17.2	16.3	1.0	1.3	5.4	5.9	10.3	10.1	1.7	1.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Denmark.....	48.0	27.1	24.9	23.9	11.8	8.2	.....	1.0	4.9	5.3	8.4	25.8	2.0	8.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sweden.....	49.8	54.0	20.9	15.0	7.5	5.8	2.0	2.3	2.9	2.6	10.8	13.6	6.1	6.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Norway.....	41.0	49.6	27.7	22.9	14.0	11.7	0.7	0.5	3.4	3.0	11.2	10.5	2.0	1.8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
England and Wales.....	8.0	10.4	58.3	56.9	13.0	10.8	1.2	1.0	5.6	6.2	13.9	14.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Scotland.....	12.0	14.0	60.4	58.1	12.4	10.2	0.4	0.4	4.7	5.9	10.1	11.4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ireland.....	44.6	44.0	32.6	30.7	5.0	4.5	1.6	1.5	5.0	8.2	11.2	11.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Great Britain and Ireland.....	12.4	15.1	55.7	53.7	12.1	10.0	1.1	1.0	5.5	6.4	13.2	13.8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
U. S. of America.....	35.9	38.0	24.1	24.1	16.3	14.6	0.4	0.1	4.3	4.0	19.0	19.2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ In the U. S. barbers, laundresses, employees in hotels, saloons, and similar persons are grouped under this head.

PERCENTAGE BY SEX AND PURSUITS—UNITED STATES

	Total	Both sexes			Male			Female		
		1900	1890	1880	1900	1890	1880	1900	1890	1880
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
All occupations.....	29,074,117	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agricultural pursuits.....	10,381,765	35.7	37.7	44.3	39.5	41.9	48.3	18.4	17.3	22.5
Professional service.....	1,258,739	4.3	4.1	3.5	3.5	3.4	2.9	8.1	8.0	6.7
Domestic and personal service.....	5,580,657	19.4	18.6	19.7	15.0	13.6	15.2	39.4	42.6	44.6
Trade and transportation.....	4,766,964	16.3	14.6	10.7	17.8	16.4	12.2	9.4	5.8	2.4
Manufacture and mechanical pursuits.....	7,085,992	24.3	25.0	21.8	24.2	24.7	21.4	24.7	26.3	23.8

OCCUPATIONS

COUNTRIES	Year	OCCUPIED IN INDUSTRIES			PERCENTAGE OF BREAD-EARNERS ¹		
		Male	Female	Total	Men	Women	Total
Germany.....	1895	15,531,841	6,578,350	22,110,191	61.1	25.0	42.7
Austria.....	1900	8,257,294	5,850,158	14,107,452	64.2	44.0	53.9
Hungary.....	1900	6,162,298	2,668,697	8,830,995	64.3	27.6	45.9
Russia.....	1897	25,995,237	5,276,112	31,271,349	41.6	8.4	24.9
Italy.....	1901	10,988,462	5,284,064	16,272,526	68.0	32.4	50.1
Switzerland.....	1888	870,460	435,190	1,305,650	61.4	29.0	44.8
France.....	1896	12,061,121	6,382,658	18,993,779	63.7	33.0	48.2
Belgium.....	1900	2,123,072	948,229	3,071,301	63.8	28.1	45.9
Netherlands.....	1899	1,497,159	433,548	1,930,707	59.4	16.8	37.8
Denmark.....	1901	752,559	353,980	1,106,539	63.1	28.2	45.2
Sweden.....	1900	1,422,979	551,021	1,974,000	56.8	21.0	38.4
Norway.....	1900	599,057	277,613	876,670	56.1	24.0	39.5
England and Wales.....	1901	10,156,976	4,171,751	14,328,727	64.6	24.8	44.1
Scotland.....	1901	1,391,188	591,624	1,982,812	64.0	25.8	44.3
Ireland.....	1901	1,413,943	549,874	1,963,817	64.3	24.3	44.0
Great Britain and Ireland.....	1901	12,962,107	5,313,249	18,275,356	64.5	24.9	44.1
U. S. of America.....	1900	23,956,115	5,329,807	29,285,922	61.3	14.3	38.4

¹ For example, 61.1 per cent of the men in Germany are bread-earners and 25.0 per cent of the women. Of both together 42.7 per cent are bread-earners out of 100 of the population.

THE UNITED STATES

Compiled from the Census of 1900

POPULATION AT LEAST TEN YEARS OF AGE ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

COUNTRIES	Number	Per cent of population ten years of age		
		1900	1890	1880
United States.....	29,285,922	50.3	48.0	47.3
North Atlantic Division	8,579,275	51.4	50.2	47.1
South Atlantic Division	4,000,691	52.5	48.6	50.7
North Central Division	9,580,913	47.2	45.4	44.1
South Central Division	5,209,755	51.5	46.6	49.7
Western Division.....	1,703,483	52.7	55.7	55.4

The figures indicate a slight increase in the proportion of the population engaged in gainful occupations, except in the Western Division. This increase is due undoubtedly to the entry of women into gainful occupations, and the fall in the West is doubtless due to the changing character from a population largely male, to one with more married women and children over ten. The states in 1900 having the largest proportion engaged in gainful occupations were Wyoming, South Carolina, Montana, Alabama, Mississippi, Arizona, Nevada, and Rhode Island. Those having the smallest were Utah, Kansas, Indiana, Iowa, West Virginia, South Dakota, and Nebraska.

OCCUPATIONS BY AGES

	10-15	16-24	25-34	35-44
Agricultural pursuits.....	1,062,251	2,544,120	2,080,773	1,721,002
Professional service.....	2,956	308,916	405,673	251,650
Domestic and personal.....	280,143	1,767,389	1,436,068	996,742
Trade and transportation.....	122,507	1,265,795	1,389,612	990,356
Manufacturing and mechanical.....	284,330	1,869,776	1,927,966	1,453,227
All occupations.....	1,752,187	7,755,996	7,240,092	5,412,977

	45-54	55-64	Over 64	Unknown
Agricultural pursuits.....	1,437,439	936,620	631,440	26,574
Professional service.....	153,655	88,947	48,398	4,341
Domestic and personal.....	645,089	357,273	177,767	33,307
Trade and transportation.....	573,962	289,387	130,226	16,448
Manufacturing and mechanical.....	893,177	447,446	216,235	20,147
All occupations.....	3,703,262	2,117,673	1,204,066	100,817

The figures indicate for the country generally a lessening number engaged in agriculture, a slight lessening in domestic and personal service, somewhat of a gain in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, a large gain in trade and transportation.

Among women engaged in gainful operations the proportion engaged in agricultural pursuits and in domestic and personal service is falling

off; a somewhat larger number are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and in professional service; the main gain is in trade and transportation, as clerks, saleswomen, cash-girls, typewriters, etc. By far the largest number of women, however, are still engaged in domestic and personal service, and the next largest number in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. Only 8.1 per cent are engaged in professional service.

CLASSES OF OCCUPATIONS	Males			Females		
	1880	1890	1900	1880	1890	1900
Agricultural pursuits.....	92.3	92.1	90.6	7.7	7.9	9.4
Professional service.....	70.6	67.0	65.8	29.4	33.0	34.2
Domestic and personal.....	65.5	60.5	62.5	34.5	39.5	37.5
Trade and transportation.....	90.6	93.1	89.4	3.4	6.9	10.6
Manufacturing and mechanical.....	83.3	81.9	81.5	16.7	18.1	18.5
All occupations.....	84.8	82.8	81.7	15.2	17.2	18.3

Men are thus seen to be in an overwhelming majority in all classes of occupations, tho women are slowly gaining on them in each class. The following table gives the details for each of the occupations represented in the census:

OCCUPATION	Male	Female	Per Cent Male	
			1900	1890
All occupations.....	23,754,205	5,319,912	81.7	82.8
Agricultural pursuits....	9,404,429	977,336	90.6	92.1
Agricultural laborers.....	3,747,668	663,209	85.0	85.1
Dairymen and dairywomen	9,983	892	91.8	90.3
Farmers, planters, and overseers	5,367,169	307,706	94.6	95.7
Gardeners, florists, nurserymen, etc.....	58,028	2,860	95.4	96.7
Lumbermen and raftsmen.	71,920	100	99.9	100.0
Stock-raisers, herders, and drovers.....	83,056	1,932	97.7	99.0
Turpentine farmers and laborers.....	24,456	281	98.9	.....
Wood-choppers.....	35,962	113	99.7	99.9
Other agricultural pursuits	5,287	243	95.6	.....
Professional service....	828,163	430,576	65.8	67.0
Actors, professional showmen, etc.....	27,903	6,857	80.3	83.5
Architects, designers, draftsmen, etc.....	28,483	1,041	96.5	98.1
Artists and teachers of art.	13,852	11,021	55.7	51.9
Clergymen.....	108,265	3,373	97.0	98.7
Dentists.....	28,858	786	97.3	98.1
Electricians.....	50,308	409	99.2	99.7
Engineers (civil, etc.) and surveyors.....	43,155	84	99.8	.....
Journalists.....	27,845	2,193	92.7	95.9
Lawyers.....	113,450	1,010	99.1	99.8
Literary and scientific persons.....	13,082	5,984	68.6	75.4
Musicians and teachers of music.....	39,815	52,359	43.2	44.5
Officials (government)....	78,488	8,119	90.6	94.1
Physicians and surgeons..	124,015	7,387	94.4	95.7
Teachers and professors in colleges, etc.....	118,519	327,614	26.6	29.2
Other professional service.	11,525	2,339	83.1	94.0
Domestic and personal service.....	3,485,208	2,095,449	62.5	60.5
Barbers and hair-dressers.	125,542	5,574	95.7	96.7
Bartenders.....	88,377	440	99.5	99.7
Boarding- and lodging-house keepers.....	11,826	59,455	16.6	26.5
Hotel keepers.....	46,264	8,533	84.4	88.0
Housekeepers and stewards	8,224	146,929	5.3	6.5
Janitors and sextons.....	48,544	8,033	85.8	89.4
Laborers (not specified)...	2,505,287	123,975	95.3	97.1
Laundresses and laundresses	50,683	335,282	13.1	12.8
Nurses and midwives.....	12,265	108,691	10.1	13.0
Restaurant keepers.....	28,999	4,845	85.7	87.5
Saloon keepers.....	81,660	2,086	97.5	96.8
Servants and waiters.....	276,958	1,283,763	17.7	16.4
Soldiers, sailors, and marines (U. S.).....	43,235	.....	100.0	100.0
Watchmen, policemen, firemen, etc.....	129,711	879	99.3	.....
Other domestic and personal service.....	27,633	6,964	79.9	77.8
Trade and transportation	4,263,617	503,347	89.4	93.1
Agents.....	230,606	10,556	95.6	97.2
Bankers and brokers.....	72,984	293	99.6	98.6
Boatmen and sailors.....	78,253	153	99.8	99.9
Bookkeepers and accountants.....	180,727	74,153	70.9	82.6
Clerks and copyists.....	544,881	85,246	86.5	88.5
Commercial travelers.....	91,973	946	99.0	99.0
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc.....	538,029	904	99.8	99.9
Foremen and overseers...	54,032	1,418	97.4	97.3
Hostlers.....	64,850	79	99.9	100.0
Hucksters and peddlers....	73,734	2,915	96.2	96.2
Livery-stable keepers.....	33,466	190	99.4	99.8
Merchants and dealers (except wholesale).....	756,802	34,084	95.7	96.2
Merchants and dealers (wholesale).....	42,032	261	99.4	99.4
Messengers and errand and office boys.....	64,959	6,663	90.7	94.3
Officials of banks and companies.....	72,801	1,271	98.3	99.5
Packers and shippers.....	39,557	19,988	66.4	73.9
Porters and helpers (in stores, etc.).....	53,625	566	99.0	98.5
Salesmen and saleswomen.	461,909	149,230	75.6	77.9
Steam-railroad employees.	580,462	1,688	99.7	99.7
Stenographers and typewriters.....	26,246	86,118	23.4	36.4
Street-railway employees..	68,873	46	99.9	100.0
Telegraph and telephone linemen.....	14,757	.....	100.0	94.0
Telegraph and telephone operators.....	52,450	22,556	69.9	83.8
Undertakers.....	15,866	323	98.0	99.2
Other persons in trade and transportation.....	49,734	3,700	93.1	.....
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.....	5,772,788	1,313,204	81.5	81.9
Building Trades				
Carpenters and joiners....	599,707	545	99.9	.....
Masons (brick and stone) ..	160,638	167	99.9	.....
Painters, glaziers, and varnishers.....	275,782	1,759	99.4	99.4
Paper-hangers.....	21,749	545	98.9	99.6
Plasterers.....	35,649	241	99.9	100.0
Plumbers and gas- and steam-fitters.....	97,659	126	99.9	99.9
Roofers and slaters.....	9,065	2	100.0	100.0
Mechanics (not otherwise specified).....	9,351	41	99.6	99.9
Chemicals and Allied Products				
Oil-well and oil-works employees.....	24,573	53	99.8	99.7
Other chemical workers...	12,035	2,779	81.2	79.1
Clay, Glass, and Stone Products				
Brick and tile makers, etc.	49,455	478	99.0	99.8
Glass-workers.....	47,377	2,621	94.8	95.0
Marble- and stone-cutters.	54,317	143	99.7	99.9
Potters.....	13,200	2,940	81.8	86.7
Fishing and Mining				
Fishermen and oystermen.	67,715	462	99.3	99.6
Miners and quarrymen....	562,501	1,365	99.8	99.9

OCCUPATION	Male	Female	Per Cent Male	
			1900	1890
<i>Food and Kindred Products</i>				
Bakers.....	74,860	4,328	94.5	96.2
Butchers.....	113,578	378	99.7	99.9
Butter and cheese makers.....	18,593	648	96.6	96.4
Confectioners.....	21,080	9,214	70.5	75.6
Millers.....	40,362	186	99.5	99.8
Other food preparers.....	23,040	5,142	82.1	.....
<i>Iron and Steel and Their Products</i>				
Blacksmiths.....	226,284	193	99.9	100.0
Iron- and steel-workers.....	287,241	3,370	98.8	98.7
Machinists.....	282,574	571	99.8	99.9
Steam-boiler makers.....	33,038	8	100.0	100.0
Stove, furnace, and grate-makers.....	12,430	43	99.7	99.8
Tool and cutlery makers.....	27,376	746	97.3	97.0
Wheelwrights.....	13,495	10	99.9	100.0
Wire-workers.....	16,701	1,786	90.3	91.2
<i>Leather and Its Finished Products</i>				
Boot and shoe-makers and repairers.....	169,393	39,519	81.1	84.3
Harness and saddle makers and repairers.....	39,506	595	98.5	98.1
Leather curriers and tanners.....	40,917	1,754	95.9	99.3
Trunk and leather-case makers, etc.....	5,472	1,579	77.6	86.9
<i>Liquors and Beverages</i>				
Bottlers and soda-water makers, etc.....	9,725	794	92.5	92.4
Brewers and maltsters.....	20,687	275	98.7	99.7
Distillers and rectifiers.....	3,114	30	99.0	99.7
<i>Lumber and Its Remanufactures</i>				
Cabinet-makers.....	35,552	67	99.8	99.9
Coopers.....	37,087	113	99.7	99.9
Saw- and planing-mill employees.....	161,251	373	99.8	98.8
Other wood-workers.....	104,468	6,805	93.8	93.8
<i>Metals and Metal Products Other than Iron and Steel</i>				
Brass-workers.....	25,870	890	96.7	.....
Clock and watch makers and repairers.....	19,305	4,815	80.0	81.4
Gold- and silver-workers.....	19,732	6,380	75.6	83.5
Tin-plate and tinware makers.....	68,730	1,775	97.5	.....
Other metal-workers.....	54,282	2,320	95.9	.....
<i>Paper and Printing</i>				
Bookbinders.....	14,646	15,632	48.4	51.5
Box makers (paper).....	3,796	17,302	18.0	26.5
Engravers.....	10,698	453	95.9	96.4
Paper- and pulp-mill operatives.....	26,904	9,424	74.1	67.8
Printers, lithographers, and pressmen.....	139,166	15,981	89.7	90.1
<i>Textile</i>				
Bleachery and dye-works operatives.....	20,493	1,785	92.0	88.0
Carpet-factory operatives.....	10,371	9,017	53.5	51.8
Cotton-mill operatives.....	125,788	120,216	51.1	46.3
Hosiery and knitting-mill operatives.....	12,630	34,490	26.8	29.6
Silk-mill operatives.....	22,023	32,437	40.4	40.7
Woolen-mill operatives.....	42,566	30,630	58.2	56.6
Other textile-mill operatives.....	53,437	51,182	51.1	.....
Dressmakers.....	2,090	344,794	0.6	0.3
Hat and cap makers.....	15,110	7,623	66.5	72.1
Milliners.....	1,739	86,120	2.0	0.6
Seamstresses.....	4,837	146,105	3.2	2.7
Shirt, collar, and cuff makers.....	8,491	30,941	21.5	24.3
Tailors and tailoresses.....	160,714	68,935	70.0	65.7
Other textile workers.....	8,925	21,042	29.8	.....
<i>Miscellaneous Industries</i>				
Broom and brush makers.....	8,643	1,577	84.6	88.5
Charcoal, coke, and lime burners.....	14,405	43	99.7	99.8

OCCUPATION	Male	Female	Per Cent Male	
			1900	1890
<i>Miscellaneous Industries—Continued</i>				
Engineers and firemen (not locomotive).....	223,318	177	99.9	100.0
Glove makers.....	4,593	7,768	36.7	42.7
Manufacturers and officials, etc.....	239,649	3,433	98.6	.....
Model and pattern makers.....	14,809	204	98.6	98.6
Photographers.....	23,361	3,580	86.7	89.0
Rubber-factory operatives.....	14,492	7,374	66.3	60.1
Tobacco- and cigar-factory operatives.....	87,955	43,497	66.9	74.9
Upholsterers.....	28,063	2,158	93.0	93.2
Other miscellaneous industries.....	380,490	90,810	80.7	.....

According to the above figures, the proportion of males has increased from 1890 to 1900 in 29 occupations; the proportion of females has increased in 86 occupations, and in 25 there has been no change, or it is unknown through change in classification. Most of these changes of proportions, however, have been very minute. The only occupations in which men have increased over women more than 1 per cent are as dairy-men, artists, in domestic and personal service, as servants and waiters, as telegraph and telephone linemen, in paper-mills, as milliners, tailors, and in a few factories. Here they have gained slightly.

The occupations in which women have gained more than 1 per cent are: as farmers (1.1), gardeners (1.3), as stock-raisers (1.3), as actors (3.2), architects (1.6), clergymen (1.7), journalists (3.2), in literary pursuits (6.8), music (1.3), in government offices (3.5), teachers (2.6), physicians (1.3), other professional services (10.9), as boarding-house keepers (9.9) hotel keepers (3.6), housekeepers (1.2), janitors, (3.6), laborers (1.8), nurses (2.9), restaurant keepers (1.8), agents (1.6), bookkeepers (11.7), clerks and copyists (2.0), messengers and errand boys (cash girls, etc.) (3.6), packers and shippers (7.5), saleswomen (2.3), stenographers and typewriters (13.0), telegraph and telephone operators (13.9), undertakers (1.2), potters (4.9), bakers (1.7), confectioners (5.1), boot- and shoemakers (3.2), tanners (3.6), leather-case makers (9.3), clock and watch makers (1.4), gold- and silver-workers (7.9), bookbinders (3.1), box makers (8.5), in hosiery knitting mills (2.8), hat and cap makers (5.6), shirt makers (2.8), brush makers (3.9), glove makers (6.0), photographers (2.3), tobacco-workers (8.0).

The occupations in which women have made the largest gains are: professional service (10.1), boarding-house keepers (9.9), bookkeepers (12.6), stenographers and typewriters (13.0), telegraph and telephone operators (13.9) (the largest advance), trunk and leather-case workers (9.3).

Women are in a majority in only nine occupations—musicians or teachers of music, school-teachers, boarding-house keepers, housekeepers, laundresses, nurses, servants, stenographers, and typewriters.

Men are over 90 per cent of the workers in 87 out of 303 occupations.

GREAT BRITAIN

According to the census of 1901 in England and Wales, the proportion of persons in each million

employed in the twenty-two classes into which they are divided is as follows. The figures are of males aged ten years and upward:

CLASSES	1881	1901	In-crease	De-crease
1. Government.....	10,373	14,149	3,776	.....
2. Defense.....	11,494	13,865	2,371	.....
3. Professions.....	24,781	25,681	900	.....
4. Domestic service.....	8,044	10,241	2,197	.....
5. Commercial.....	33,112	43,734	10,622	.....
6. Conveyance.....	83,985	102,844	18,859	.....
7. Agriculture.....	138,327	95,510	.....	42,817
8. Fishing.....	3,157	1,955	.....	1,202
9. Mining.....	55,926	65,944	10,018	.....
10 and 11. Metals.....	90,482	107,208	16,726	.....
12. Building and construction and sanitation.....	84,621	98,448	13,827	.....
13-17. General manufactures.....	54,817	61,432	6,615	.....
18. Textiles.....	51,762	40,561	.....	11,201
19. Dress.....	37,185	34,171	.....	3,014
20. Food and drink.....	59,088	63,810	4,722	.....
21. Pawnbrokers, hawkers, etc.....	7,110	6,695	.....	415
22. Laborers.....	78,803	50,802	.....	28,001
Total occupied....	833,067	837,050	3,983	.....
23. Unoccupied.....	166,933	162,950	3,983	3,983
	1,000,000	1,000,000	.....	.....

A writer in the *London Times* finds that the age constitution of the population has changed, and that the proportion of adults is considerably higher than it was twenty years ago—33.7 per cent. But in spite of this the proportion of occupied persons is smaller—28.3 per cent (not of males alone but of men and women together). A wholly disproportionate increase of 41.2 per cent has taken place in the number of persons occupied in those callings which chiefly supply unemployed, and he groups them under the heading of "trade and transport services." He opposes these to the productive industries, which show only an increase of 19 per cent. The number of persons occupied in trade and transport has increased at a far more rapid rate than the general population, or the occupied population, or the number of those engaged in productive industries.

In 1905 there were employed in Great Britain in agriculture some 2,000,000 persons; fisheries, 106,793 (36,498 English, 42,727 Scotch, 25,635 Irish); 887,524 in mining; in 1901 there were employed in textile factories 1,029,353, of which 650,142 were females (16,898 males and 19,613 females were under the age of 14); in 1905, 263,688 were employed in shipping and navigation, of whom 39,711 were foreigners and 43,483 were Lascars.

OTHER COUNTRIES

For other countries see those countries.

O'CONNELL, JAMES: President of the Association of Machinists; born Minersville, Pa., 1858; educated in the common schools; apprenticed to the trade of a machinist, followed this occupation until 1893; early an active worker with organized labor, he was elected president in 1893 of the International Association of Machinists, and re-elected every year since. Since 1895 he has been vice-president of American Federation of Labor. Since 1898 he has devoted his entire time to the trade-union movement. Mr. O'Connell is a thorough believer in trade-unionism and believes that the wage-workers should take such political action as will secure the election to public office of men who will work for the enactment of laws that will make for the advantage of the whole people. Address: 405 McGill Building, Washington, D. C.

O'GRADY, JAMES: English Labor member of Parliament; born Bristol, 1866. Apprenticed to a furniture maker, he joined the union of his trade and traveled through England as organizer. Returning to Bristol in 1890 he was elected to the city council, and instrumental in obtaining scholarships for public schools. Was president of the Trade-Union Congress at Bristol, 1898. He successfully organized the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades' Association, which he has represented in France, Stuttgart, and Boston. He is also on the executive of the General Federation of Trade-Unions and the Shipbuilding Trades Federation. Elected to Parliament 1906, for Leeds, East. Address: 26 Kyrle Road, Clapham Common, S. W.

OIL, ILLUMINATING (Petroleum and Natural Gas): Mineral oil has developed in modern times large economic importance, partly because of its large and increasing use, and partly because in the Standard Oil monopoly it has developed the first, most prominent, and in some respects the greatest monopoly of the world. Mineral oils, however, have been known for centuries, as in the naphtha fields of the Caspian Sea. Pennsylvania has had an important oil industry over forty-one years. The Standard Oil monopoly began under the name of the South Improvement Company in 1872, and by 1874 had its system of rebates from the railways well under way. Since then it has had virtually a monopoly, having absorbed or in some way destroyed virtually all attempts at competition, and controlling at present some 22,000,000 barrels of oil out of a product of 26,000,000 barrels. From 1898-1902, however, Russia produced more petroleum than the United States. According to the Geological Survey, over 5,000,000,000 gallons of petroleum are now produced annually in the world, of which 2,500,000,000 are produced in the U. S., 2,250,000,000 in Russia, and the remainder among a dozen countries, Austria producing 87,000,000; Sumatra, 72,000,000; Java, 30,000,000; Canada, 29,000,000; Germany, 15,000,000.

The following shows the oil production of the U. S.:

OIL PRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES (Compiled from the U. S. Geological Survey)

YEAR (ended June 30)	Production ¹	Imports ²	Exports	Per cent of product exported
	Gallons	Gallons	Gallons	
1882...	1,161,771,996	650	683,690,563	58.85
1885...	1,017,174,396	983,919	683,989,560	67.24
1890...	1,476,867,546	721,932	783,996,824	53.09
1895...	2,072,469,672	942,503	1,051,889,401	50.76
1900...	2,396,975,700	18,574	1,081,744,231	45.13
1905...	4,916,663,682	1,148,774	1,205,798,422	24.53

¹ The production is of the calendar year preceding the fiscal year.

² Includes net imports of mineral oil to 1897; from 1898 to date imports for consumption of mineral oil and petroleum, crude, and refined reduced to crude.

The main oil-fields in the U. S. are the Appalachians, a central field in Ohio and Indiana, in California, Texas, and smaller ones in Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming. The fields in Ohio and Indiana are about exhausted; the Western supply is increasing, but the California product is chiefly suitable for fuel. The Texas oil seems

suitable for light and fuel, tho inferior for light to the Appalachian, which is the main supply and carried in gigantic tubes to the Atlantic coast. New sources have been somewhat recently discovered in Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS: Old age has been shown by recent investigations to be, if not the chief, at least among the two or three chief causes of pauperism. It is therefore very seriously proposed to pension all aged persons. In continental Europe several countries have already entered upon large and important experiments in this direction, so that there already exists considerable information upon the subject.

While in England the credit for the first serious agitation of the subject belongs to Canon Blackley, it is to the investigations of Charles Booth that we owe the most careful plea for the establishment of such pensions. Mr. Booth, in his investigations in East London, came to the conclusion that old age was the chief cause of confirmed pauperism, and subsequent and more extended investigations have made him declare that the paupers in England and Wales under sixty are only 4.6 per cent of the population under sixty while those over sixty-five are 26 per cent of the population over sixty-five, so that the increase from 4.6 to 26 per cent is the measure of the direct or indirect effect of old age upon pauperism. (See Mr. Acland's Introduction to J. A. Spender's "The State and Pensions in Old Age," p. xviii). He states that the number of the aged who receive public aid in the different parishes rarely falls under one third and rises often to one half.

In old-age pensions, however, the prime place belongs undoubtedly to Germany. She was the first country to introduce old-age pensions on a large scale, and her system has already had an extensive trial. Her old-age insurance, as a part of her industrial insurance system, began June 22, 1889. It has grown to very large proportions. (But for it, see INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE IN GERMANY.)

The French have done less. France's system of insurance for old age is sufficient as far as it goes, but is inadequate in extent. After the Rev-

olution of 1848, a *Caisse de Retraites*, or National Pension Bureau, was proposed, and has continued in one form or another to occupy the at-

tention of French legislators since. The law of 1850 provided that the capital should consist of deposits, to be not less than five francs; 5 per cent interest was guaranteed. This proposition was sufficiently alluring for the bourgeoisie to take advantage of and the *caisse* was established. The amount to be deposited, the interest guaranteed, and the annuities to be paid were consequently limited—the latter to \$150, \$200, or \$300, respectively. The *caisse* has gradually become an institution for the middle classes instead of for the poor. In 1871 the interest was raised to 5 per cent, and by 1882 there was a deficit of \$8,400,000. The State settled this, and reduced the interest; but the number of depositors also decreased one half, and the amount of pensions sank to \$1.70 per month. In 1891 M. Constans, Minister of the Interior, proposed a bill whereby every workingman who does not explicitly declare his unwillingness to do so was to pay either one or two cents a day for seventy-five days per annum from his twenty-fifth to his fifty-fifth year. This

contribution was to be doubled by the employer. The State was to add to this amount two thirds besides conducting the insurance and guaranteeing the interest—making the pensions \$60 or \$120, respectively. The pension was to be limited to French citizens, both male and female, who at twenty-five earn less than \$600. In order to prevent employers from engaging foreigners, a tax was laid on all foreign working men.

This, too, was tried, but proved inadequate, since it was to a large extent voluntary, and led employers to induce their working men to declare their unwillingness to receive aid before a magistrate. The State's contribution from 1897-1905 was 590 francs per annum. In that year a new law was passed, making provision for this fund compulsory and dividing the burden between the State, the departments, and the communes, so that the first contributes 27,000,000 fr.; the second, 11,000,000; the third, 18,000,000. According to the law "every French citizen, without resources, incapable of earning a livelihood, either on account of infirmity or incurable disease, is entitled to assistance." The amount thereof is to be not less than five francs per month, nor more than twenty, save under exceptional circumstances. The law was enacted in Feb., 1906, and every workingman comes under its provision at the age of eighty-five. But by a change in a clause, the law requires contributions from the employers and employees in addition to those of the government.

The Danish Government passed a law in 1891 laying a tax on beer, and applying a portion of the revenue to old-age pensions. All persons over sixty years of age receive an *honorary pension*, without any cost to themselves—provided they have not received poor relief, have lived in Denmark at least ten years previous, and are of good reputation. Aid is given in kind, cash, or institutions (not poorhouses). The State levies a fund for the purpose, from which the commune may receive one half its expenditure for the aged. In Jan., 1893, there were 30,957 persons in receipt of old-age relief; in Jan., 1902, 44,118. The law is believed to have worked well, tending to keep people from committing crime, and from applying for poor relief in order to be entitled to this pension. Its cost is thus fully saved by the reduction of expenses for poor relief. The cost in 1901 was £306,830. (See also article DENMARK, p. 382.)

The Belgians have had a pension fund of some sort since 1850 in connection with the State Savings-Bank. It permits the establishment of pensions, not over 1,200 francs, and made payable at different ages, chiefly between fifty and sixty. This has become of particular importance since the granting by the State, in 1900, of premiums to persons entitled to a pension through the endowment of a Friendly Society, or to persons of modest means, directly connected with the institution. The law is, consequently, permissive, and not compulsory, and, therefore, inadequate to that extent.

In Italy the question of old-age pensions was considered as early as 1887. Two years later a committee was appointed by the Chamber, which reported in July, 1890. The proposed bill provided that a special fund be established in connection with the banks of issue and deposit,

Denmark

Belgium

Italy

the interest on it to be devoted to pensions for laborers over sixty years of age. The fund was to be derived partly from contributions by members, to the extent of 500 lire or less per annum, partly from certain consignments of shares in the savings-banks, and other public sources. It was not enacted.

The question of old-age pensions is being agitated in Austria and Sweden, particularly in the former country, which already has compulsory sick and accident insurance.

The question of old-age pensions has been agitated in England since 1772; but action has been deferred by Parliament. In 1865 opportunity was given for purchasing annuities

England

through the post-office; but only about 21,000 persons had bought them up to 1895. Canon Blackley proposed that every person, without distinction of class or means, should pay £10 between the years of eighteen and twenty-one, which was to yield the wage-earners 8s. a week sick pay, and 4s. week pension after the age of seventy. The National Provident League favored the idea; but a select committee of the House of Lords, appointed 1885, reported adversely in 1887, waiting for "further development of public opinion." Mr. Charles Booth computed the number of persons over sixty years of age, receiving poor relief, at 331,596, and proposed on this basis that a minimum pension of 5s. per week be paid to every person over sixty-five years of age, irrespective of class, wealth, or rank. The total cost was calculated to be about £14,000,000.

In 1899 Mr. Chamberlain appointed a select committee of the House, and declared old-age pensions to be out of the realm of party politics. The committee reported that persons over sixty-five years of age, with a clean record for ten years, with an income of less than 10s. per week, should be entitled to a weekly pension of 5s. On the basis of the census of 1901, the number of people over sixty-five years in the United Kingdom was estimated at about 2,000,000. Of this number only about 650,000 would be entitled to the pension, making a total of £10,300,000 if the pension should vary between 7s. and 5s. 6d. The cost has since been estimated at £13,000,000. At the general elections, Oct. 28 to 30, 1900, a number of members were elected subject to the pledge of supporting "pensions for all as a civil right." In 1901, Feb. 19th, a bill was introduced into Parliament to provide pensions for the aged poor. It was backed by Messrs. Channing, Burt, Burns, John Wilson, Broadhurst, and Sir Walter Foster. A similar bill was introduced March 19, 1902. Numerous meetings have been held by trade-unions, Friendly Societies, etc.; the movement has been indorsed by prominent philanthropists and clergy; the scheme has been indorsed at numerous meetings by delegates, representing upper, working, and middle-class people, but—nothing has been done. The latest proposal is that of the National Committee of Organized Labor, adopted Feb. 7, 1903, at Birmingham. It provides for a pension of 5s. per week to every British subject, male or female, over 65 years of age—excepting subjects domiciled outside of the United Kingdom; persons having lived less than twenty years within its borders, being under police surveillance or having been sentenced for a crime. It has not been introduced into Parliament; but Mr. Asquith told the House of Commons in Feb., 1906, that a 5s. pension per week to every person over

sixty-five years would cost £26,000,000 a year. He figured the national income at £1,800,000,000, of which landlordism alone took £350,000,000, and railway shareholders £44,000,000. If all workers over sixty years received a weekly pension of 10s., it still would leave the proprietary classes with nearly £900,000,000 income from rent, profits, etc. He pointed out that men in the civil, naval, and military services received high salaries and liberal pensions after a comparatively short time of service. It was, therefore, just and proper that wage earners with incomes of from 14s. to 37s. should be pensioned after a life's work.

The colonies have done better than Great Britain. New Zealand enacted an old-age pension system in Oct., 1898, and gives 7s. per week to every needy and worthy applicant over sixty-five years of age. (See NEW ZEALAND.) New South Wales passed a similar act in Dec., 1900, granting 10s. a week at sixty-five or in case of disability. Victoria followed a week later, allowing 7s. to pensioners over sixty-five. In 1903 the expenditure of New South Wales for old-age pensions was: £532,940; that of Victoria, £215,972; of New Zealand, £209,156 = £958,068.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: Booth, Charles, *Old-Age Pensions and the Aged Poor*, 1899; Loch, C. S., *Old-Age Pensions*, 1903; Rogers, F., and F. Millar, *Old-Age Pensions*, 1903; Report of Committee with Evidence of Colonies on Aged Pensioners Bill, S. P., 276, 1903; Dawson, *The German Workman*, ch. xv.

ONEIDA COMMUNITY, THE: This society was founded in 1848 by John H. Noyes at Oneida, Madison County, N. Y., its first members coming mainly from a small community which had existed for several years in Putney, Vt., under Mr. Noyes's leadership. Jan. 1, 1849, there were eighty-seven members, and 306 in 1878. Many of the original members had left the popular orthodox churches because of their acceptance of the higher truths taught, as they believed, by Mr. Noyes, and especially that of the possibility of present salvation from sin. On this doctrine was based the communism of the community, which was perhaps more complete and radical than that of any other communistic society.

Financially the community was not for the first nine years successful, sinking in that time over \$40,000; but thereafter its property increased in value, owing partly to its reducing the number of its branches and concentrating its resources at Oneida, N. Y., and Wallingford, Conn., and partly to its establishing some mechanical industries, which proved more remunerative than farming and gardening, especially that of animal-trap manufacture, under the supervision of one of their members, whose name (Sewell Newhouse) is now stamped on the traps everywhere recognized as of the highest quality.

The members of the community gave much attention to education, and besides supporting good home schools sent many of their young people to college. There was no drunkenness, no tobacco-using, no profanity among the members. All kinds of labor were considered alike honorable and shared alike by all. It was a recognized principle that every one should be esteemed according to his real character, and to this end their system of "mutual criticism" was a great aid. This consisted in plain truth-telling as to character, acts, and influence—not in the backbiting way often practised in ordinary society, but openly, frankly, face to face—"mutual" because

all were expected to participate in it both as critics and subjects. It was regarded as an indispensable means of improvement and of good order and government in the community.

The community published a paper setting forth its principles and life from the year of its founding, 1848, till the year of its change to a joint-stock company thirty-two years later; many handbooks and pamphlets, and a few larger works, including "Home-Talks" by J. H. Noyes, and his "History of American Socialisms." The compendium of their religious doctrines, "The Berean," was published at Putney, Vt.

Mr. Noyes was practically leader of the community during its entire career, but there were department managers, committees, and a business board which met weekly, in which every member was free to participate; matters of special importance were referred for discussion and final action to the family meeting, which was held every evening of the week in their large assembly hall, where every one had a voice and vote.

Socially the members were united by a system of complex marriage, as they termed it, and which they claimed as greatly superior to monogamy. Their critics thought otherwise, and sharply censured their social arrangements. Mr. Noyes in defending them said:

Marriage is permanent union; licentiousness deals in temporary flirtations. In marriage, communism of property goes with communism of persons. In licentiousness love is paid for as hired labor. Marriage makes a man responsible for the consequences of his acts of love to a woman. In licentiousness a man imposes on a woman the heavy burdens of maternity, ruining both her reputation and her health, and then goes his way without responsibility. Marriage provides for the maintenance and education of children. Licentiousness ignores children as nuisances, and leaves them to chance. *Now in respect to every one of these points of difference between marriage and licentiousness we stand with marriage.* Freedom with us does not mean freedom to love to-day and leave to-morrow. . . . Our communities are families as distinctly bounded and separated from promiscuous society as ordinary households. The tie that binds us together is as permanent and sacred, to say the least, as that of marriage, for it is our religion. We receive no members (except by deception or mistake) who do not give heart and hand to the family interest for life and forever. Community of property extends just as far as freedom of love. Every man's care and every man's dollar of the common property is pledged for the maintenance and protection of the women and the education of the children of the community. . . . Whoever will take the trouble to follow our track from the beginning will find no forsaken women or children by the way. In this respect we claim to be in advance of marriage and common civilization. . . . We are *not* "free lovers" in any sense that makes love less binding or responsible than it is in marriage.

The community won the esteem of its neighbors, and a reputation for perfect integrity in all matters of business, and for many years was a popular resort during the summer months for excursionists, as many as 1,500 visitors having been on its grounds in a single day. It was never popular with the churches because of its radical religious and social doctrines; and from 1873 there was concerted action against it by the Presbyterian and other religious bodies in central New York, which culminated in 1879 in a conference at Syracuse mainly composed of ministers of different denominations called for the purpose of devising measures for its suppression. This was a difficult task, as the communists had always been peaceable subjects of civil authority, and claimed that their practises were not in violation of any state law. However, the ministers were saved the trouble and expense of legal proceedings, as Mr. Noyes on the 20th of August following the Syracuse Conference proposed to the community that the practise of complex marriage

be given up, "not as renouncing belief in the principles and prospective finality of that institution, but in deference to the public sentiment which is evidently rising against it"; and after his proposition was immediately accepted, thus removing all cause of complaint on the part of any portion of the general public against the community. Since then (1879) ordinary monogamous marriage has prevailed in the community, and since Nov., 1880, it has been a joint-stock corporation, each one's interest being represented by the shares of stock held by him. The organization, however, still retains many features of the former society, such as common grounds, common library and reading-room, common assembly-room, laundry, dining-room, etc.

The corporation, the Oneida Community, Limited, is now managed by a board of eleven directors. Its various businesses—the manufacture of sewing and embroidery silk, silver-plated ware, canned goods, animal traps and chains—have been largely increased, and now give employment to many hundreds of people. The principal office of the company, its large unitary dwellings, and its canning works, are located in Kenwood, Madison County; its silk-works and hardware factories in Vernon, Oneida County; its silver-plating works in Niagara Falls, Niagara County, N. Y., and it has also a hardware factory in Niagara Falls, Canada. It has offices in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and other large cities. Beginning a quarter of a century ago with a capitalization of \$600,000, it has added \$200,000 to its stock, accumulated a surplus, and paid dividends averaging between 6 and 7 per cent per annum on its stock. The prosperity and harmonious working of the new organization augur well for its perpetuity. WM. A. HINDS.

REFERENCE: See article COMMUNISM.

ONIPKO FEDOR MIKHAYLOVICH: Russian member of the Duma; born 1879. Representative (Group of Soil) from Stavropol Province. Peasant of Kuban Province; self-educated. Passed with success examinations in City College. Was county clerk in Voznesyensk (19 years old). Elected by peasants.

OPEN OR CLOSED SHOP, THE: In this article an attempt is made to present in a concise form the arguments most commonly advanced by trade-unionists in justification of their demands for the closed or unionized shop, and, on the other hand, the reasons given by the advocates of the open shop why these demands should not be complied with. We have not stated our own views, but give a compilation of the views of others.

THE CLOSED SHOP

"The philosophy of the closed shop is based upon the belief that the welfare of the laboring classes is bound up with the device of collective bargaining, that the success of the expedient depends upon its universal application, and that no individual workman can be conceded rights that are inconsistent with the welfare of his class."

Advantages of Trade-unionism.—Without attempting a thorough discussion of this subject, we present the following summary of the advantages of the trade-unions as cited in recent discussions of the closed shop:

The labor movement implies an orderly effort, not only to wrest concessions from the employer,

but also to secure recognition from society. It is a movement which seeks to change the present standards by which the laborer's share in production is decided, and disputes the right of the employer alone to determine what fair treatment should be. It aims at industrial democracy and is in harmony with the world-wide tendency of the times.

The great consideration is to permit workmen to have a voice in the shop—to have some control over the conditions of employment.

The trade-unions have achieved the gradual and steady increase of wages and the shortening of the working-day.

Trade-unions are coming to be recognized by employers as a permanent part of the industrial offer. In many trades in Great Britain the employers prefer to make terms with the trade-unions which shall apply to non-union workmen as well, rather than to make terms with each class separately. It is coming to be recognized as good policy to deal with the same form of organization and more and more to make that organization responsible, so far as may be, for meeting the obligations that are assumed by it for the workers in the trade it represents.

A well-organized union enables an employer easily to obtain efficient workmen; to make collective contracts, which are more satisfactory, cover a longer term, and are more readily fulfilled than individual contracts; and it tends toward conservatism, and thus lessens the liability of strikes.

To seek to destroy unions because of their defects would be like attempting to abolish government because of its abuses. The unions with all their faults represent a forward stride of the human race. They cultivate a spirit of self-reliance and mutual assistance which ought to more than compensate for their faults.

As the unions become stronger and gain in experience, they tend to conservatism. The hard and stern conditions confronting them can be relied upon to keep them within bounds.

Union and Non-union Employees.—The reasons why union men refuse to work in the same shop with non-union men, and which are at the root of the contention for the closed shop, may be summarized as follows:

A shop with union and non-union men is like a house divided against itself. There is a constant attempt to organize it entirely; an incessant struggle to disorganize it completely.

While accepting the union scale of wages when work is plentiful, the non-unionist will immediately lower wages as soon as work becomes more difficult to obtain.

It is easy to speak of the open shop in which the employer does not care whether his men are union men or not. But the union cannot accomplish its most important object unless the employer deals with it as a union. The employer cannot be made to enter into a collective bargain—and without the collective bargain the conditions of labor are hardly fixed by bargaining at all—unless the union comprizes practically all the men he wishes to employ.

Non-union Workers.—Much attention is given in the arguments of trade-unionists to the character of the men who do not join the unions, with the view of showing that much sympathy is misplaced when bestowed upon these workers who, as alleged, are deprived of their liberty to contract for employment.

Some refuse to join because of intolerable conditions existing in a union. It is maintained, however, that when such conditions exist, the abuses should be prevented by action within rather than without or against the organization.

Another reason given for not joining unions is because of strong but mistaken ideals of persons who believe in individual action, in the right of every man to do as he will, no matter how it may affect his neighbor. This policy, it is maintained, is not practicable in a civilized community.

Another class of non-union workers, it is maintained, consists of persons who, purely through selfish motives, seek to share all the advantages secured by the sacrifices of the trade-unionists without bearing any of the burdens or incurring any of the risks.

Lastly, there is said to be a class of professional strike-breakers. These, it is claimed, are either dishonorably discharged unionists or they belong to the class of criminals, idlers, and incompetents who are only willing to work or to make a pretense of working in order to defeat the ends of honest workmen.

The Legal Right.—It is contended by trade-unionists that in their action for securing the closed shop they are doing nothing but what is lawful.

As free citizens the wage-earners have the right to work or to refuse to work, to make certain demands for their welfare, and to strike if the demands are not granted. An employee has the right to say that he will sell his labor on condition that he is not to work with obnoxious persons. In like manner, laborers can combine to sell their labor collectively and on the same terms. They do not deny the right of employment to non-unionists, but simply refuse to work with them.

The union workmen who refuse to work with non-unionists do not say in so many words that the employer shall not engage non-union workmen. The dictum of the trade-union is not equivalent to an act of Congress or of a state legislature prohibiting employers from engaging non-union men. What the unionists in such cases do is merely to stipulate as a condition that they shall not be obliged to work with men who, as non-unionists, are obnoxious, just as they shall not be obliged to work in a dangerous or unsanitary factory, for unduly long hours, or at insufficient wages.

The Moral Right.—The trade-unionists claim that they are not only legally but also morally justified in refusing to work with non-union men. Society makes right that which will accomplish the most good for its members as a body.

If it is wrong to ostracize or to refuse to associate with craftsmen who are indifferent to their common welfare, then it is equally wrong for professional men to shun others of their calling accused of unprofessional conduct, and it is wrong for merchants to taboo other tradesmen who disregard the ethics of their business.

In modern industry working men do not act as individuals contracting with employers. The workingman of to-day belongs to a group, and, whether he will or not, acts with his group and is treated like others of his group. He works the time worked by the others, receives the wages paid the others of his class, and obeys the regulations made for his group. His employer does not know that he exists, but simply knows that so

many hundreds or so many thousands of men of his type are employed at a given wage, for a given number of hours, and under certain given conditions. What affects one of his class affects all.

Just as the individual owes a duty to society, so also, tho in a less degree, he owes a duty to his class. The non-unionist has no moral right to seek his own temporary advantage at the expense of the permanent interests of all working men.

If the union has a right to exist, which is no longer denied, it has a right to insist on those conditions which are necessary to its existence; and it cannot exist if non-union men are permitted to take the jobs of union men.

THE OPEN SHOP

The arguments in favor of the open shop are based upon the necessity of preserving the freedom of individual contracts.

Right of Individual Contract.—In a recent decision of the Superior Court of Cook County, Illinois, it was held that agreements for the closed shop "would, if executed, tend to create a monopoly in favor of the members of the different unions, to the exclusion of workmen not members of such unions, and are, in this respect, unlawful."

The law of morality and the law of man forbid any citizen, whether he be laborer or capitalist, to enforce his demands by the oppression of others, by a denial to any man of his right to work for whom he will, and for what he will, of his right to hire any man for what that man is willing to accept.

The freedom of action is legally and, it is probable, economically a matter of as much concern to society as the freedom of the unionist to combine for proper purposes.

Unless we are prepared to relegate all the laborers in a trade to a condition or status determined by a combination or association known as a trade-union, and to deny the advisability of permitting a worker to choose freely between an individual or a collective contract, we must insist that the compulsory unionization of industry is economically indefensible.

The conditions under which a man shall dispose of his labor are of such exceeding importance to society that, if freedom is to be denied, the restrictions imposed should be determined by the government and not by any other agency. Such regulations should be just, uniform, and certain; they should not be subject to the possible caprice, selfishness, or special exigencies of a labor organization. When it is necessary to restrict the freedom of labor or capital to enter any industry, the matter becomes the subject of public concern and public regulation. If membership in a labor organization is to be a condition precedent to the right of securing employment, it will be necessary for the government to control the constitution, policy, and management of such associations so far as may be requisite for the purpose in view.

Trade-unions have no right to usurp the sovereignty of the State and to destroy that individual freedom which is the cardinal principle of American life, whether it be religious, political, or industrial.

If unions are to render permanent service to the laborers, they must be voluntary organizations. If any device can be invented by employers of laborers by which laborers can be coerced into joining or kept from joining labor-

unions, then these organizations no longer represent either the best thought or the best interests of the laborers. They must necessarily soon degenerate into mere dictatorial groups. There is no principle of ethics, economics, or equity that will make the coercion of laborers by laborers any better than the coercion of laborers by capitalists.

Men who, as victims of trade-union despotism, are forced into the union, would prove elements of weakness and prepare the way for disintegration.

Danger of Trade-union Power.—An important argument against acceding to the demands of trade-unionists for the closed shop is the danger involved in granting too much power to the labor organizations.

It is contended that it would be highly dangerous to allow a permanent and all-inclusive organization of laborers to control such matters as admission to a trade, the introduction of improved machinery, and the rate of wages; that it is highly desirable that a trade-union should always be kept upon its good behavior by the knowledge that an unreasonable or selfish policy will drive both employers and the public to seek relief by appealing to the non-union man.

Injury to Business.—It is claimed that the open shop is necessary in order to preserve the liberty and protect the rights of employers. The closed shop means that none but union men shall be employed; that the foreman shall be acceptable to the union and, therefore, presumably a member of it; that the rules of the workshop shall be made by the unions; and it is claimed that all this practically takes the management of the business out of the hands of the employers and places it with those who lack business responsibility. The men who have put their capital into the business can no longer control their own property, but are practically compelled to turn it over to the management of an organization which deems its own interests in conflict with those of the capitalists.

The closed shop would, it is claimed, be injurious to business and thus disastrous to the general welfare of society;

By imposing on a shop where there is no dissatisfaction, the liability of a sympathetic strike, or of a strike growing out of a quarrel with some other union;

By taking the management out of the hands of the employers who have the greatest stake in the business, and thus inviting failure;

By destroying all competition between good and poor workmen, and thus lowering the standard of skill and resulting in an inferior product;

By destroying all competition between union and non-union men and enabling the unions to force wages up to a point which the business could not stand; and, with a higher price for a poorer product, a closed shop could not compete with establishments not so handicapped. (See UNIONIST AND NON-UNIONIST.)

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Open Shop the Destruction of the Unions, in the Independent, May 12, 1904; F. K. Foster, Has the Non-Unionist a Right to Work How, When, and Where He Pleases? in the American Federationist, Jan., 1904; The Open Shops, in the American Federationist, March, 1904; E. A. Moffett, The Open Shops, in the American Federationist, March, 1904; C. W. Post, Make the Change Now: An Open Shop or None, in the American Industries, Dec. 1, 1904.

GUSTAVUS A. WEBER.

OPIUM TRAFFIC, THE: Opium was known to the ancients as a stimulant. Theophrastus, Dioskorides, and Pliny describe its culture and properties. It is alleged even that it was known in Homer's time. Sanskrit has no term for it, altho other Oriental languages contain names derived from the Greek. The Arabs introduced opium into Europe and East India in the sixteenth century. Persia is said to have used it first as an intoxicant. China used it for this purpose about 1650. The East India Company monopolized its production and traffic. The Chinese Government prohibited the importation of opium in 1820; it was, however, extensively smuggled into China. This led to the Opium War between China and England which ended 1842, and to the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) in which England forced China to admit opium. In 1876 some new regulations were made. About 1850 opium began to be used in England and the United States as an intoxicant, and opium-dens exist in nearly all large cities of these countries. Lately a campaign against its use has been carried on, particularly in England. The Chinese Government, too, has taken energetic measures to exclude foreign opium and to suppress its production within China (Nov., 1906). There are supposed to be 60,000,000 regular opium smokers and eaters who consume the larger proportion of the output; but one half of the total population is said to be more or less addicted to its use.

Statistics.—China's crop of poppy is estimated at 20,000 to 30,000 boxes per annum (since 1853); East India produced (1873-74) 6,358,495 kilograms of opium, 6,144,132 of which were imported into China. Asia Minor produces 300,000 kilograms annually. India's revenue from opium was, in 1900-1, \$24,633,280; in 1901-2, \$20,804,800; in 1905-6, \$26,344,240; and in 1906-7, \$23,189,120. That of China on native opium, 1900-1, \$1,595,780; 1905-6, \$576,000, and on imported, \$3,600,000. In 1880 the opium revenue of India represented 14 per cent of the aggregate; in 1906 only 7 per cent.

These figures prove that England has been the greatest sinner in regard to the opium traffic. The Chinese Government has made protests against its importation, because they have recognized its pernicious effects upon Chinese subjects. The Turks look upon an opium-eater or smoker with contempt. These attitudes show that the Orientals know how baneful the use of opium is, both on the physique, mind, and morals. There has, however, always existed an influential party in England protesting against this traffic by the Indian Government, and the agitation is beginning to bear fruit, as the decrease in the revenue shows.

OSTROGORSKI, MOYSEY YAKOVLEVICH: Russian member of the Duma; born in 1852; a Jew; representative (Constitutional Democrat) from Grodno Province to the first Duma; graduate of the Law School of St. Petersburg University, he was for a time student of the Paris School of Philosophy and Political Science, and

served in the Legislative Department of the Ministry of Justice. He is the author of several judicial works.

OVERBERGH, CYRIL VON: Belgian economist; born in Brussels, 1866, he studied at the Catholic University of Louvain, in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and England. Was made commissioner to the king in the precinct of Courtroi and professor of sociology at Louvain; chief of cabinet of Ministry of Justice in Brussels 1893; chief of Cabinet of Ministry of the Interior and Public Instruction in 1895; general director of superior learning of science and letters in 1900. Founded in 1901 the Society of Sociology in Belgium and became its permanent president. Is president of the Belgium Society of Social Economy at Brussels and numerous other scientific societies. Author of "La réforme de la bienfaisance" (1900); "Les courants sociologique du XIX siècle" (1900); "Le Materialism historique de Karl Marx" (1903); "La classe sociale" (1904). Address: 102 Chaussées de Vleurgat, Brussels.

OVERCROWDING: We consider in this article the facts as to the overcrowding of large cities. (For the methods of dealing with the problem, see GARDEN CITIES; HOUSING; MODEL VILLAGES.)

The problem of overcrowding is not identical with that of the tenement question (see TENEMENTS), for there may be serious overcrowding where there are no tenements (large buildings crowded with families of the poorer classes). London has few large tenements yet most serious overcrowding; Chicago, compared with New York, has been said to have no tenement-house problem, yet the Chicago City Homes Association in the winter of 1900-1 found some areas very densely crowded. One seventh of one acre had a ratio of 900 to the acre. Double-deckers were on the increase, and there were then almost 100 within a limited field of investigation.

The overcrowding in New York is, however, probably the most serious in the world, because New York City has both overcrowding and the tenement evil, too, and both in the worst forms. (See TENEMENTS.) Certain portions of New York City are the most densely populated spots in the world. The following table from the census for 1900 gives the general situation in the more crowded cities of the United States.

The census says:

The city of New York as now constituted has, according to the census of 1900, 249,991 dwelling-places, containing an aggregate population of 3,437,202. Of the whole number of dwelling-places in the city in 1900, 95,433, or 38.2 per cent, contain from 2 to 6 persons; 60,672, or 24.2 per cent, contain from 7 to 10 persons, and 89,654, or 35.9 per cent, contain 11 persons or more, leaving 4,232, or 1.7 per cent, for dwellings containing only 1 person. In Manhattan and Bronx boroughs—equivalent to New York City as it existed in 1890—more than one half of all the dwellings contain 11 persons or more, while in Brooklyn borough—equivalent to Brooklyn city in 1890—this number of persons is contained in more than three tenths of all the dwellings in that borough in 1900. These proportions for New York City as now constituted can be compared with similar proportions for Philadelphia, which has about nine tenths as many dwelling-places housing less than two fifths the amount of population, and with Chicago, where nearly four fifths as many dwelling places house about one half as much population. In Philadelphia by far the largest proportion of the dwellings—72.8 per cent—contain from 2 to 6 persons each, as compared with 21.4 per cent for those with from 7 to 10 persons, and only 4.2 per cent for those with 11 or more persons. Of all the dwellings in Chicago in 1900 about one fourth—25.8 per cent—contain 11 persons or more, 44.1 per

OVERCROWDING IN THE UNITED STATES

CITIES	PER CENT OF POPULATION IN DWELLINGS WITH—							
	1 to 10 persons		11 to 15 persons		16 to 20 persons		21 persons and over	
	1900	1890	1900	1890	1900	1890	1900	1890
Boston, Mass.	50.5	52.2	23.8	22.8	11.1	11.1	14.6	13.9
Chicago, Ill.	48.9	50.8	21.6	20.5	11.6	12.1	17.9	16.6
Cincinnati, Ohio	55.6	48.5	18.3	17.8	10.0	11.8	16.1	21.9
Fall River, Mass.	32.9	21.5	15.0	15.0	30.6			
Jersey City, N. J.	50.0	50.6	15.6	15.6	9.3	10.3	25.1	23.5
Newark, N. J.	55.7	60.0	20.6	20.5	9.7	9.3	14.0	10.2
New York, N. Y.	26.7	11.1	7.8	7.8	54.4			
Manhattan and Bronx boroughs ¹	13.9	16.5	7.3	8.8	6.2	8.0	72.6	66.7
Brooklyn borough ²	40.0	43.3	17.5	19.0	11.1	12.0	31.4	25.7
Worcester, Mass.	45.2	24.8	13.1	13.1	16.9			

¹ New York City in 1890.² Brooklyn city in 1890.

cent from 2 to 6 persons, and 28.6 per cent from 7 to 10 persons. Considered with respect to population, the differences are even more significant. New York City has very nearly three fourths of its population in 1900 living in dwellings containing 11 or more persons, as against not much more than one half for Chicago and not much more than one eighth for Philadelphia. The proportion of the population—86.1 per cent—contained in dwellings with 11 or more persons in Manhattan and Bronx boroughs, is very much larger than in Brooklyn borough, where it is 60 per cent, or in the remainder of the greater city, where it is between 20 and 26 per cent. Boston has very nearly one half of its population contained in dwellings with 11 or more persons, but in Fall River and Worcester, in the same state, the proportions are even larger, this class of dwellings containing 67.1 per cent of the population of Fall River and 54.8 per cent of that of Worcester. One half of the population of Jersey City is contained in dwellings with 11 persons or more, and the proportions in Cincinnati and Newark—44.4 and 44.3 per cent respectively—are very nearly as large.

New York City has considerably more than one half of its population in dwellings containing over 20 persons, and Manhattan and Bronx boroughs have very nearly three fourths of their entire population in such dwellings.

More than three tenths of the population of Brooklyn borough and of Fall River and one fourth of the population of Jersey City are also contained in dwellings with more than 20 occupants.

Yet this does not adequately present the situation because it gives no information as to the size of the dwellings. This, however, has been done for New York City by the investigations of the New York Federation of Churches (*q. v.*), using also census returns. It gives the following results for the various boroughs:

	Acres	Population	Density per acre
Manhattan	14,110	2,112,380	149
Bronx	26,017	271,630	10
Brooklyn	49,608	1,358,686	28
Queens	82,883	198,240	2
Richmond	36,600	78,846	2
	209,218	4,013,781	19

This is for the whole city, including the portions not yet built up. For certain districts, however, the *Bulletin* of the Federation for April, 1906, gives the following table:

The following are the populations, in 1905 and 1900, of the assembly districts of Manhattan Island, with their gains of population, and their comparative density in 1905 and in 1900:

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT	Population		Five years' gain	Population per acre	
	1900	1905		1900	1905
East Side, south of Fourteenth Street:					
2	52,768	58,448	5,680	153.8	170.4
4	76,852	90,941	14,089	402.9	547.8
6	64,286	73,904	9,678	345.0	397.6
8	72,125	71,241	884	735.9	727.9
10	65,785	74,330	8,545	577.0	652.0
12	72,897	74,449	1,552	455.6	465.3
14	54,847	65,392	10,545	340.6	406.1
16	73,834	94,210	20,376	447.4	570.9
	533,394	602,975	69,581	382.9	432.8
East Side, north of Fourteenth street:					
18	45,197	48,739	3,512	191.5	206.5
20	42,596	44,392	1,796	229.0	238.6
22	48,766	51,762	2,996	223.8	237.4
24	51,209	60,161	8,952	147.1	172.8
26	56,882	60,108	3,226	253.9	262.8
28	46,123	51,842	5,719	277.8	351.9
30	58,728	61,696	2,968	266.9	280.4
32	80,379	105,156	24,777	140.2	183.5
33	58,112	70,696	12,584	150.9	183.3
34	38,296	43,743	5,447	137.7	157.3
	526,318	598,295	71,977	185.7	211.1
Fifth Avenue districts:					
5	37,951	38,613	662	137.0	139.6
25	36,800	39,721	2,921	80.0	86.3
27	36,984	34,952	2,032	85.2	80.5
29	51,074	52,431	1,357	44.8	45.4
31	78,013	103,691	25,678	165.9	220.6
	241,422	269,408	27,986	86.4	96.4
West Side:					
1	25,059	24,030	1,029	49.9	40.2
3	47,295	59,041	11,746	205.0	256.7
7	41,979	42,246	267	131.3	142.2
9	42,361	47,057	4,696	160.4	178.2
11	41,247	33,990	7,257	212.6	170.0
13	37,572	40,879	3,307	109.8	219.7
15	38,911	40,994	2,083	313.8	330.5
17	40,975	44,898	3,923	181.3	198.6
19	65,025	77,903	12,878	108.3	129.8
21	89,050	113,800	24,750	83.3	106.5
23	78,585	107,168	28,583	23.7	32.4
	548,959	632,015	83,056	78.2	90.2

¹ Loss.

The increase south of Fourteenth Street since 1900 has been 80,327 persons, a larger increase than in any other section of Manhattan or Bronx.

In 1855 there were 417,476 persons south of Fourteenth Street. There has, therefore, been an increase of 69,886 in each of the five decades since that time, but the increase in the last five years alone has been 80,327 persons. . . .

If the remainder of New York were peopled as densely as the lower East Side of Manhattan it could contain the whole population of the United States, continental and insular, as in 1900, plus almost the whole population of Canada.

Certain blocks, however, have a much higher density than this. According to an article by Mr. Finley in the Federation's *Bulletin* (No. 4, 1906), there are fifty-one blocks in Manhattan with populations of over 3,000 inhabitants each. One block on the West Side has a population of 6,173, and a density of 1,145 per acre. Several smaller blocks, mainly on the East Side, with smaller populations have still higher densities.

In no other cities in the U. S. does such overcrowding exist. Yet other cities have conditions bad enough. According to an investigation of certain districts of Chicago, made in 1905 (reported in *Charities*, Jan. 6, 1906), and compared with an investigation of the same in 1900, there

Following is the list of twelve blocks with densities of over 1,100 to the acre:

BLOCK BOUNDARIES	DENSITY	
	1905	1900
Cherry-Jefferson-Monroe-Rutgers.....	1,458	1,000
Cherry-Clinton-Monroe-Jefferson.....	1,422	1,171
Porsyth-East Houston-Chrystie-Stanton.....	1,301	1,123
Clinton-Stanton-Suffolk-Rivington.....	1,291	818
Rivington-Sheriff-Stanton-Willett.....	1,273	1,144
Cherry-Montgomery-Monroe-Clinton.....	1,218	793
Rivington-Willett-Stanton-Pitt.....	1,203	1,190
Rivington-Columbia-Stanton-Sheriff.....	1,172	772
Rivington-Goeck-Stanton-Lewis.....	1,103	980
West Sixty-first Street-Amsterdam Avenue.....		
West Sixty-second Street-West End Avenue.....	1,145	553
Elizabeth-East Houston-Mott-Prince.....	1,108	1,025
East Second Street-Avenue C-East Third Street-Avenue B.....	1,004	900

has been little or no improvement. There were found 87 city lots wholly built over, 144 more lots 90-100 per cent built over. There were 730 rear buildings occupied by 3,545 persons; 983 rooms were "dark, very dark, or dark and gloomy"; 4,845 persons, of whom 2,652 were children, lived in basements or cellars. There were 161 bathtubs for 1,598 houses and 21,612 people. Garbage was uncollected or dumped in the yards.

After Chicago, Boston, Cincinnati, and Jersey City have the most overcrowding, tho in proportion to their size, Hoboken, N. J., and Fall River and Holyoke, Mass., have worse conditions. The following table from the census gives the general situation:

CITY	Population	Dwellings	Families	Average number of persons to a dwelling
Baltimore, Md.....	508,957	89,442	105,584	5.7
Boston, Mass.....	560,892	66,482	117,244	8.4
Buffalo, N. Y.....	352,387	49,914	73,631	7.1
Chicago, Ill.....	1,698,575	193,895	359,900	8.8
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	325,902	40,634	74,536	8.0
Cleveland, Ohio.....	381,768	63,205	81,519	6.0
Columbus, Ohio.....	125,560	24,219	27,582	5.2
Denver, Col.....	133,859	27,100	30,936	4.9
Detroit, Mich.....	285,704	52,046	60,505	5.5
Fall River, Mass.....	104,863	9,509	21,027	11.0
Hartford, Conn.....	79,850	9,699	17,231	8.2
Hoboken, N. J.....	59,364	4,188	13,431	14.2
Holyoke, Mass.....	45,712	4,211	8,936	10.9
Jersey City, N. J.....	206,433	23,627	44,760	8.7
Kansas City, Mo.....	163,752	28,027	36,496	5.8
Louisville, Ky.....	204,731	34,655	44,912	5.9
Milwaukee, Wis.....	285,315	45,809	59,806	6.2
Minneapolis, Minn.....	202,718	31,836	42,536	6.4
Newark, N. J.....	246,070	30,397	54,654	8.1
New Orleans, La.....	287,104	52,988	61,775	5.4
New York, N. Y.....	3,437,202	249,991	735,621	13.7
Manhattan and Bronx boroughs.....	2,050,600	100,547	433,953	20.4
Brooklyn borough.....	1,166,582	113,972	255,821	10.2
Queens borough.....	152,999	24,221	32,121	6.3
Richmond borough.....	67,021	11,251	13,726	6.0
Omaha, Neb.....	102,553	18,027	20,723	5.7
Philadelphia, Pa.....	1,293,697	241,589	265,880	5.4
Pittsburg, Pa.....	321,616	50,104	63,959	6.3
St. Louis, Mo.....	575,238	82,260	123,719	7.0
St. Paul, Minn.....	103,065	24,681	30,919	6.6
San Francisco, Cal.....	342,782	53,323	71,097	6.4
Washington, D. C.....	278,718	49,385	50,678	5.6

The totals for the 160 cities of continental U. S. having at least 25,000 inhabitants are as follows: Total population, 19,718,312; total dwellings, 2,884,621; total families, 4,217,644; private families—number 4,137,279, population 18,632,457; families not private, 80,365. Average number of persons to a dwelling, 6.8; family, 4.7; private family, 4.5.

EUROPE

For Great Britain, see special article, HOUSING IN GREAT BRITAIN.

In Germany, overcrowding has long been a pressing question. (See HOUSING.) In 1891 Berlin had 367,000 families in 21,600 buildings, or an average of 17 families under one roof, not one family in 600 having a house of their own. The cellar dwellings in Germany ranged from 6½ per cent of the population in Hamburg to 7½ in Berlin. In Breslau, Dresden, and Magdeburg, nearly half the population lived in dwellings with only one room and a small half room or closet, without ventilation or light. Since then, and especially recently, considerable effort has been made to relieve the situation. Yet a report on the conditions in Prussia in 1900 found that in many towns from 10 to 20 per cent of the dwellings, with either no heatable room or only one, lodged on an average 6 or more persons, the average at Halle being 20.20 per cent, Barmen 22.35, and Posen (the highest) 24.07. German cities are, moreover, growing in population, so that the demand for houses is great and rents high. A dwelling with one heatable room in Berlin rents for \$58 per year, and even one in a cellar for \$49; on the fifth or higher stories or attics for over \$48. Even in small towns, like Mayence, one room rents for \$32.50 per year. In Germany, too, as in Great Britain, there is great scarcity of proper housing in even the rural districts, resulting in overcrowding, promiscuity, and other evils.

Undoubtedly the most important recent contribution to international comparisons in overcrowding is Dr. Arthur Shadwell's "Industrial Efficiency" (1906), vol. ii., chap. xi. He gives the following interesting table:

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS TO A HOUSE			
London.....	7.2	Berlin.....	46.6
Manchester.....	4.9	Breslau.....	39.1
Birmingham.....	4.8	Leipzig.....	27.0
Leeds.....	4.5	Dresden.....	27.5
Sheffield.....	4.8	Hanover.....	20.1
Bradford.....	4.3	Dusseldorf.....	19.4
Bolton.....	4.6	Chemnitz.....	29.1
Oldham.....	4.5	Elberfeld.....	18.7
Halifax.....	4.2	Barmen.....	18.0
Wolverhampton.....	4.8	Essen.....	18.6
		New York.....	13.7
		Chicago.....	8.8
		Philadelphia.....	5.4
		Boston.....	8.4
		Pittsburg.....	6.3
		Providence.....	7.0
		Fall River.....	11.0
		Lowell.....	6.9
		Lawrence.....	7.7
		New Bedford.....	7.1

But obviously these figures imply different kinds of houses. John Burns, before the National Housing Congress of 1907, spoke of New York as where people live in tenements; Berlin, where people live in barracks; and London, where they live in houses.

When it comes, however, to the number of persons to a room, Germany still shows very much the worst general conditions, tho a few places in the U. S. are much worse. Two persons to a room has been the official standard adopted in England, and anything beyond this is called "overcrowding." Dr. Shadwell finds in England in 1901 only 8.2 per cent of the people overcrowded by this standard; 5.8 per cent in rural and 8.9 per cent in urban districts. In the U. S. the U. S. Bureau of Labor (see above) reports for 1903 a general average for the U. S. of 1.04 room per individual. In Germany the *Reichs-Arbeitsblatt* (March, 1905) reported for 908 households an average of 3.03 persons to a room. But Berlin is exceptionally overcrowded, and this was undoubtedly among the poor. Still Dr. Shadwell finds in Germany "a real house famine," while in England and America there is not, save in specially congested localities. Apart from over-

crowding, however, he finds insanitary housing much less common in Germany than in England. Of Germany he says: "The home is rarely neglected; inadequate it may be in size, but it is kept clean and decent, as are the children." Of England he says: "We have a class, diminishing but still pretty large, which turns any quarter that it inhabits into a slum. . . . Our public sanitation is on a higher level than that of any other land, but nowhere have I seen people so dirty in their persons and living in the midst of such voluntary dirt as in this country." Of the U. S. he says: "The older and larger towns have their full share of dirt, darkness, and dilapidation, but I have been struck by the comparative absence of slums in manufacturing towns of medium size."

REFERENCE: See HOUSING.

OVERPRODUCTION is defined by the majority report of the English Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry as "the production of commodities, or even the existence of a capacity for production, at a time when the demand is not sufficiently brisk to maintain a remunerative price to the producer." The report affirms that "such an overproduction has been one of the prominent features of the course of trade during recent years, and that the depression under which we are now suffering may be partially explained by this fact." The minority report lays still more emphasis upon "systematic overproduction," and says that "the demand for commodities does not increase at the same rate as formerly, and that our capacity for production is consequently in excess of our home and export demand, and could, moreover, be considerably increased, at short notice, by the fuller employment of labor and appliances now partially idle." Similarly says Mr. Carroll D. Wright in his "Report on Industrial Depressions" (Washington, 1886, p. 89): "So far as the factories and the operatives of the countries concerned are to be taken into consideration (England, the United States, France, Belgium, Germany), there does exist a positive and emphatic overproduction, and the overproduction could not exist without the introduction of power machinery at a rate greater than the consuming power of the nations involved and of those dependent upon them demands; in other words, the overproduction of power machinery

logically results in the overproduction of goods made with the aid of such machinery, and this represents the condition of those countries dependent largely upon mechanical industries for their prosperity." Mr. Edward Atkinson, in numerous essays, and Mr. David A. Wells, in his "Recent Economic Changes," argues the same way.

In Europe Lord Playfair, writing in 1888, adduces for this position the authority of Dr. A. von Studnitz, Piermez, Jules Duckerts, Laveleye, Trasenster, Annecke, and Engel. Mr. Wells finds the asserted excess of production due to three prime causes: First, increased capacity of production; second, improved methods of distribution; third, the opening up of new abundant supplies of raw material. (For details on these points see articles **MACHINERY** and **COMMERCE**.) Mr. Hobson ("The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," p. 173) shows that the rise of productiveness in machinery in England, between 1850 and 1885, may be roughly estimated at 40 per

cent, while Mr. Wright, in the above-mentioned report, shows that in the U. S., between 1866 and 1886, the gain of machinery—taking the aggregate, as measured by "the displacement of muscular labor"—was more than one third, while in some trades the improvement of mechanical productiveness for labor was from 50 to 300 per cent. Commerce has made even greater gains. A ton of wheat can now be hauled by sea at less than a farthing per mile. The opening of the Suez Canal is said to have destroyed a tonnage of two millions. Raw material can be delivered in bulk in England at only a trifle more than the cost of its production in its far-away home. All this has enormously increased the capabilities of production. The amount of overproduction must, as Mr. Hobson has pointed out in his "Evolution of Modern Capitalism," by no means be measured by the amount of goods actually produced for which there are no buyers; this is but a small portion of the evil. A far greater evil is that the factories are often able to produce in a short while far more than there is any hope of selling, and so they stop work. This produces not only a glut upon the market, but shuts down factories, workshops, mines, railway enterprises, etc.

The circle of our production is thus stated by Hobson (idem, p. 179): "Improved machinery of manufacture and transport enables larger and larger quantities of raw material to pass more quickly and more cheaply through the several processes of production. Consumers do not, in fact, increase their consumption as quickly and to an equal extent. Hence the outward flow of productive goods is checked in one or more of the manufacturing stages, or in the hands of the merchants or even in the retail shops. This congestion of the channels of production automatically checks production, depriving of all use a large quantity of the machinery and a large quantity of labor. The general fall of money income which has necessarily followed from a fall of prices, uncompensated by a corresponding expansion of sales, induces a shrinkage of consumption. Under depressed trade, while the markets continue to be glutted with unsold goods, only so much current production is maintained as will correspond to the shrunk consumption of the depressed community. Before the turn in the commercial tide, current production even falls below the level of current consumption of the glut of goods which had congested the machine. After the congestion which had kept prices low is removed, prices begin to rise, demand is more active at each point of industry, and we see the usual symptoms of reviving trade.

Thus analyzing the cycle, Mr. Hobson argues that the root evil is underconsumption rather than overproduction, a thought which we shall revert to later. Here we notice that English economists have largely denied the possibility of a general condition of overproduction. They have argued that every one who produces creates a corresponding power to consume. Producers may produce the wrong kinds of goods—goods for which there is no market—so that in certain trades or lines of goods there may be a trade overproduction, but the mere fact of production creates with it the ability to consume, so that the total production cannot be more than the total ability to consume. This argument Hobson quotes from Adam Smith, McCulloch, and J. B. Say, but it is a superficial view. Hobson says: "The fallacy involved in the supposition that oversupply is impossible, consists in assuming that the power to consume and the desire to consume necessarily coexist in the same persons." He instances the case of a glut of cotton goods, due to improved cotton machinery. The spinners and manufacturers have the desire to consume; that is, to exchange these goods for commodities; but the ill-clad of Russia, East London, and even Manchester, who desire the cotton goods,

Orthodox View

have no money nor anything else which the manufacturers want, and so the manufacturers cannot sell to them. But the manufacturers can sell, it is said, to those who perhaps do desire the labor of the ill-clad; so they sell the cotton goods to merchants and buy what they want, while the ill-clad work for those who want their labor, and with their wages buy the cotton goods. Thus a roundabout exchange of goods arises, and Hobson says "this answer is valid on the assumption that the Lancashire producers desire to consume an equivalent of the goods they produce." But let us suppose, Hobson argues, that they do not desire to so consume. Suppose they desire not to consume so much, but to save or invest in more means of production, more mills, more means of transportation, etc. Then we have a production not balanced by an equal amount of consumption, and so there may be an overproduction. It is true that they may desire to produce more in order to consume more eventually, or to have their children consume more; still, temporarily, they do not consume as much as they produce, and so there is a cycle or season of overproduction which may occur in enough trades to be general. Hence Hobson argues that there may be too much saving; that all would be well if men would consume more—consume as much as they produce. Hence he maintains that the real trouble is not overproduction, but underconsumption; that a too sudden development of railroad-building, factory-building, etc., stimulates the market for a while, but leads to a temporary overproduction, which should have been avoided by more immediate consumption and less investment.

Socialists, however, find this analysis of Hobson's but partial. Why do not the ill-clad in Russia and London buy cotton goods? Because they have no money? Why do they not work and earn money? Some of them can find no work; others of them are too shiftless or too undisciplined to be willing to do work which is in demand. But why are they shiftless? Why have they so little energy? Very largely, Socialists say, because of their environment, and still more largely because of their early environment. (See POVERTY, CAUSES OF.) How can good environment be obtained? By self-effort, say some. But this is making the end develop the means. The question is, how to produce self-effort. You must have somewhat of good environment to produce self-effort. By wise charity, say others: model dwellings, penny savings-banks, etc. But charity, even Associated Charity (*q. v.*), admits by its leaders to-day that it cannot meet the whole problem. It takes the united

Socialist View action of society to reach the problem. Cities, municipalities, in spite of theorists, are more and more being driven to care for the helpless and the shiftless. But the cities cannot employ the unemployed, it is said, without such taxation as will crush the activities of those who are energetic and have self-help. Then let the municipalities themselves produce; themselves conduct natural monopolies; themselves become producers, in a word; and the municipality can consume (that is, spend) every dollar it produces, by employing men and women in productive work; that is, work that shall produce commodities, healthy homes, parks, art-galleries, etc. These commodities, parks, art-galleries, will not be themselves commercially productive, but be produc-

tive of better life. Thus the shiftless and unemployed (for whatever reason they be unemployed) may be given opportunity or be compelled to work, and thus be able to consume more; a state which will in part, at least, equalize consumption with production. Therefore, even under the wage system, Socialists maintain that more social production can aid distribution and so aid consumption; while, if universal cooperation ever replace the wage system, and the functions of the capitalist and the worker be not divided between two classes, but be united in the same class, then there will be little if any overproduction, and certainly no general overproduction, since when all men shall receive their share of what they produce, and one class shall not receive large profits and another scarcely a livelihood, all will have approximately equal ability to consume, and the wants of humanity can, as a whole, be not limited. It may even then be possible to produce more shoes than humanity can wear, but not for long. Hours can be limited and production so lessened; and at least there will not be the horrors that to-day accompany what is called overproduction, and which so excite the wrath of Socialists—an "overproduction" of shoes, when millions are going shoeless; an overproduction of "corn," when thousands die of starvation; an "overproduction" of commodities which, sometimes, even the very "hands" that have helped make them bitterly long for, but cannot buy. Socialists are never weary of picturing the pianomakers, who have no piano in their homes; the carpet-weavers, who return to bare floors; the garment-workers, who live in all but nakedness. It is little wonder the term "overproduction" seems to them a mockery and a lie. Neither overproduction nor underconsumption is to them the root evil, but unequal distribution.

REFERENCES: Hobson's *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*; Lalor's *Cyclopedia of Political Sciences*; article *Overproduction*, by A. T. Hadley; Carroll D. Wright's *Report on Industrial Depressions (First Annual Report of Commissioner of Labor, 1886)*; D. A. Wells's *Recent Economic Changes*, chap. iii.; J. S. Mill's *Political Economy*, book iii., chap. xiv.

OVERTIME is the time that employees work beyond the customary or legal hours. The practice of working overtime exists, particularly in England, in almost all trades to some degree, and in some trades is almost universal and carried to a large extent. When firms, as in the engineering, printing, or dressmaking trades, have orders that must be filled speedily, they often seem all but compelled to work their employees overtime. And often employees are glad to do so—though whether wisely or not we shall in a moment consider—first, because they are glad to work more and so earn more, and secondly, because most firms (though not all) pay at higher rates for overtime than for work in ordinary hours. The law, too, usually allows overtime in certain trades for certain reasons, provided that the employees are paid for it. We shall see that even this paid overtime is a questionable advantage and a questionable necessity; but in some trades overtime is the rule and not paid for. In some trades, usually those paying the lowest wages, and usually employing girls, children, or the less intelligent men and women, employees are continually compelled to work overtime without extra payment, on threat of being discharged. Cases are by no means rare where girls and even men are locked in and compelled to work, sometimes late into the night, with no extra pay. Usually the firm

goes through the form of getting the employees to consent; the employees usually consent, knowing that if they do not they will be soon discharged. Sometimes the firms gain the employees' consent by offering a little lunch, or, occasionally, a drink. In the clothes-making trade of all descriptions, and in smaller shops of various trades, overtime is a very great evil. (See EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT; also SWEATING SYSTEM.) Even where firms pay employees for overtime and pay well, the better-informed employees usually do not desire it; and sometimes do not

Evils of Overtime

desire it even when, in order to stand well with the boss, they consent. The reason why it is an evil, even when well paid for, is, first, because it very seriously prevents the reduction of the actual working-hours and thus forfeits all the very great advantages of the short-hour movement. (See EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT.) Often, and particularly in England, overtime work renders practically nugatory the effect of short-hour legislation. Second, overtime, even when seemingly paid for, is not really paid for, and employees get no more pay than they would if they did not work overtime. This is for the reason that what determines the rate of pay is not the amount done or the hours worked, but the standard of living of the operatives in the given trade. Under competition no firm can long afford to give higher pay than the lowest for which operatives of the requisite ability are willing to work. What this depends on what it costs the operatives to live. In the long run it is found that few operatives get more than what their standard of life demands (though this, of course, varies very much between skilled and unskilled trades, etc.). Therefore, if employees by working overtime earn more, the firm can, and often under competition must, lower the general rate of wages; and the employee finds himself working overtime and yet earning no more than before. (See WAGES; also PIECE WORK.)

Not Necessary

Nor is overtime always so necessary or advantageous to employers as they imagine. Occasionally, in some trades, as those above mentioned, it does seem necessary; but usually even where it seems necessary, if it were absolutely forbidden, customers would learn to think ahead and give their orders in time to have them fulfilled in ordinary hours; the firms would do just as much work, with less friction, with less payment at high rates for overtime, and, above all, with less demoralizing effects on their employees. Sometimes employees who work overtime will slacken work in ordinary times in order to get the higher rate of pay for overtime work. Mr. Rae ("Eight Hours for Work," p. 122) says:

Mr. Spill, an india-rubber manufacturer, informed the Children's Employment Commission that he found working overtime extremely unprofitable, because his men used to loiter over their work in the regular hours in order to get better pay for it by doing it during overtime.

Mr. Rae says again (idem, p. 98):

The manager of a Massachusetts carpet-mill reports of the lengthening the ten-hours day by running overtime for a season, that the production increased for the first month after the overtime began, but then the men grew listless, the quantity of their output fell off, the quality of the goods deteriorated, and by the third month the books showed that the mill was doing no more in the day, with ten hours and overtime to boot, than it did before in the ten hours alone. The imposition of the strain takes time to tell to the full; the relaxation of the strain does the same.

From instances Mr. Rae concludes (idem, p. 65) that it is

certainly very doubtful whether the world has ever gained anything by systematic overtime, and whether men would not do quite the same amount of work from year's end to year's end if it were abolished altogether. Mr. Bowling, one of the factory inspectors, remarks that he was struck with the frequency with which employers said to him overtime was utterly unprofitable, and nobody can read any of the reports of commissioners on labor or trade questions without being struck with the same circumstance. Incidental overtime may be unavoidable in the engineering trade, but the persistent overtime now habitually wrought might probably be abolished with positive benefit to production.

And yet in the engineering, printing, dress-making, and other similar trades, overtime is the rule.

OWEN, ROBERT: "The father of modern communism," born in Newtown, North Wales, in 1771. At ten years of age he was put to work in a draper's shop, but later removed to Manchester, where, when only nineteen years old, he was manager of a large cotton-mill. In 1800 he purchased, with his partners, the New Lanark Mills on the Clyde, where Arkwright in 1789 had erected one of the earliest cotton-spinning establishments.

He tells, in his autobiography, with what enormous difficulties he had to cope when he purchased the property. Women and children were employed under conditions which debased both mind and morals; drunkenness and ignorance, fifth and immorality, were the characteristics of the population. Owen believed, however, in the omnipotent effect of circumstance in molding character; the notion that individuals form their own character he called "the enemy of humanity, the hydra of human calamity." He therefore set himself to work out reform on this principle.

Drunkenness was discountenanced by the introduction of resorts where the workmen could find both pleasure and profit; immorality was checked by informal lectures setting forth its practical evils, as well as by various ingenious contrivances calculated to appeal to the honor of the operatives; the employment of young children was discontinued; the homes of the people were materially improved; good, honest provisions were supplied at cost price; children's schools were started, and insurance funds against old age and illness were not forgotten.

Owen's first book, "A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character," the first essay in which was published in 1813, argues that man's character is made by circumstances, and that the one important thing to do, therefore, is to establish a right physical, moral, and social environment.

In 1815 Owen began an agitation for a factory law curtailing the hours of work, prohibiting infant labor, and affording health and education to operatives.

The bill finally became a law in 1819.

Owen's first public step in the path of socialism may be said to have been the famous report which, in 1817, he communicated to a committee of the House of Commons on the poor-laws. In this he pointed out that the only permanent remedy for distress was the united action of men and the subordination of machinery. For the treatment of pauperism he recommended co-operative communities.

"This," says Professor Seligman, "was the

turning-point in his career and the virtual beginning of English socialism."

Every one was to work for the benefit of all; the meals were to be cooked and eaten in common; dormitories in the shape of parallelograms were to be erected, and the details of government regulated in the most minute manner. His plans were supported by many prominent men in England, including his special patron, the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria. But at this juncture his violent attack on all religions alienated the affections of many influential adherents—and it must be said that he showed a narrow-mindedness as great as that which he ascribed to his opponents. Owen was now a world regenerator, an extremist, a socialistic idealist, whose confident anticipation of a millennium seemed to increase in inverse ratio to the failure of his schemes.

In 1825 he purchased New Harmony of the Rappites (which see), in the United States, at the time of its purchase containing some 30,000 acres, 3,000 of it under cultivation, with nineteen detached farms and a regular village with streets, squares, churches, schools, and other edifices. (See NEW HARMONY.) Here Owen soon collected over 900 souls of "all classes and conditions of men," which he endeavored to constitute into a community on the basis of exact equality, and in practise of community of labor and of goods.

To enter into the details of his communities would be impossible. Owen made a triumphal visit to America in 1829, being greeted with universal acclamation, as on the Continent ten years

before. He had almost completed negotiations with the Mexican Government for the grant of an immense tract—when suddenly, with the fall of the liberal government, all the bright prospects again vanished.

After this Owen's interest in cooperation gradually vanished, his energy being henceforth centered on the propagation of his all-embracing socialistic schemes. On returning from America he made London the seat of his activity. Repeated addresses were issued, numerous associations formed, while the most bizarre ideas were proposed, such as the floating cooperative community on the Thames. In 1832 was established the "Labor Exchange System." In 1835 the word socialism first appears in Owen's propaganda. After an unsuccessful attempt to win over the trade-unions, at whose first large congress he presided, Owen became still wilder. In 1850 he called the world a great lunatic asylum, but was still full of confidence; shortly after, he denied the right of property, and became an ardent spiritualist; and in his last year showed the persistence of his convictions by addressing an open letter to the potentates of the earth, and by writing an autobiography full of youthful enthusiasm. He died in his native town, Nov. 19, 1858.

He was author of "Book of the New Moral World," "Revolution in the Mind and Practise of the Human Race," "The Life of Robert Owen, Written by Himself" (London, 1857).

REFERENCE: *The Life, Times and Labors of Robert Owen*, by Lloyd Jones, 3d ed., 1900.

P

PACIFIC RAILWAY DEBTS: In order to aid the building of the Pacific Railway, Congress (see CRÉDIT MOBILIER) loaned the Central Pacific Railway Company, originally, \$64,623,512. Bonds were issued at 6 per cent, maturing in 1895, '96, '97, '98, and '99. By 1895 it was estimated that there was due the government, for principal and interest, about \$125,000,000, fully \$70,000,000 for the Central Pacific, and \$55,000,000 for the Union. The exact figures at any given date cannot be stated with precision on account of the mass of counter-credits for services delayed, disputed, or otherwise in suspense. Some authorities put it at \$138,000,000.

Concerning the transactions of the Pacific Company, the report of the Pacific Railway Commission of 1887 says, in brief:

Congress enacted that the companies should have their stock fully paid in cash. The stock actually paid in amounted to \$1,797,000; the stock paid in "as sworn to" amounted to \$97,098,000. The 2,496 miles of aided roads were built at a cost of \$95,955,000. Stocks and bonds were issued on these to the amount of \$268,302,000, all of which was taken by the men who built and managed the roads. In the accounts of the Central Pacific Company the division of earnings for improper purposes amounted to many millions, through contracts made by Messrs. Stanford, Huntington, Hopkins, and Crocker with themselves. They constructed 1,171 miles of road adjunct lines, at a cost of \$27,217,000. On account of that construction, in addition to a small cash payment, they issued bonds to themselves to the amount of \$33,722,000, and stock to the amount of \$49,005,000. Then as directors of the Central Pacific, they took leases of their own lines for the Central Pacific for \$3,400,000 per annum; which was at the rate of nearly 13 per cent. Fifteen months ago [in 1886] three of these directors [Stanford, Huntington, and Crocker] contracted with themselves to build an extension of 103 miles. In payment they issued stock to the amount of \$8,000,000, and

bonds to the amount of \$4,500,000, the market value of the stock and bonds being at the time \$8,340,000. The actual cost of construction was \$3,505,000, so that they personally profited by their own votes by that single transaction to the extent of \$4,834,000, etc., etc. Had the Pacific railroads been built and managed upon honest methods, had the government loan been properly applied, these companies, regarded as a whole, could have declared dividends at the rate of 6 per cent per annum for eighteen years, from the date of actual completion to the present time, upon all the moneys that they would have been required to pay in to complete and equip the roads; they would have owned 2,495 miles of roads free from all debt, and worth \$124,700,000, upon an original outlay of less than \$35,490,381.44; three of them, the Union Pacific, Central Pacific, and Central Branch, could have repaid every cent of the principal and interest advanced by the government to date, and could have reduced their charges to shippers to the extent of over \$140,000,000, or nearly \$8,000,000 per year. But they chose dishonest methods. At the outset they divided \$172,347,113 of fictitious capital, they dissipated over \$107,000,000 which should have been applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the government debt, and they taxed shippers to the extent of over \$140,000,000, or nearly \$8,000,000 a year, to pay for the inflation of the capital of these companies, and for the vicious practises that crept into their management.

Of the Union Pacific, writing in *Everybody's*, July, 1907, Mr. Will Payne says:

The government and first-mortgage bonds covered the cost of building the line. The other \$4,000,000 of securities represented profits. Presently Jay Gould took a hand in Union Pacific. He controlled the Kansas Pacific and Denver Pacific, which together had \$25,000,000 of common stock—all water and of little current value. He persuaded the directors of Union Pacific to buy these lines and to exchange Union Pacific stock at par for their bogus shares.

Overloaded Union Pacific went into bankruptcy in 1893, and was reorganized. Holders of the old bonds received in most cases par in new 4 per cent bonds with a bonus of 50 per cent in new preferred stock. There was issued \$75,000,000 of new preferred stock, practically all of which was given in bonuses to the old security holders and to the reorganization syndicate. The \$61,000,000 of old common stock was con-

Management of Stock

with themselves to build an extension of 103 miles. In payment they issued stock to the amount of \$8,000,000, and

verted into the same amount of new common. Dividends of 10 per cent a year are now paid on this new common stock. Some part of this is due to Mr. Harriman's brilliant speculations in the stock of other roads. The rest of it is due to a heavy traffic carried at rates higher than would yield a fair return upon the investment. Incidentally, the road received the gift of an empire in public lands. The moiety remaining unsold at the time of the reorganization was valued at \$13,358,500.

The Northern Pacific fared even better in this regard. The government gave it 40,000,000 acres of public lands—a piece of generosity which in no wise restrained the stock-watering proclivities of the builders and reorganizers.

PACKING-HOUSE INVESTIGATION: In 1905, Mr. Upton Sinclair, in a very widely read novel, "The Jungle," described conditions of filth, horror, and immorality, as existing in the Chicago meat packing-houses, sensational to the last degree, and supported them by definite and concrete statements, challenging the packing companies to sue him for libel if they were false. The companies only made general denial; the public became generally alarmed and incensed. President Roosevelt appointed Dr. Charles P. Neill, United States Commissioner of Labor, and Mr. James B. Reynolds to investigate the packing-houses. Upon their doing so, the president sent a special message to Congress with the report. A bill was passed somewhat meeting the situation; the companies undertook some cleaning and improvement, tho great evils still exist. The report of the investigation committee is too long to give. We present here in condensed form the notice of it which appeared in the *Outlook* for June 16, 1906:

The report of Messrs. Neill and Reynolds is the result of two weeks and a half spent in the investigation in Chicago. As the president's commissioners say in that report, they make no statement that was not verified by their "personal examination." The statements they make are specific, and altho they mention no names, they state with detail what came under their observation. Filth and unsanitary conditions they found before entering the buildings; the pavements are such as to retain the accumulated refuse; dead animals they saw left lying on the platforms. "The only excuse," they report, "given for the delay in the removal was that so often heard—the expense." Within the buildings the conditions they describe are such that regard for decency makes only a brief summary possible in these columns. Walls, rafters, and supports, and usually the floors, are of wood. In many rooms the floors are "soaked and slimy." Light and ventilation are wretched. Of many of the inside rooms the commissioners say "they may be best described as vaults in which the air rarely changes." Even in outside rooms they found windows so dirty and walls so dingy that the light penetrated only twenty or thirty feet. "Usually the workers," they say, "toil without relief in a humid atmosphere heavy with the odors of rotten wood, decayed meats, stinking offal and entrails." Tables, carts, tubs, and other receptacles they also found in most cases to be of wood, and "frequently found water-soaked, only half cleansed, and with meat scraps and grease accumulations adhering to their sides and collecting dirt." Such sanitary conveniences for the working men and working women as they found were of the vilest. What they say with regard to the arrangement of the toilet facilities within the packing-houses we do not care here to repeat. It is sufficient to say that the facilities are about as bad as can be well imagined. Those who care to

know the facts on this aspect of the subject can find them frankly stated in the report itself. The commissioners affirm that even in the newer buildings the defects of the earlier structures are not remedied. The only model buildings to be found are one office building and two for cooling, storage, and sales purposes.

As revolting as the buildings and their condition were, the commissioners found the way in which the meat products were handled in Chicago to be equally repugnant. The meat that is to be sold in bulk, which is the form in which an overwhelming proportion of the meat is distributed, is handled with regard to cleanliness; but the commissioners report that "the parts that are sent from the cooling-room to those departments of the packing-houses in which various forms of meat products are prepared are handled with no regard whatever for cleanliness." In other words, apart from the indecent and unwholesome surroundings, the offensiveness is to be found principally in the processes of preparing the canned meats. The commissioners describe the workers' aprons as being, as a rule, "indescribably filthy." Against these aprons and even dirtier clothing the commissioners saw the meats constantly pressed. The habits of the workers themselves, accustomed as they are to a most degrading environment, are such as to make the conveyance of tuberculosis and other disease germs most easy. As the meat is shoveled from the floors, piled on tables, and pushed to and fro in box-carts, it is liable to gather dirt and disease. When the commissioners called attention to this fact, "it was always the reply," they report, "that this meat would afterward be cooked," and thus sterilized; but the commissioners add that this is not always the case. The commissioners, in commenting on the present method of inspection, declare, first, that it is most rigorous where it is least needed—namely, at the time of killing. It is while the meat is being handled that it is made loathsome. They found, for instance, stale meat scraps, and even bits of rope in tins with the label "Quality Guaranteed." As a matter of fact, all that has been inspected is the carcass of the animal at the time of killing; and the government, of course, does not guarantee the quality. Inspection, moreover, does not apply to the health and comfort of the laborers. "The various departments," say the commissioners, "are under the direct control of superintendents who claim to use full authority in dealing with the employees and who seem to ignore all considerations except those of the account book." That this fact is not only a menace to the social conditions of the community, but also to the physical well-being of the people of the nation, the commissioners recognize in these words:

The neglect on the part of their employers to recognize or provide for the requirements of cleanliness and decency of the employees must have an influence that cannot be exaggerated in lowering the morals and discouraging cleanliness on the part of the workers employed in the packing-houses. The whole situation as we saw it in these huge establishments tends necessarily and inevitably to the moral degradation of thousands of workers, who are forced to spend their working-hours under conditions that are entirely unnecessary and unpardonable, and which are a constant menace not only to their own health, but to the health of those who use the food products prepared by them.

The packers' reply is presumably the strongest that can be offered in refutation of the specific allegations of the president's agents, for they

would certainly not have failed to deny them with equally specific detail if they could have done so. Their case would have been stronger if they had kept silence.

PAINE, ROBERT TREAT: Philanthropist; born 1835, Boston, Mass.; educated at public schools, Harvard College, Harvard Law School. After two years in Europe he was admitted to the bar in 1859. Retired from the practise in 1872 to devote himself to the benevolent enterprises with which he is identified. He was one of the founders, in 1878, of the Associated Charities of Boston. In 1879 he organized the Wells Memorial Institute to promote the welfare of working men and women. In 1888 he established the Workingmen's Loan Association. He has built more than 200 houses for working men, selling them at moderate price and on easy credits. In 1884 he was unsuccessful Democratic and Independent candidate for Congress. He is president of the American Peace Society, of the Associated Charities of Boston, and other organizations.

Mr. Paine formerly advocated moderate tariff views—but for the last twenty years has been in favor of free raw material and an increasing measure of free trade. He believes that in social reform the great hope lies in the increasing interest which the well-to-do are taking in the welfare of the people; that personal service is the duty, the privilege, and the joy of life. Author of many reports, papers, pamphlets, circulars, and addresses on "Pauperism," "Cooperative Banks," "Homes for the People," "The Inspiration of Charity," "The Spiritual Efficiency of the Church," etc., etc. Address: 6 Joy Street, Boston, Mass.

PAINE, THOMAS: Radical; patriot; signer of the Declaration of Independence; born at Thetford, England, 1737, son of a Quaker stay-maker, he learned his father's trade, but did much private studying. In 1756 he served a short time on a privateer; in 1762 he obtained a post in the revenue service; in 1765 he was discharged for irregular conduct, but was restored the next year. Waiting for a vacancy, he taught school and preached. He published in 1772 "The Case of the Officers of the Excise," which led to his discharge from the excise service in 1774. Invited by Franklin, he went to America, and soon found employment in Philadelphia as editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. He wrote against slavery, and Jan. 10, 1776, published his celebrated "Common Sense," of which 120,000 copies were sold in three months. Dec. 19, 1776, he published in the *Pennsylvania Journal* the first number of "The Crisis," and continued the numbers irregularly through the war, exerting wide influence for independence and republicanism; in 1777 he was chosen secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs; was dismissed and censured by Congress in 1779 for revealing secrets. He was soon after elected clerk of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. He received in 1780 a degree from the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1781 went with Colonel Laurens to France and negotiated a loan, for which Congress gave him \$3,000, and New York an estate, and Pennsylvania \$2,500. In 1787 he went again to France and then to England, where in 1791-92 he published in London his "Rights of Man," a reply to Burke, and defense of the French Revolution. France made him a citizen, and in 1792 he was elected deputy from Calais. He acted

with the Girondists and opposed the execution of the king. He was imprisoned by Robespierre, 1793-94, narrowly escaping the guillotine. In prison he completed his "Age of Reason," and published it when released in 1795. He again took his seat in the Convention and resided two years with James Monroe, United States Minister to France. In 1802 he returned to the U. S. in a U. S. sloop of war and was cordially received at Washington, New York, and Philadelphia. He was, however, opposed by the Federalists and branded by the orthodox as an atheist, tho he was really a free-thinking theist. He lived in comparative obscurity in New York, and died on his estate at New Rochelle in 1809.

PALGRAVE, ROBERT HARRY INGLIS: Economist; born in London in 1827—the third son of Sir Francis Palgrave, K.H., the well-known historian and author. His eldest brother was Francis Turner Palgrave, professor of poetry at Oxford. R. H. Inglis Palgrave was educated at Charterhouse, but early went to Great Yarmouth and entered the banking-house of Gurneys & Co., where his grandfather, Dawson Turner, F.R.S., was a partner. Interested in economics, he won a prize, awarded in 1870 by the Statistical Society of London, for his essay, "Local Taxation of Great Britain and Ireland." In 1877 he became associated with the *Economist*, of which after Mr. Bagehot's death he became editor. In 1882 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and, in 1885, was appointed one of her Majesty's Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry. He has edited the "Dictionary of Political Economy," Macmillan & Co., and wrote "Bank Rate and the Money Market," John Murray, London. Address: Heastead Hall, Wrentham, Suffolk, England.

PANAMA CANAL, SOCIOLOGICAL EFFECT OF: For 400 years men have dreamed of cutting this ditch, thus saving a third of the distance in circumnavigating the globe. In 1551 the Spanish historian, Gomara, urged on Philip II. the importance of cutting the isthmus.

Dr. Josiah Strong has pointed out the result on civilization of the opening of the canal now by the United States and of its *not* being opened before. History would have been very different had Columbus been able to realize his vision and, sailing through a canal, put Europe in immediate communication with the Far East. It would also have been very different had the canal been built before under Spanish or French influence and put Latin civilization in control of its immense possibilities. Completed now it will be under very different auspices.

To-day the eastern U. S. are about as far from the Pacific ports by water as is western Europe. With the canal they will be nearly 3,000 miles nearer. In other words, commercially speaking, the Pacific will be brought nearer New York by a distance equal to its entire width. The central and southern U. S. will be aided still more. The Mississippi will almost empty into the Pacific. It will be possible to steam from Pittsburg to Hongkong and from Nebraska to Australia, perhaps from Chicago and Duluth to Shanghai and Manila. The Mississippi Valley, with its 1,244,000 sq. m., its 5,000 miles of waterway navigable by steam, its inexhaustible fertility and great variety of product; the South, with its cotton, its inexhaustible mines of the finest coal in Alabama, its pig iron in Alabama and Tennessee—

all this will have a new gateway and that into the new Mediterranean of the world.

The Pacific is surrounded by peoples now numbering 500,000,000, one third of the human race, and if we include India, to which the commerce of the Pacific has easy access, the numbers rise to 800,000,000, or one half the human race. Here, too, is the great room for growth. All of the great undeveloped habitable portions of the earth, except Africa, are ranged around the Pacific—Alaska, British America, our great West, Central and South America, Australia, some of the larger East Indies, and Siberia. To the U. S., already the greatest manufacturing and producing country of the world, the canal will give a great natural advantage over Europe.

PANAMA CANAL—DISTANCES FROM ATLANTIC PORTS TO PACIFIC PORTS BY THE PRESENT ROUTES—IN NAUTICAL MILES
(Prepared by Commander W. H. H. Sutherland, hydrographer, U. S. Navy)

FROM—	To Port Townsend via San Francisco	To San Francisco	To Valparaiso	To Yokohama via San Francisco	To Shanghai via San Francisco and Yokohama	To Manila via San Francisco and Yokohama	To Sydney via Tahiti	To Melbourne via Tahiti and Sydney	To Wellington via Tahiti
New York.....	14,079	13,244	8,461	17,780	18,910	19,530	14,560	15,135	13,600
New Orleans.....	14,419	13,644	8,861	18,180	19,310	19,930	14,960	15,535	14,000
Liverpool.....	14,619	13,844	9,061	18,380	19,510	20,130	15,160	15,735	14,200
Hamburg.....	15,019	14,244	9,461	18,780	19,910	20,530	15,560	16,135	14,600
Bordeaux.....	14,474	13,691	8,916	18,235	19,365	19,985	15,015	15,590	14,055

DISTANCES FROM ATLANTIC PORTS TO PACIFIC PORTS, VIA THE PANAMA CANAL, WHEN CONSTRUCTED
(From a special report by the U. S. Treasury Department)

FROM—	To Port Townsend via San Francisco	To San Francisco	To Valparaiso	To Yokohama via San Francisco	To Shanghai via San Francisco and Yokohama	To Manila via San Francisco and Yokohama	To Sydney via Tahiti	To Melbourne via Tahiti and Sydney	To Wellington via Tahiti
New York.....	6,074	5,299	4,630	9,835	10,885	11,585	9,852	10,427	8,892
New Orleans.....	5,477	4,698	4,029	9,234	10,284	10,984	9,251	9,826	8,291
Liverpool.....	8,813	8,038	7,369	12,574	13,624	14,324	12,591	13,166	11,631
Hamburg.....	9,242	8,467	7,798	13,003	14,053	14,753	13,020	13,595	12,060
Bordeaux.....	8,713	7,938	7,269	12,474	13,524	14,224	12,491	13,066	11,471
Gibraltar.....	8,447	7,672	7,003	12,208	13,258	13,958	12,221	11,168	11,265

¹ Via Honolulu, add 252 miles. ² Omitting Tahiti reduces voyage from Brito by 52 miles. ³ Voyage from Brito to Sydney by way of Wellington is 232 miles less than by way of Tahiti; from Panama it is 405 miles less. ⁴ Voyage from Brito to Wellington direct is 185 miles shorter than via Tahiti, and from Panama it is 358 miles shorter.

PANKHURST, CHRISTABEL: Woman suffragist and lawyer; born 1880 in Manchester, England; was educated at home, later at high school in her native city, and Switzerland. When her father died, she became interested in all movements in which her mother took part, as a member of the Independent Labor Party, Woman Suffrage, Women's Trade-Union, and was refused admission as a student to Lincoln's Inn. In 1905 she won a prize for international law at Victoria University, Owen's College, Manchester; took her degree in law in 1906, at the head of her class. She was imprisoned for one week for interrupting Sir Edward Grey's meeting in Manchester, Oct. 13, 1905. She is the chief organizer for the Women's Social and Political Union, and is a popular speaker on that platform. *Address:* 4 Clement's Inn, Strand, W. C., London, England.

PANKHURST, EMMELINE GOULDEN: Woman suffragist and emancipator; born in Manchester, England; attended the Ecole Normale for girls, in Paris, and was roommate of Henri Rochefort's daughter. She became an ardent

republican, but recognized on her return to Manchester that woman's inferior position would never be improved by the present political parties. She married Dr. Pankhurst in 1879, who had been a member of the first Women's Suffrage Society, founded by J. S. Mill. Mrs. Pankhurst became a member of the executive committee of that society, and assisted her husband in two campaigns for Parliament. She removed to London in 1886, where she joined the Independent Labor Party. On her return to Manchester she served as guardian at the polls from 1893-98; was appointed Registrar of Births and Deaths in 1899 after her husband's death. In 1900 she was elected to the School Board, and formed the Women's Social and Political Union, as a branch

of the Labor movement. *Address:* 60, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.

PANTALEONI, MAFFEO: Born in Frascati in 1857, and now, professor of political economy in the University of Rome, is in the first rank of writers on taxation and other financial themes. Achille Loria ("Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," vol. ii., p. 216) says that his "La Teoria della Traslazione dei Tributi" investigates the reactions of taxes "with a marvelous acuteness, not equaled in the pages of any other Italian writer." In 1889 he published "Principii de Economia Pura," which has been translated into English. His theory of value conforms in general to that of Jevons, but he has criticized alike the English and the Austrian school.

PAPER MONEY: Money (*q. v.*), defined as the medium of exchange, may or may not have intrinsic value. When a piece of money itself apart from its stamp is of the commercial value stamped upon it, it is said to be intrinsic money,

having value in itself. When it has no value in itself, or no value which makes pretense of approximating to its stamped value, but simply represents a value which the government undertakes to pay out for it whenever demanded, it is called representative money. It represents value. When, however, its value is not equal to its stamped value only because its intrinsic value has been depreciated voluntarily or otherwise, tho originally its intrinsic and commercial value were the same, it is called, not representative money, but depreciated money. Its value has depreciated. Finally, when money is issued by a government stamped as legal tender for a certain value, but with no guaranty by the government that it will be redeemed for intrinsic money, it is called irredeemable or fiat money. The government makes it worth so much. It is both representative and fiat money that we consider in this article, because such moneys are to-day almost invariably "paper money." We consider, first, its history and then the principles and problems involved in its use.

Representative money has a long history. The Carthaginians are said to have had a representative leather currency. Jevons thinks that the Byzantine iron money was probably representative money.

History

China, however, is the country which first developed the use of representative money.

Representative money in the main, however, has been used only in times of special financial pressure, as in times of war. Catherine II. of Russia issued paper in 1768 to replace the copper money. The State of Virginia placed tobacco in stores and used the receipts for money. Another form of paper money which, according to some, has played a large part in history, is the so-called bank money of the early Italian and German banks. The question, however, is involved and disputed. (See BANK OF VENICE.)

A somewhat similar system arose in England, when merchants, in order to gain greater security for their moneys, and, in part, to keep it from the government, deposited their moneys with the goldsmiths and used the receipts as representative money. It is probable that out of this system rose the modern English banks.

The best known instances of paper money in modern times are the French assignats, the issues of the American colonies, of the Continental Congress, and of the greenbacks in the War of the Rebellion. (See CURRENCY; GREENBACK PARTY.) Less known is the issue of token money by merchants as late as the eighteenth century in England, serving as promissory notes to pay money.

Coming now to a consideration of the principles and problems involved in the use of paper money, it may be said, first, that most orthodox economists believe in the use of paper money only as representative of intrinsic money, such as the gold and silver certificates of the United States or the Bank of England, which are usually "as good as gold," and must always be paid in gold, if desired, by the Bank of England, except when in times of panic the government allows the bank to pay in paper. Professor Hadley represents this, the usual conservative view, when he says ("Johnson's Cyclopaedia," article "Money"):

Arguments Against

When bank-notes or government notes become currency, without a corresponding basis of money, nothing has ever

been able to prevent their fluctuation in value and the consequent effect upon all other values. The temptation to increase these issues according to the fancied interest of the bank or government is always likely to prove irresistible, in consequence of which the community employing them finds itself flooded with a currency upon which all values float with an unsteady motion, and any standard of value is out of the question.

Provided, however, that the paper money always does really represent intrinsic money, which can be paid for it at any time, most economists prefer paper money to metallic because it is easier to handle and to convey.

Many economists, too, think it perfectly safe to use paper money redeemable in gold or silver (for the question between gold and silver, see BIMETALLISM), but issued slightly in excess of the amount of gold and silver, since it is all but impossible that all the paper issued should be presented for redemption at one time. Jevons says concerning the various methods of the issue of paper money ("Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," chap. xviii.):

This question is perhaps the most vexed and debatable one in the whole sphere of political economy; but, by careful adhering to the analysis of facts, we may, perhaps, get a view of the subject free from the great perplexities in which it is commonly involved. The elementary principles of the subject are not of a complex character; and if we hold tenaciously to those principles, we may perhaps be saved from that dangerous kind of intellectual vertigo which often attacks writers on the currency. . . . There is plenty of evidence to prove that an inconvertible paper money, carefully limited in quantity, can retain its full value. Such was the case with the Bank of England notes for several years after the suspension of specie payments in 1797, and such is the case with the present notes of the Bank of France.

The principal objections to an inconvertible paper currency are two in number.

1. The great temptation which it offers to overissue and consequent depreciation.
2. The impossibility of varying its amounts in accordance with the requirements of trade.

It is hardly requisite to tell again the well-worn tale of the overissue of paper money, which has almost always followed the removal of the legal necessity of convertibility. Hardly any civilized nation exists, excepting some of the newer British colonies, which has not suffered from the scourge of paper money at one time or another. . . . Time after time in the earlier history of the New England and some of the other states now forming parts of the American Union, paper money had been issued and had wrought ruin. Full particulars will be found in Professor Sumner's new and interesting "History of American Currency." Some of the greatest statesmen pointed to the results; and Webster's opinion should never be forgotten. Of paper money he says: "We have suffered more from this cause than from every other cause or calamity. It has killed more men, pervaded and corrupted the choicest interests of our country more, and done more injustice than even the arms and artifices of our enemy."

A further objection to a paper money inconvertible into coin is that it cannot be varied in quantity by the natural action of trade. No one can export it or import it like coin, and no one but the government, or banks authorized by government, can issue or cancel it. Hence, if trade become brisk, nothing but a decree of the government can supply the requisite increase of circulating medium, and if this be put afloat and trade relapse into dulness, the currency becomes redundant and falls in value. Now, even the best informed government department cannot be trusted to judge wisely and impartially when more money is wanted. Currency must be supplied like all other commodities, according to the free action of the laws of supply and demand.

Some persons have argued that it is well to have a paper money to form a home currency, which cannot be drained away, and will be free from the disturbing influences of foreign trade. But we cannot disconnect home and foreign trade except by doing away with the latter altogether. If two nations are to trade, the precious metals must form the international medium of exchange by which a balance of indebtedness is paid. Hence, each merchant in ordering, consigning, or selling goods must pay regard, not to the paper price of such goods, but to the gold or silver price with which he really pays for them. Gold and silver, in short, continue to be the real measure of value, and the variable paper currency is only an additional term of comparison which adds confusion.

So far Jevons. It will be seen that his main objections to inconvertible paper money are not

so much to its use as to the danger of its misuse or the (asserted) impossibility of its wise use. Most orthodox economists argue in the same way.

Mill argues that the value of such a currency must depend on its quantity, that it can be safely used if kept within quantities that would keep it at par with bullion; but he considers its advantages too slight to balance the danger of over-issue.

Prof. F. A. Walker sees the danger of inconvertible paper money; yet of its possible wise use he says ("Money, Trade, and Industry," p. 210):

After looking at this subject from every side, I am at a loss to conceive of a single argument which can be advanced to support the assertion of the economists, that paper money cannot perform this function of measuring values, so called. On the contrary, it appears to me clear, beyond a doubt, that just so long and just so far as paper money obtains and retains currency as the popular medium of exchange, so far and so long it does and must act as the value denominator or common denominator in exchange. And I see no reason to believe that, in this single respect, hard money, so called, possesses any advantage over issues of any other form or substance which secure the degree of general acceptance which is necessary to constitute them money.

Such being the view of paper money held by the orthodox economists, many writers, and among them not a few economists of repute and not radical in their views on other questions, believe that it is possible to have inconvertible paper money that will not be abused.

Arguments For

They argue that paper money is the best money, provided that the amount of its issue can be wisely controlled. Money, all writers admit (see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY), is affected in its value by its quantity, in proportion to the demand for it. If the amount of money expands beyond the needs or consuming power of the people, its value depreciates. If it is contracted, its value appreciates. The problem, therefore, is to obtain an elastic currency that shall be invariable in value by varying exactly with the demand for it. Disbelievers in paper currency believe it to be impossible; believers in paper currency believe that paper money can be so used and is the only money that can be so used, or, at the least, the easiest currency to so use. For such use of paper money various plans are proposed. These plans are usually one form or another of adopting what is termed "a multiple standard" (p. 777), the essence of which is that no one commodity should be used as a monetary standard, but that a value should be averaged from a multiple of commodities. Even Jevons seems to favor this plan, altho pointing out its dangers. He says ("Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," chap. xxv.):

The difficulties in the way of such a scheme are not considerable. It would, no doubt, introduce a certain complexity into the relations of debtors and creditors, and disputes might sometimes arise as to the date of the debt whence the circulation must be made. Such difficulties would not exceed those arising from the payment of interest, which likewise depends upon the duration of the debt. The work of the commission, when once established and directed by act of Parliament, would be little more than that of accountants acting according to fixed rules. Their decisions would be of a perfectly bona-fide and reliable character, because, in addition to their average results, they would be required to publish periodically the detailed tables of prices upon which their calculations were founded, and thus many persons could sufficiently verify the data and the calculations. Fraud would be out of the question.

The only real difficulty which I foresee is that of deciding upon the proper method of deducing the average. . . . Whatever method were adopted, however, the results would be better than if we continued to accept a single metal for the standard, as we do at present.

Jevons then goes on to describe different forms of this tabular standard involved in what is now called the multiple standard:

The space at my disposal will not allow me to describe adequately the advantages which would arise from the establishment of a national tabular standard of value. Such a standard would add a wholly new degree of stability to social relations, securing the fixed incomes of individuals and public institutions from the depreciation which they have often suffered. Speculation, too, based upon the frequent oscillations of prices, which take place in the present state of commerce, would be to a certain extent discouraged. The calculations of merchants would be less frequently frustrated by causes beyond their own control, and many bankruptcies would be prevented. Periodical collapses of credit would no doubt recur from time to time, but the intensity of the crisis would be mitigated, because, as prices fell, the liabilities of debtors would decrease approximately in the same ratio.

More recently Prof. E. B. Andrews, in his "An Honest Dollar," has made a strong plea for such a multiple standard, and in the appendix to his book gives much consideration to its details. Many other economists favor this plan, at least when the community is educated to adopt it.

It is under such form that most of the advocates of paper money now advocate the adoption of paper or fiat money. An inelastic currency, they say, must rob either creditors or debtors. In times of panic and financial pressure even now, they say, the community has to resort to paper money. In panics a special act of Parliament allows the Bank of England to pay in paper. In times of panic the New York banks use clearing-house certificates. In times of depression most Western States pay salaries in receipts which are made payable for taxes.

Many believe that this system could be adopted in the conduct of public work on the so-called Guernsey plan, of which Jevons says ("Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," chap. xvi.):

Daniel le Broc, the governor of the island, determined to build a market in St. Peters, but not having the necessary funds, issued under the seal of the island 4,000 market notes for one pound each, with which he paid the artificers. When the market was finished and the rents came in, the notes were thereby canceled, and not an ounce of gold was employed in the matter.

REFERENCES: Jevons's *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange* (1883); E. B. Andrews's *An Honest Dollar* (1898); A. J. Fonda's *Honest Money* (1895).

PARIS: Paris, to the social reformer, suggests revolution and the struggles of the Commune, but it has something to teach in its present as well as in its past. (For its history see FRANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM AND PARIS, COMMUNE OF.) It was the first city to illustrate to the world the advantages of symmetry, spaciousness, order, and convenience in the planning of its streets; of wholesomeness and cleanliness and light in its municipal arrangements. It is, however, in spite of this, the most crowded city of the world. On its 19,200 acres live 2,269,023 persons, making a density of 117 persons to the acre, while Berlin, the next most crowded, has only 85, and New York, the next, has 60, while London has only 51. Paris's broad streets and boulevards have been built too often by driving the poor into crowded, narrow streets. The organization of the municipality is unique even in France. Alone among French cities Paris has no mayor, this being due to the fear the government has of the revolutionary tendencies of the Paris Commune. The city is ruled, as a whole, by the prefect of the department of the Seine, and by his colleague, the prefect of the police. There is, however, a municipal council

with considerable power, and twenty wards or *arrondissements*, over each of which presides a *maire* in a ward building called the *mairie*. The prefect of the police has, perhaps, the greatest power. He has vast sums at his disposal, of which he need render small account, and governs not only the ordinary police force, but the police *judiciaire*, the detective force, and the political police, the government's secret agents, an inheritance of power from the Napoleonic administration, characteristically preserved by the bourgeois republic. He is only prevented from being despotic by the perfect clock-work organization of the departments of the city. Paris has some magnificent streets, e. g., the Boulevard des Italiens and the Boulevard Haussmann—where luxury and elegance abound; also over 130 beautiful squares, e. g., the Place de la Concorde—connecting the gardens of the Tuileries with the Champs Elysées; the Place de la République; the Place du Carrousel; the Place de l'Opéra; the Place Vendôme; etc. Most of them have statues commemorating public men or events. The theaters, picture-galleries, e. g., that of the Louvre, the hotels, and other attractive features, furnish not only amusement to numerous visitors, but instruction of the highest type.

Municipal ownership of public utilities is well developed in Paris. The Board of Health consists of men who have a high standing in scientific circles and among engineers. The sanitary regulations of workshops, dwellings, and schools, the drainage, water-supply, and cemeteries, are supervised and managed by the board. The city owns all markets, slaughter-houses, cattle-yards, which yield a good income to the treasury. The city was authorized by the national government in 1898 to build a system of electrical railways to be operated by a private company on lease.

The department of "Public Assistance" has charge of the poor relief, and is a well-organized body, managing all the hospitals, shelters for the poor and aged, cripples, orphans, outdoor relief, etc. A free employment bureau (see PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS) aids those out of work and is supplemented by a labor exchange.

REFERENCES: See FRANCE.

PARIS, COMMUNE OF: We consider here particularly the Paris Commune of 1871, but several times in French history has the Paris Commune risen in rebellion against the general government, and tried to establish a communal self-government, to be federated with other self-governed communes. A commune in France is the area ruled over by a mayor or a municipal government. The federated and more or less communistic but autonomous rule of the commune has been the ideal of not a few of the older French Socialists, the so-called communards of France. They feared, as too highly centralized, the collectivism of Marxist socialism, and really held a view half anarchist-communist and half Socialist. The view is passing away, but has played no small part in French history. (See FRANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM.) In 1556 Stephen Marcel, during the English invasion, endeavored to form a confederation of sovereign communes with Paris as the governing head. In 1588 the commune of Paris did succeed in obtaining independent self-government for six months. May 21, 1791, the Revolutionary Committee of the insurrection of July, 1789, replaced the town coun-

cil, and took the name of "Commune of Paris." It had great power under Robespierre, but fell with him, July 14, 1794, and was replaced by twelve municipal divisions. Partly as a result of this, Paris to-day has no mayor of the whole city, being largely ruled by the general government. (See PARIS.) Once again, on March 18, 1871, Paris rose in revolt against the then newly established republic, and declared the Commune March 28th. It seemed an opportune time to the leaders. France had been defeated by Germany; Paris, after a long siege, had been occupied by the Germans, who now were gone; a republic had been established, but the communards believed it to be a weak, corrupt affair of the bourgeoisie. The communards declared that the republic had sold Paris to the Germans. They therefore rose and declared the Commune. Similar risings, instigated in part by Bakounin and the anarchist communists, took place in Marseilles and other French cities, but were quickly suppressed. In Paris was the main success. The leaders of the Commune were Flourens, Félix Pyat, Assi, Delecluse, Paschal, Grousset, General Cluseret, Dombrowski, Arnauld, Vallès, Blanqui, and Rochefort. A large part of the National Guard of Paris declared for the Commune, with headquarters at Belleville and Montmartre. March 26th an election was held and the members for the communal government were chosen; 180,000 votes were cast. The republican government at Versailles sent an army to suppress the Commune. Under the command of Marshal MacMahon this army besieged Paris. April 5th the communards arrested Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, and other prisoners, and held them as hostages. The Commune declared its principles to be absolute individual liberty by the means of the suppression of government, and the division of nationalities into communes more or less federated. The present holders of capital were to be dispossessed, with compensation, and the land and capital were to be divided among associations of workmen. An English Socialist who was in Paris during the Commune declares that Paris was never so free from want, crime, or vice, but others there assert the exact contrary. Many of all classes joined the popular cause. But gradually dissension arose and mistakes were made. The besieging army took many forts and finally entered Paris, 90,000 strong, on May 22d. The communards resisted for five days in the streets. The republican army having put many prisoners to death, the communards retaliated by shooting Archbishop Darboy and other hostages. Terrible reprisals were made on both sides. The communards being finally defeated, and losing power, took revenge by burning the Tuileries, the Palais de Justice, the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, and other buildings connected with the hated government. This act and the shooting of the archbishop and other captives have been laid to their charge, but it must not be forgotten that the triumphant republicans shot the communards down by the thousand in cold blood, burying them in prepared ditches. Twenty-five thousand communards were taken prisoners and many thousands deported. The leaders were mainly executed.

REFERENCES: Sempronius's *Histoire de la Commune de Paris*; Moriac's *Paris sous la Commune*; Lissagaray, *History of the Commune of 1871* (a translation), gives the communards' side.

PARKER, JAMES: Member British Parliament of the Independent Labor Party for Halifax; born at Awethorpe, Lincolnshire, 1863. He was educated at South Wesleyan School, and Bramhope School. In 1895 he was appointed paid secretary of the Halifax branch of the Independent Labor Party, after having served as president of the Gas Workers' and General Laborers' Society, and of the Trades and Labor Council. He has a thorough knowledge of Yorkshire and its industries, and has considerable experience in municipal affairs, having served in many responsible positions at Halifax during seven years, e. g., as chairman of Waterworks Committee, and as member of the Chamber of Commerce. He was elected to Parliament in 1906. Address: 22 Salisbury Place, Halifax, England.

PARKHURST, D.D., CHARLES H.: Clergyman; reformer; born Framingham, Mass., 1842; educated in public schools, Amherst College. Four years principal of Amherst High School;

veloped into the famous Central Park. In 1854 the city of Paris took steps to supply itself with parks; in England only a little before this there were three small park undertakings.

As late as 1870 Central Park was still uncompleted, although the city had then increased to over 900,000. It required a large degree of faith even then to see any decided advantage in sinking \$5,000,000 in a piece of land four miles away from the center of population, to reach which there was no steam transit. It was said at that time, that "For practical, every-day purposes, the great mass of people might have been 100 miles away." Only a few years later there was scarcely a city of the world making any claims to prominence and progress that was not providing itself with parks. The newer cities made provisions for parks in the laying out of the cities.

What has been already accomplished in this country and in the leading cities of Europe can be seen in the following tables:

THE UNITED STATES
(From Statistics Prepared by the United States Government, 1900)

CITIES	Area acreage owned by city	VALUATION		Expenditures, etc. Parks and gardens
		Land and buildings	Apparatus	
New York, N. Y.....	6,909.00	\$296,235,525	\$636,266	\$1,408,830
Chicago, Ill.....	2,151.49	61,514,900	1,500,000	442,110
Philadelphia, Pa.....	4,044.09	(2)	(2)	458,202
St. Louis, Mo.....	2,176.59	8,149,310	6,407	133,122
Boston, Mass.....	2,618.06	(2)	(2)	233,444
Baltimore, Md.....	1,136.01	(2)	(2)	302,168
Cleveland, Ohio.....	1,326.19	6,908,846	15,000	71,975
Buffalo, N. Y.....	1,025.50	3,637,255	12,000	173,751
San Francisco, Cal.....	1,192.67	(2)	(2)	208,361
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	539.00	1,499,000	1,000	43,996
Pittsburg, Pa.....	880.00	3,319,959	25,000	.....
New Orleans, La.....	552.66	5,000,000	50,000	9,655
Detroit, Mich.....	1,055.61	(2)	(2)	91,900
Milwaukee, Wis.....	435.03	(2)	(2)	82,992
Washington, D. C.....	(1) .98	300,000	.....	22,050
Newark, N. J.....	19.18	500,000	.....	4,601

¹ Washington, D. C.; 3,596.27 acres owned by the United States Government. ² Not given.

two years professor of Greek, Williston Seminary. Studied theology at the Universities of Halle and Leipsic; ordained pastor of Congregational Church, Lenox, Mass., 1874; called in 1880 to the Madison Square Presbyterian Church in New York, where he is still pastor. In 1891 was made president of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, and in this office made such effective investigation into conditions of vice as led to a revolution at the next election of city officers. Dr. Parkhurst is deeply interested in social questions and has indicated his standpoint by calling himself a Christian Socialist. Author of "The Blind Man's Creed," "Our Fight with Tammany," "Guarding the Cross with Krupp Guns," and many sermons and addresses and frequent contributions to periodicals. Address: 133 East Thirty-fifth Street, New York City.

PARKS (see also PLAYGROUNDS): The question of parks is of modern origin, growing out of the rapid growth and overcrowding of our cities. It was in 1851, when the population of New York City was just above the 500,000 mark, that the state legislature passed an act for the creation of a park in the city, which afterward was de-

EUROPE

	Number	Area	Average area	Per ct. of city area	Popula- tion to each acre of park
Athens, Greece.....	2	108.72	54.36	4.8	1,380
Berlin, Germany.....	83	1,263.10	15.22	7.9	1,345
Birmingham, England.....	13	264.00	20.31	2.1	1,840
Brussels, Belgium.....	11	395.36	35.94	1.8	1,211
Copenhagen, Denmark.....	4	82.37	20.59	1.5	4,140
Dublin, Ireland.....	2	1,900.00	950.00	7.6	184
Edinburgh, Scotland.....	15	1,280.00	85.33	20.8	211
Glasgow, Scotland.....	30	612.00	20.40	4.1	1,108
Hamburg, Germany.....	11	249.57	22.69	1.7	1,083
Liverpool, England.....	20	743.00	37.15	14.3	697
London, England.....	50	5,000.00	33.33	7.2	860
Moscow, Russia.....	48	301.56	16.75	1.7	3,123
Stockholm, Sweden.....	33	468.67	14.20	6.1	540

Philadelphia has the largest single city park in the world, containing 2,648 acres, extending for some twelve miles on either side of the Schuylkill River, and beautifully laid out in walks and drives. The famous royal Epping Forest, near London, is the largest park absolutely.

Zoological and botanical gardens are also now not uncommon in the larger cities. Central Park in New York, and Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, have zoological exhibits or menageries. There are beautiful botanical gardens at Washington and St. Louis. The zoological park at the national capital will be one of the finest in the world. Among the best known in Europe are the famous "Zoo" at Regent's Park, London, the Jardin des Plantes and the Jardin d'Acclimatation in Paris. Bronx Park, New York City, is a zoological park and botanical garden.

THE PRINCIPAL PARKS OF THE WORLD

	<i>Acres</i>
Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.....	2,648
Richmond (Surrey, Eng.).....	2,253
Bois de Boulogne, Paris.....	2,158
Prater, Vienna.....	2,000
St. James's Park, London.....	1,752
Pelham Bay Park, New York.....	1,700
Forest Park, St. Louis.....	1,372
Central Park, New York.....	840
Belle Isle, Detroit.....	700
Bronx Park, New York.....	661
Thiergarten, Berlin.....	630
Jackson Park, Chicago.....	586
Prospect Park, Brooklyn.....	516
Regent's Park, London.....	472
Franklin Park, Boston.....	467
Lincoln Park, Chicago.....	400
Hyde Park, London.....	400
Kensington Gardens, London.....	210
Eden Park, Cincinnati.....	209
Phoenix Park, Dublin.....	91
Parc de Chaumont, Paris.....	62
The Common, Boston.....	50

Concerning the creation and need of small parks Mr. Alfred R. Conkling says ("City Government in the United States," pp. 55-59):

In 1884 an act was passed by the New York Legislature to create new public parks. It was argued that this was the time to acquire land for park purposes, lest it should become too valuable if further delay were made. It was enacted that several new parks should be established, but the nearest proposed site was about seven miles from the densely populated district of Manhattan Island. Since the passage of the law about \$10,000,000 have been expended in buying parks at the upper end of the city of New York.

Paris is now the pleasure city of the world, and foreigners from all countries, especially from South America, make their home there. The permanent leisure population of foreign birth in Paris is probably larger than in any other city. This feature of Paris is owing to the policy of Napoleon III., and largely to the number of public parks and parkways.

Skilful architects should be employed to lay out public parks, and their management should not be entrusted to the ordinary ward politician, who is inclined to enrich himself, or to propose improvements for the purpose of helping some contractor who belongs to his political organization. A small public park can often be established at slight expense by using a V-shaped lot, formed by the intersection of a diagonal avenue with a longitudinal street.

In American cities music is provided at public expense on Saturdays, and in some cities on Sundays. In Europe the bands of the standing army, which are, of course, paid for by taxation, perform in the public parks very frequently.

Dr. E. R. L. Gould says (publication of the American Statistical Association, 1888):

Large cities should follow the advice of Professor Jevons: Build pavilions for winter use in one or two of the principal parks, and maintain all the year around orchestras and bands of music, with other light attractions, to provide entertainments, either wholly free to the public or at a merely nominal rate of admission. There should be at least one crystal palace in every great city. During the summer months concerts should be given as often as every other week-day evening in every one of the large and moderately sized spaces.

PARKS, SAMUEL J.: Delegate of the House-smiths' and Bridgemen's Union; born 1863. He became prominent as an organizer of the house-smiths and bridgemen, and was so successful that he cemented these hitherto loosely organized men into one of the strongest unions. As

soon as he had succeeded in this, he used his power to declare strikes, and had the unparalleled record of 5,000 in seven years—an average of two per day. Since there was a great demand for new buildings from 1896-1903, he won with few exceptions, and thus raised the wages of his union from \$2 to \$5 a day. In June, 1903, he was arrested and indicted on the charge of having received \$2,000 from the Hecla Iron Works in Brooklyn, as the price of settling a strike in April of the same year. He was convicted on this charge, and sentenced to two years and six months in Sing Sing prison. His union voted to continue his salary of \$48 a week, for the entire period, if necessary. He was, however, released before he had been there a week, "on a certificate of reasonable doubt." Shortly after his release, the "doubt" was removed; Parks was sent back to prison, where he died, May 4, 1904.

PARLIAMENT (from old French *parlement*, a speaking): A name given to deliberative assemblies, especially to the legislatures of Great Britain and her self-governing colonies. The origin of Parliament in Great Britain is obscure, save that there is no doubt that alike in Saxon and Norman times the English people had some share in making the laws whereby they were governed. The Magna Charta of 1215 recalled some of those forgotten rights, but the first Parliament of which any record is preserved was called in 1265 by a writ of Henry III., summoning the knights, citizens, and burgesses to meet in Parliament. Down through the fifteenth century all these classes met together in one house. To-day Parliament consists of monarch, lords, and commons. The three estates of the realm are lords spiritual, lords temporal, and commons.

The House of Lords has 613 members—3 peers of the blood royal, 2 archbishops, 22 dukes, 23 marquises, 124 earls, 40 viscounts, 24 bishops, 331 barons, 16 Scotch peers, 28 Irish. The House of Commons has 670 members, chosen by a male suffrage, considerably qualified by losing residence through removals. The universities have 9 seats; England, 460 (counties, 253; boroughs, 237); Wales, 30 (counties, 19; boroughs, 11); Scotland, 70 (counties, 39; boroughs, 31); Ireland, 101 (counties, 85; boroughs, 16).

The House of Commons imposes taxes and raises money. At present members are elected for seven years. Parliament assembles and is dissolved and a new Parliament elected on the summons of the sovereign; it must be assembled at least once in three years. Practically it is called every year. It commences with a speech from the throne. No member can be questioned outside of Parliament for what he has said within it, and is free from arrest in civil causes, but may be adjudged bankrupt, and his goods taken. Every bill must be read three times before each house, and also be reviewed clause by clause by select committee, or by the whole House as a committee.

Unless sooner dissolved, a Parliament lasts for seven years. It meets usually the middle of January or soon after, and is prorogued when its work is done, usually now in August or September, tho either house may adjourn for a short time. The members of the government occupy the benches on the right, the opposition on the left. The speaker is not a party leader, but elected by the House and supposed to be strictly

**Constitution
of**

impartial. Each party has its own leader and "whips." The cabinet, which sits in the House, tho technically a committee of the Privy Council and chosen by the king, is practically a committee of the House of Commons, and responsible to it. When, therefore, a cabinet measure is defeated in the House, the Prime Minister resigns and a new minister with a new cabinet is chosen, representing the majority in the House. The cabinet consists of the Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury (£5,000), Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain (£10,000), Lord President of the Privy Council (£2,000), Lord Privy Seal (unpaid), Chancellor of the Exchequer (£5,000), Secretary of State for the Home Department (£5,000), Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (£5,000), Secretary of State for the Colonies (£5,000), Secretary of State for War (£5,000), Secretary of State for India (£5,000), First Lord of the Admiralty (£4,550), Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (£4,425), Secretary for Scotland (unpaid), Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (£2,000), President of the Board of Trade (£2,000), President of the Local Government Board (£2,000), President of the Board of Agriculture (£2,000), President of the Board of Education (£2,000), Postmaster-General (£2,500). The chairman of the House of Lords is the Lord Chancellor. The question most bruited to-day as to the organization of Parliament is as to the House of Lords. (See also PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.) Radicals and the Labor Party in Parliament desire the abolition of the House of Lords, and the Liberals would abridge its powers. A resolution was carried in the House, June, 1907 (432 to 147), to the effect that the House of Lords should not have power to alter or reject bills passed by the House of Commons, except within the limits of a single Parliament. In 1886 a somewhat similar resolution was defeated by 202 to 106; in 1888, by 223 to 162; by 201 to 160 in 1889; by 201 to 139 in 1890. An amendment to the resolution (of June, 1907) to abolish the House of Lords was defeated by 315 to 100, few besides the Labor Party and Radicals voting for it. The House of Lords, however, cannot block, only retard legislation.

Says Arnold White (*Everybody's*, July, 1907):

"The powers of the Lords already have been restricted until the control of the Commons in all the great affairs of State is practically supreme. The Lords may not meddle with money bills; have no control over the navy or army; may not interfere with the control of the House of Commons over foreign and colonial affairs, matters relating to peace and war, treaties, nor internal administration. The Lords cannot upset the cabinet nor exercise control over the monarch. All these things are in the domain of the elected House. Practically the only power left to the Lords is that of the veto, which is now threatened."

Mr. White gives no favorable view of the composition of the House of Lords. He says: "There are only sixty peers who can boast of old titles. There are, in fact, two orders in the House of Lords, and the peers themselves never forget the difference between the old and the new men. Since the great Reform Bill, Liberals have created 232 peers to 131 created by the Conservative and Unionist governments."

"Many peerages are granted as the result of bargains between party managers and aspirants to hereditary honors. The sale of peerages and other titles has now reached such a point that the man in the street has begun to grumble. Mr. Gibson Bowles has publicly declared without contradiction that a very large sum was placed at the disposal of Mr. Balfour and his chief whip before the last election. Mr. Bowles supports his statement by saying that the election fund has been enriched by the recipients of titles who have paid sums varying between £30,000 for a knighthood and £200,000 for a new peerage. Mr. Bowles goes on to say that it was calculated a year ago that at least £500,000 must have been encashed from various sources by the party fund. "The most telling attacks upon the House of Lords are,

however, based upon its 'black sheep,' tho these are perhaps not more numerous than in other walks of life.

"Of the twenty-two English dukes in the peerage of England, there are only five whose circumstances, abilities, and career entitle them to be regarded as possible leaders of the nation. The Dukes of Norfolk, Bedford, Devonshire, Portland, and Richmond have maintained the best traditions of public service. As for the other dukes, matrimonial scandals, impetuosity, or dissoluteness are, or should be, disqualifications for membership of an assembly that confers hereditary powers of government upon its members.

"Among the eighty viscounts, the names of St. Aldwyn and Wolsey are the only two of distinction.

"All bishops of the Established Church are members of the House of Lords, to which they add no strength. They were originally created peers because they were territorial magnates, not because of their ecclesiastical rank, and since they parted with their landed possessions their presence in Parliament is an anachronism since the nonconformist ministers, Catholic priests, and Jewish rabbis are excluded."

The Earl of Dunraven, defending the House of Lords (*The Nineteenth Century and After*, March 1907), says:

This body contains 172 members who have held office under the State exclusive of household appointments, 166 who have sat in the House of Commons, 140 who are or have been mayors or county councilors, about 40 who are members of the legal profession, and about the same number of men eminent in art, science, letters, invention, manufacture, and trade; 207 have served, or are serving, in the army or navy. Furthermore, it must be added that, in addition to those who have acquired merit and knowledge as chairmen of railway companies, and in other positions of an analogous character, the great majority have developed business habits, and have derived valuable experience of men and matters in the management of large estates and complicated affairs. . . .

Unquestionably the whole consensus of educated opinion in the United Kingdom is in favor of a second chamber; the principle has been approved and adopted in our great self-governing colonies, in the United States, and, in fact, throughout the world wherever democratic systems obtain; the belief in the necessity of a revising chamber in order to insure that the permanent opinion of the people may receive adequate expression is practically universal.

The political composition of the House changes, of course, more or less with each election, and not seldom very completely, as in the last election, and is even constantly changing on the account of by-elections to fill vacancies. Concerning the present and recent composition of the House, *Hazell's Annual* for 1907 gives the following tables of parties in the House of Commons since 1832:

GENERAL ELECTION	Elections			Total	
	Liberals	Labor	Con-servative	Liberal Unionist	National-ist ¹
1832.....	514	.....	144	.....	658
1835.....	385	.....	273	.....	658
1837.....	338	.....	320	.....	658
1841.....	291	.....	367	.....	658
1847.....	337	.....	319	.....	656
1852.....	318	.....	338	.....	656
1857.....	307	.....	287	.....	594
1859.....	352	.....	302	.....	654
1865.....	368	.....	290	.....	658
1868.....	387	.....	271	.....	658
1874.....	250	.....	348	54	652
1880.....	353	.....	238	61	652
1885.....	335	.....	249	86	670
1886.....	192	.....	316	77	670
1892.....	275	.....	268	46	670
1895.....	177	.....	340	71	670
1900.....	177	9	334	68	670
1906.....	376	54	130	27	670

¹ Including Peelites.

THE TOTAL VOTES POLLED

The *Liberal Magazine* for Feb., 1906, gave the figures in the table on p. 870 as to the total votes polled at the general election. In two-member

constituencies the votes cast for all the candidates on either side are added together and divided by two:

	Liberal and Labor	Unionist	Majority
England:			
London.....	278,290	245,723	L 32,576
Boroughs.....	809,818	634,637	L 175,181
Counties.....	1,418,212	1,195,558	L 222,654
Total England.....	2,506,339	2,075,918	L 430,421
Wales.....	171,315	96,912	L 74,403
Scotland.....	366,605	233,901	L 132,704
Total Great Britain....	3,044,259	2,406,731	L 637,528
Ireland.....	350,000	150,000	L 200,000
Total for United King- dom.....	3,394,259	2,556,731	L 837,528

Liberal majority in 1892, 200,000; Unionist majority in 1895, 104,000; and in 1900, 123,000.

The *Reformer's Year Book* for 1907 gives the following analysis:

The strength of parties as the result of the general election was as follows:

Official Liberals.....	381
Liberal Trade-Union Party.....	19
Unionists.....	157
Nationalists.....	83
Labor Party.....	30
	670

Allowing for the loss of one Unionist vote by the election of Mr. Lowther as speaker, the official Liberals had a majority of 93 over all other parties. The official and Trade-Union Liberals together had a majority of 131 over the parties sitting in opposition.

REFERENCES: Smith, *History of the English Parliament* (1892); Dickinson, *The Development of Parliament During the Nineteenth Century* (1895); Sidney Low, *Government of England* (1904).

PARSONS, FRANK: Writer, educator, and authority on public ownership; born Mt. Holly, N. J., 1854; graduated in mathematic engineering course, Cornell, 1873; did engineering, taught school, and was admitted to Boston bar; lectured on economics; professor of history and political science, Kansas Agricultural College, 1897-1900; lecturer on law, Boston University, 1892-1905; has traveled extensively in the United States and Europe, lecturing and studying economic facts; testified before the U. S. Industrial Commission, on transportation (see vol. ix. of the Report), 1901-2; member of the Public Ownership Commission of the National Civic Federation, and one of the special committee of four to write up the results of the investigation, 1906-7. (See PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.) President of the National League for Promoting Public Ownership of Monopolies. His economic views may be summed up as a system of mutualism or cooperative industry through public ownership in the field of monopoly and voluntary cooperation in commerce, manufactures, and agriculture. Author, among other works and very numerous articles, particularly in *The Arena*, of "The World's Best Books" (1892); "Rational Money" (1899); "The New Political Economy" (1899); "The City for the People" (1900); "Direct Legislation" (1900); "The Telegraph Monopoly" (1902); "The Story of New Zealand" (1904); "Heart of the Railway Problem" (1906); "The Railways, the Trusts, and the People" (1906).

(1906). Also chapters on "Legal Aspects of Monopoly" and "The Telephone" in "Municipal Monopolies" (1900), and on "History of British Tramways" in Report of National Civic Federation Commission on Public Ownership (1907). He died Sept. 26, 1908.

PATENTS: A patent is the grant by government to the author of an invention, or to his heirs, of the exclusive right to use or sell the invention for a fixed number of years. It is also used—al tho this is an older meaning and is passing out of use—of the instrument or letters by which a grant of land is made by a government to a person or corporation.

Provision was made by Congress, in 1790, for giving to inventors the exclusive right to their discoveries. At present patents are given for seventeen years (except for design patterns) to any person who has invented or discovered any new and useful art, machine, manufacture, or composition of matter or any new and useful improvement thereof, or any new original and ornamental design for an article of manufacture, not known or used by others in this country before his invention or discovery thereof, and not patented or described in any printed publication in this or any foreign country, before his invention or discovery thereof or more than two years prior to his application, and not in public use or on sale in the United States for more than two years prior to his application, unless the same is proved to have been abandoned; upon payment of the fees required by law and other due proceedings had.

Among the peculiarities of the patent laws of the U. S. it may be mentioned that the term for which they are granted, seventeen years, is longer than in any other country. The development of the patent system in the U. S. far exceeds that of any other nation. For several years the number of patents issued in the U. S. has been nearly equal to the number issued by all other civilized nations together. A pamphlet containing the "Patent Laws and Laws Relating to the Registration of Trade-marks and Labels," and one containing the "Rules of Practice in the U. S. Patent Office," are published by the office, and can be obtained, free of charge, by any one desiring them, on application by mail to the Commissioner of Patents.

WORLD STATISTICS

COUNTRIES	To 1870 inclusive	1871 to 1905	Total
Austria.....		41,741	41,741
Austria-Hungary.....	15,350	67,583	82,933
Belgium.....	35,044	160,533	195,577
Canada.....	4,081	96,347	100,428
France.....	103,934	264,744	368,678
Germany.....	9,996	172,170	182,166
Great Britain.....	53,408	298,410	351,818
Hungary.....		30,211	30,211
India.....	445	8,147	8,592
Italy and Sardinia.....	4,723	69,600	74,323
Japan.....		9,823	9,823
Russia.....	1,464	15,788	17,252
Spain.....		33,617	33,617
Sweden.....	1,629	21,978	23,607
Switzerland.....		32,984	32,984
All other foreign countries.	8,360	122,901	1,306,268
Total foreign.....	238,437	1,446,577	1,685,014
United States.....	120,573	698,001	818,574
Grand total.....	359,010	2,144,578	2,503,588

The English Patent Law is very generally criticized. Commissions have reported and various suggestions have been made, yet the present law is far behind the needs of the times. Patents are granted for fourteen years, but subject to renewal fees, and so hedged about and uncertain, that it is said that only 3 per cent of the patents are remunerative. The evils of the present law are that there is a great deal of uncertainty in the mode of ascertaining what is a new invention. Hence, when a patent has

Great
Britain

PATENT IN THE UNITED STATES
(From the reports of the Commissioner of Patents)

YEAR	NUMBER OF FIRST PATENT AND CERTIFICATE ISSUED IN EACH CALENDAR YEAR					NUMBER OF PATENTS AND CERTIFICATES OF REGISTRATION ISSUED DURING EACH CALENDAR YEAR			
	Patent	Design	Reissue	Trade-mark	Label	Patents	Designs	Reissues	Total patents
1871.....	110617	4547	4223	122	.....	11,687	905	464	13,056
1875.....	158350	7909	6200	2150	233	13,291	915	631	14,837
1880.....	223211	11567	9017	7790	2176	12,926	515	506	13,947
1885.....	310163	15678	10548	11843	4304	23,331	773	129	24,233
1890.....	418665	19553	11053	17360	6099	25,322	886	84	26,292
1895.....	531619	23922	11461	25757	(1)	20,833	1,115	59	22,057
1900.....	640167	32055	11798	33957	7272	24,660	1,758	81	26,499
1901.....	664827	33813	11879	35078	8009	25,558	1,734	81	27,373
1902.....	690385	35547	11960	37606	8887	27,136	640	110	27,886
1903.....	717521	36187	12070	39612	9654	31,046	536	117	31,699
1904.....	748567	36723	12189	41798	10644	30,267	557	110	30,934
1905.....	778834	37280	12299	43956	11758	29,784	486	129	30,399
1906.....	808618	37766	12428	48446	12588	31,181	625	159	31,965
1907.....	839799	38391	12587	59014	13297	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Registration of labels practically suspended May 27, 1891, under decision of United States Supreme Court. Resumed June 9, 1896. No prints included prior to 1893.

been granted, if it is of such a nature as to lead to competition, infringements are almost matters of course, and the only mode of discovering and checking the infringement is so tedious, costly, and ineffective that inventors generally pass their lives in constant litigation, fighting in detail a succession of imitators who often have nothing to lose by defeat, and therefore entail all the greater burden on the legitimate manufacturer. This is discouraging to inventors, and increases the cost of many articles. A writer in the (English) *Reformer's Year Book* for 1907 says:

We have quantity in invention, but not quality, and the latter can never be attained except by taking over the American Patent Law *en bloc* here in place of our own, which is hopelessly out of date. What is termed "provisional protection" with us is practically no protection at all, and it is said to have been solely introduced into our system to provide extra fees for crown lawyers.

The term "Patent Office" for the office of issue is a misnomer. Its proper name would appear to be the "Designs and Trade-marks Office," since it issues over 53 per cent of monopolies to wealthy manufacturers and merchants at 5.8 per cent of the general charge. Our inventors paid 88.8 per cent of the total charge of the establishment, altho they only got 32½ per cent of the monopolies issued, and these as a rule are not allowed to live long enough to pay back their cost, or to get into general use.

Where the wisdom comes in of treating scientific and other inventors in this way nobody knows, as it necessarily confines invention in this country within its narrowest limits.

The Patent Office, in fact, has been run for any object but the promotion of practical invention (which alone benefits the public). Fees for agents, patent cases for lawyers, and the payment for rich men's monopolies by victimizing inventors, are apparently the sole object for running the Patent Office. Meanwhile, the preparation of valuable inventions, such as Edison's, in this country is out of the question. All such inventions have to be evolved in America, and come to us second hand, costing many times what they would had they been evolved in this country, and under similar circumstances, by our own inventors.

Our whole patent system is thoroughly bad, and the law will have to be taken in hand and brought up to date on American lines.

France.—Grants of patents (*brevets d'invention*) are granted to inventors or their assignees, whether natives or foreigners, and the French patent expires with any foreign patent of earlier date. Applications for French patents must be made prior to the filing of the complete specification in any foreign country. Patents are granted for a term of fifteen years upon payment of an annual duty of \$20.

Germany.—Patents are granted for fifteen years to natives and foreigners. The invention must not have been previously described in a printed publication in any way. The patentee may obtain supplementary patents for improvements expiring with the original patent. A govern-

ment duty of \$7.30 is paid on the issue of the patent, together with an annuity.

The governments of Belgium, Brazil, France, Guatemala, Holland, Italy, Portugal, San Salvador, Serbia, Spain, Switzerland, and Great Britain have signed an international convention relating to patents, giving the patentee in any country in the convention various rights, of which the most important is that the subjects of each of the above states shall, in all the other states, as regards patents, enjoy the advantages that their respective laws grant to their own subjects.

Inter-
national
Patents

Socialists and extreme individualists have almost invariably opposed patent laws. Individualists would have every one depend in free competition upon his own wits, with little or no defense from governments. Socialists would have every invention used for the good of all, inventors being rewarded not by being given a monopoly of their inventions but by material or other honorary reward. Patents, they argue, to-day do not usually reward the real inventor, but some rich corporation or individuals, who can afford to buy up the patent and push it for their advantage, or more likely put it upon the shelf, to prevent its competing with their present processes. Patents therefore, they claim, rarely aid the real inventor and usually defraud the public of the advantage of inventions. The only inventors who are aided are, usually, very wealthy ones who need it least. Poor inventors rarely have the capital to set their invention in use and, therefore, have to sell it, at terms which, after paying the fees and going through the tedious process of securing a patent, leave them usually more poorly off than if there were no patent laws.

PATON, JOHN BROWN: Principal Emeritus Congregational Institute for Theological and Missionary Studies; born in 1830 at Newmilns, Ayrshire, Scotland; educated at London parish school; private school in Dorset; Spring Hill College, Birmingham. Ordained a Congregational minister; was from 1854 to 1863 in charge of Wicker Church, Sheffield; 1863-98 first principal Congregational Institute at Nottingham. Not content merely to criticize or destroy things old and past then in use, Dr. Paton is a reformer in the true sense, philosophically and constructively.

One whose word is a power but whose deeds are his mightiest words. Associate editor for six years of the *Contemporary Review*; joint editor of the *Eclectic Review*; assisted in founding University Extension System; founder and honorary secretary of Bible Reading and Prayer Union, the National Home Reading Union, the Recreative Evening Schools Association, Social Institutes Union, and English Land Colonization Society; chairman of the Committee of the Christian Union for Social Service, and Vagrant Children's Protective Committee; first president, 1896-1902, of the Licensing Laws Information Bureau, and of the Cooperative Holidays Association; founder of Boys' and Girls' Life Brigades; Young Men's and Young Women's Brigade of Service, and of Boys' and Girls' League of Honor; in 1904 vice-president of British Institute of Social Service. Author of "The Twofold Alternative," "Materialism or Religion," "The Church, a Priesthood or a Brotherhood," "The Inner Mission of the Church," "The Inner Mission of Great Britain," six booklets on social questions of the day, two volumes of Essays: I., "Church Questions of To-day"; II., "The Apostolic Faith and Its Records," besides many articles in reviews on educational and social questions. Address: 22 Forest Road West, Nottingham, England.

PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY. See GRANGE.

PATTEN, SIMON NELSON: Professor of political economy; born 1852 at Sandwich, Ill.; graduated as Ph.D. from the University of Halle, Germany, 1878; appointed professor of political economy at the University of Pennsylvania—the position he still occupies. Professor Patten declares that his interests in economics have been mainly centered in the consumption of wealth, in the economic interpretation of history, and the relations of sociology to economics. Patten is author of "Premises of Political Economy," "The Economic Basis of Protection," "Theory of Social Forces," "Development of English Thought," "Theory of Prosperity," "Heredity and Social Progress," "The New Basis of Civilization." Address: University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

PAUPERISM AND POOR RELIEF. (See also POORHOUSES; POOR-LAWS; POVERTY; POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES.) For the general statistics and consideration of poverty, see POVERTY. We consider in this article: I. Pauper Statistics. II. Poor Relief.

I. Pauper Statistics

The United States.—There were reported in 1903 in the U. S. 2,476 almshouses with 81,764 paupers.

SEX	Paupers Enumerated in Almshouses			
	Number		Number per 100,000 of population	
	Dec. 31, 1903	June 1, 1880	Dec. 31, 1903	June 1, 1880
Both sexes....	81,764	66,203	101.4	132.0
Males.....	52,444	35,564	1127.0	139.4
Females.....	29,320	30,639	174.5	124.4

¹ Based on assumption that the sex distribution was the same on Dec. 31, 1903, as on June 1, 1900.

The statistics previous to 1880 are declared by the census to be too inexact to be comparable with these. From 1880 to 1903 the number of paupers in almshouses has decreased 30.6 per 100,000 of population. This diminution appears to have gone on uniformly, being 15.4 per 100,000 of population in the decade 1880 to 1890, and 15.2 during the longer period from 1890 to 1903.

COLOR AND NATIVITY	Per Cent			
	In general population		In almshouses	
	1900	1880	Dec. 31, 1903	June 1, 1880
Aggregate.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White.....	87.9	86.5	91.5	91.4
Native.....	74.5	73.4	51.6	56.8
Foreign born.....	13.4	13.1	39.3	34.6
Nativity unknown.....			0.6	
Colored.....	12.1	13.5	8.5	8.6

AGE	Native white		Native white of native parentage		Foreign-born white	
	General population, 1900	Almshouses, Dec. 31, 1903	General population, 1900	Almshouses, Dec. 31, 1903	General population, 1900	Almshouses, Dec. 31, 1903
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 15.....	38.9	8.2	37.3	8.4	5.0	0.3
15 to 34.....	35.2	22.9	34.0	22.0	36.7	7.3
35 to 54.....	18.1	30.1	18.9	28.3	37.1	27.4
Over 55.....	7.6	35.7	9.5	38.3	20.9	63.5
Unknown.....	0.2	3.1	0.3	3.0	0.3	1.5

CLASS	Paupers at least 10 years of age in almshouses, 1904					
	Continental United States	North Atlantic division	South Atlantic division	North Central division	South Central division	Western division
Per cent distribution of those enumerated, Dec. 31, 1903						
All classes.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Able-bodied.....	11.7	15.8	7.2	9.8	6.1	10.0
Incapacitated.....	85.0	81.0	88.6	87.7	89.9	84.3
Unknown.....	3.3	3.2	4.2	2.5	4.0	5.7
Per cent distribution of those admitted during 1904						
All classes.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Able-bodied.....	23.6	29.4	10.6	16.5	12.0	31.2
Incapacitated.....	67.4	62.6	76.8	77.1	72.3	57.9
Unknown.....	9.0	8.0	12.6	6.4	15.7	10.9

CLASS	Per cent distribution of paupers at least 10 years of age in almshouses, 1904					
	Continental United States	North Atlantic division	South Atlantic division	North Central division	South Central division	Western division
All classes.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Literate.....	64.6	67.9	39.4	66.9	41.0	81.4
Illiterate.....	32.5	30.1	57.1	31.0	52.5	12.8
Can read but not write.....	5.0	5.3	4.6	5.3	5.6	3.3
Can neither read nor write.....	27.5	24.8	52.5	25.7	46.9	9.5
Unknown.....	2.9	2.0	3.5	2.1	6.5	5.8

DIVISION AND CLASS	Per cent distribution of paupers under 16 years of age in almshouses, 1904			
	White			Colored
	Total	Native	Foreign born	
Continental United States: All classes.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Legitimate.....	64.2	63.9	77.5	38.7
Illegitimate.....	23.4	24.3	1.5	44.0
Unknown.....	12.4	11.8	21.0	17.3

Great Britain.—In England and Wales there were in receipt of poor relief in Great Britain, Jan. 1, 1906, 926,741 persons, or 27.1 per 1,000 of population. In London it was 31.7 per 1,000. This includes the sane, insane, and casual paupers. Forty-five per cent of the paupers (exclusive of the sane and casual) consisted of 113,864 families. The *Year Book of the Daily Mail*, 1907, gives the following table and analysis:

DESCRIPTION	England and Wales		
	Men	Women	Children
Indoor.....	120,677	80,715	61,244
Outdoor.....	106,995	275,292	179,953
Lunatics in asylums, etc.....	39,089	46,027	705
Total.....	266,761	402,034	241,902

The general decline of pauperism in comparison with past years will be apparent from the following figures:
Average rate of paupers relieved per 1,000 of population in each period:

	Per cent
1872-1877.....	35.4
1878-1884.....	31.1
1885-1892.....	28.6
1893-1901.....	26.6
1902-1906.....	26.4

The average rate of pauperism is higher in proportion to population in the rural districts than in the districts which are wholly urban or nearly so.

The total cost of the relief of the poor, and matters connected therewith, in the years 1904-5 was £13,851,981 in England and Wales; in Scotland it was £1,402,354, and in Ireland £1,253,355.

In 1864 the cost of 999,400 paupers was £6,423,381; the cost of 760,029 paupers in 1904 was £13,369,404. In the same period the cost of superintendence increased by £1,062,752, although the number of paupers had considerably decreased.

On the other hand, A. L. Bowley ("National Progress in Wealth and Trade," pp. 22, 23) shows an increase of pauperism from 1884 to 1903. He says:

The number of so-called adult able-bodied male paupers has increased nearly as fast as the population in the last fifteen or twenty years, and faster if we include vagrants. The last five years show, however, a marked improvement over 1894-98. On the other hand, the number of female paupers shows a rapid and very satisfactory decrease. The following table shows these facts in more detail:

ENGLAND AND WALES

YEARS	Able-bodied male paupers and vagrants						Able-bodied women
	Indoor	Per 10,000 ¹	Outdoor	Per 10,000 ¹	Together	Per 10,000 ¹	Indoor and outdoor. Per 10,000 ²
1884-88...	16,920	20	17,650	21	34,570	41	42
1889-93...	20,940	22	15,090	18	36,030	40	36
1894-98...	33,140	34	15,550	16	48,690	50	38
1899-1903...	33,310	32	12,010	11	45,320	43	29

¹ Per 10,000 males over fifteen years of age in England and Wales.

² Per 10,000 females over fifteen years of age in England and Wales.

Other Countries.—Of the statistics of pauperism in other countries we have meager returns. Germany has not published pauper returns since 1885. In that year there were reported 1,592,386 receiving public aid in the empire. In France in 1904 the public "bureaux de bienfaisance" assisted 1,381,387 persons. There were also aided 120,126 children; there were 1,826 in hospitals, 70,518 imbeciles in asylums (public and private), 68,670 aged and infirm in institutions, 2,912,600 received gratuitous medical assistance. In Denmark (1903) 177,109 persons were aided, in Sweden (1904) 234,639, Norway (1904) 88,182.

II. Poor Relief

United States.—There is no national poor-law system in the U. S. and the systems of the various states vary somewhat, but have certain general characteristics in common. In general, American poor laws are based on the English. Relieving officers care for the indigent, being county officers in the Southern states, in Pennsylvania, and in all states west of the Mississippi, except Minnesota, and town (or township) officers in Minnesota, the middle Atlantic states, and New England. State governments in general control relief institutions. Near relatives are obliged to support, but details vary in different states. The present tendency is toward stricter laws against wife and family desertion. Settlement is usually gained by residence of longer or shorter duration (generally longer in the East). Most states have laws against the coming or immigration into the state of those likely to become paupers. In most states tramping, or vagrancy, is punishable. Usually vagrants are committed to jails, for a longer or shorter period, sometimes with labor, sometimes without. Sentences are usually harder in the East, but frequently great hardships are affixed, as with chain gangs in some states, and often great wrongs

done, owing largely to the general practise of giving officers a fee for each vagrant brought in and confined. Indigents are divided, generally, into three classes: adults able to work, but in extreme indigence; those defective or unable to work, and neglected or abused children. For the first class, the almshouse is "the fundamental institution," and is everywhere found, tho increasingly, and by law, various classes, like children, the insane, etc., are being placed in special institutions. Outdoor relief is also extensively given in most states, tho it is being practised less in most states. In most large cities there is a charity department of some sort; but in many cities it is little developed, private charities doing more. State boards of charities exist in many states, usually with limited control over institutions, but sometimes they are boards of control. In many cases relieving officers simply perform these duties in connection with many others. Particularly in the South, the system is undeveloped. For the second class, institutions are increasingly developed. Almost all the states have provided educational institutions for the blind, as a rule maintenance and tuition being free. All, except Oklahoma, have institutions for the acutely insane, tho in many states the provisions are quite inadequate, many being still in almshouses or jails. Twenty-three states have special institutions for the idiotic and feeble-minded. A few states are now developing institutions for epileptics and consumptives. Eight states have provision for inebriates, now largely looked upon as diseased. In regard to children, their retention in almshouses is now being rapidly given up, Michigan leading in removing them from the almshouses in 1871. Nineteen states, mainly Eastern and Middle states, have well-organized systems of child-saving, mainly placing them out. Michigan and five other states have a state public school for all dependent minors of sound mind and body, from whence they are transferred and placed out in homes, under the guardianship of the State Board of Control.

Private charity in the U. S. is largely developed. Mr. Hagan has estimated that, excluding all national, state, or municipal appropriations, all regular church and missionary expenditures, and all items of less than \$5,000, there was spent in private charities \$29,000,000 in 1893, and \$95,000,000 in 1903. Besides the larger institutions should be included lodging-house associations, existing now in most larger cities; working men's hotels, working girls' clubs, boys' and men's and women's clubs, women's relief corps, nurses' associations, 150 social settlements, legal aid societies, penny provident and savings-banks, dispensaries, libraries, coffee-rooms, children's aid societies, ecclesiastical charities, Protestant and Catholic.

Great Britain.—(See also article POOR LAWS [English]). To-day English poor relief is under a central authority, the Local Government Board, under a president, who is a cabinet minister. The board has large powers over the local boards, in issuing general orders, discharging any local officials, and auditing accounts. There are, secondly, 649 poor-law unions, who are unpaid poor-law guardians, elected by the voters of the union, with paid clerk and one or more relieving officers. The local poor rates are now largely supplied by "grants" from county funds. Outdoor relief is forbidden, except under exceptional circumstances. These exceptions tend to grow, especial-

ly in the large cities, but are usually accompanied by an outdoor labor test. In 1900, out of 792,367 receiving relief, 577,122 received outdoor relief. Each union must have at least 1 workhouse, with at least 7 distinct wards, for men, women, children, etc. They are more debt prisons than homes. To-day children are mainly removed and placed in separate schools. Vagrants are committed to "casual wards." In 1900 there were in England 9,400 vagrants. Almost all the urban unions have infirmaries attached. Relief is given to the defective, but blind and deaf-mute children are educated in special schools. For feeble-minded children special schools are also being started, there being 32 such now in London. There are 4 important semipublic institutions for epileptics, the chief being the Chalfont Colony, established by the National Society for the Employment of Epileptics. In 1900 there were 96,865 insane paupers in England; 70,833 were in asylums, 17,460 in workhouses. By 1902 96 county or municipal boroughs had some form of inebriate reformatory for convicted drunkards.

Endowed private charities are very numerous in England, with annual income of many millions of pounds. The Church of England has 74 cottage hospitals and 16 special hospitals. It has 39 convalescent homes, with 26 institutions for training nurses. It has 28 sisterhoods, besides several orders of deaconesses. Connected with it is the "Reformatory and Refuge Union" with 29 reformatory institutions. Its Children's Aid Society aided over 17,000 children up to 1903. Its Society for Providing Homes for Waifs and Strays has 87 homes; it has 73 orphanages, 44 penitentiaries, and 59 temporary refuges for penitent fallen women. The social department of the Church Army has over 100 labor and lodging homes, besides labor registries, food depots, and other agencies; it dealt with 30,000 cases in 1901. The Roman Catholic Church in England has also extensive and varied charities, the most important being the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Other Protestant bodies have less wealth, but in proportion to their wealth have increasing and varied philanthropies. Non-sectarian charities are also abundant. The Dr. Bernardo's homes have 40 institutions, caring for 3,000, besides 3 emigration depots in Canada. There were, in 1902, 29,985 Friendly Societies in England, with a membership of over 11,424,000, and funds of £37,917,702; they are either trade societies or general. The post-office savings-banks, at the end of 1904, had 9,673,717 depositors, and deposits of £148,339,354. Of the depositors, 18 per cent were artisans; 50 per cent women and children. There are also collecting savings-banks: 55 in London.

Australasia.—Considerable outdoor relief is given in Australasia. The sum of indoor and outdoor relief, public and private, in 1900, in the 7 colonies was £1,250,000. There are also many private charities, most of them being aided by the State. There were, in 1898, 3,306 Friendly Societies, with 276,772 members, or 6.24 per cent of the population. There are many ecclesiastical charities, especially Roman Catholic; 11,614 persons were cared for in destitute asylums in one year. There are 278 hospitals. Orphans are mainly provided for by the boarding-out system.

Austria.—Poor-laws differ in different parts of the empire. They were formerly mainly in the care of the Church, but now tend to be trans-

ferred to political officers. No one can claim relief for whom any third party is legally responsible. Recipients are bound to restore the aid when they can. Aid must be limited to that which is necessary for existence, for the care of the sick, and for children. It is usually given in cash. Overseers or visitors (*Armenpfleger*) are not found everywhere. "Certificates of poverty" are required, but abused. In lower Austria the 68 district councils had, in 1904, 1,153 members, with 7,429 overseers (nearly all unpaid), and aided 39,000 persons. In upper Austria the poor commissions are made up of the chief executive of the borough, a priest, and at least three overseers (*Armenwäter*). In Vienna there are 19 districts, each with a district committee, which elects a board of commissioners (*Armenärthe*). There is also a general poor department and another department for orphans. In 1898 there were 1,799 overseers, mainly unpaid. There are many institutions, partly private, but endowed with public funds. In 1899 there were in Vienna 951 endowments, with a capital of 6,140,939 gulden.

There are many Church institutions: Catholic, Protestant, and several of certain knightly orders. Charity organization is backward. There are 1,643 poorhouses (1900). The municipal "Houses of Maintenance" are better. In 1896 there were 602 hospitals with 39,588 beds, and 16 hospitals for children, with 1,114 beds. There are 200 homes, where children are received. The Vienna founding asylum is the largest in the world. There are 488 savings-banks. In 1902 there were 1,440 crèches and kindergartens, with 114,674 children and 231 orphanages with 13,707 children; 1,645 poorhouses with 38,331 inmates. The expenditure for poorhouses alone was 8,817,235 crowns; cost per day about 80 pfennig. The Austrian provinces spent (1903) on hospitals, orphanages, poor relief, 6,487,404 cr.; Vienna and other municipalities, 20,716,964 cr.

Belgium.—There is a system of central inspection and a superior council of relief. Under these each commune is responsible for its relief work, tho weak communes may combine. *Commissions d'Assistance* are created for each commune, or union of communes, with from five to ten members, among which must be a clergyman, an alderman, and a laborer. No salaries are paid, tho the laborer can be indemnified for time lost. Women are eligible. The indigent are divided into those unable to work, those willing to work but unable to find it, and those unwilling to work. To the first class is given relief, indoor relief for the most part. Private charity in Belgium is very great, providing for at least one half of the indigents, but is controlled by the State. For the other two classes there are workhouses, refuges, and schools of charity. The workhouses are for persons able to work, but who do not. The refuges are intermediary between the workhouses and the poorhouses, for those willing to work, but unable to, through sickness, old age, or disability. Persons found begging can be assigned to these for seven years. In 1901 there were 6,384 in these refuges. The schools of charity are compulsory training-schools for youths up to eighteen, who have become vagrants or have committed misdemeanors. The expense for these institutions is divided equally between the State, province, and commune. Very low wages are paid in the workhouses and refuges.

Charity institutions received (1904) in donations 3,069,345 francs.

Canada.—Strictly speaking, Canada has no poor law, and no "poor rates," but the relief institutions, tho mainly private, are largely supported by municipalities. In the cities large numbers receive outdoor relief, usually with some work test. There are in the dominion 75 hospitals, 18 asylums for the insane, with many other institutions of various kinds, for relief or prevention.

Denmark.—The aged poor of spotless character receive a State pension, and their position is in no way dishonorable; they lose no civil rights and do not come under the poor law. They have an attractive house in Copenhagen, with separate rooms for married couples, reading and smoking rooms, etc.; 500 inmates. The other class are placed in an institution where they may work and receive 6 cents a week above cost of maintenance, which is about 25 cents a week. Those unable to work receive 6 cents as a gift. People stay for life; married couples live together.

France.—The prevailing principle is that all charity shall be administered at home, if possible, and institutional aid given only when imperative. Thrift is a national characteristic. In all communes outside of Paris institutions have administrative bodies distinct from the bureau of charities. In Paris a single body, under the Prefect of the Seine and the Minister of the Interior, directs all indoor and outdoor relief. Funds are supplied from gifts and legacies, a direct tax on all places of amusement, the general State funds, municipal appropriations. Private charities have a large and varied development, and cooperate with the State. The *Société Philanthropique* (founded in 1780) has 30 soup-kitchens, 30 dispensaries, 4 for children; 1 hospital, 3 night refuges, homes for the aged, for mothers, for women enceinte, improved dwellings, etc.; 12,000 children are cared for each year. At its refuges 12,000 women are admitted, and work found for about 25 per cent; 5,000 francs a year are given in rewards to honest and industrious workers. The *Œuvre de Bienfaisance*, founded by Miss de Broen (1871), is notable. The *Œuvre de la Chaussée du Maine*, the *Société Française de Bienfaisance de Tunis*, the *Hospitalité Universelle à Nantes et à Paris* are also important. Ecclesiastical charities are numerous, tho secular institutions are growing. Catholic societies relieved in 1901 107,400 persons, and numbered 4,000 according to Abbé Gayraud. A Protestant society is the *Institution des Diaconesses des Églises Évangéliques de France* (1841). There is no charity organization society, but 15,827 *Bureaux de Bienfaisance*, in the communes, control private societies, and in a way unite them as well as administer outdoor relief. Indoor relief, only given when imperative, is well developed. In 1904 France had 1,826 hospitals for the sick, aged, infirm, or infants, maintained at a cost of 157,158,686 francs. They contained 177,880 beds. Most of them have free dispensaries and many free clinics. There are in Paris 28 *Consultations des Nourissons* and many in the country. Asylums and schools for the blind and deaf-mutes were developed in France earlier than in any other country, and in many similar ways France still leads. The national lunatic asylum at Charenton is a model, and Aïnay is a colony for insane men, and at Dun-sur-Auron for insane women. Institutions for dependent children are various. The first crèche was opened at Paris, 1844. *La Maison Maternelle, L'Hôpital des En-*

fants Malades, Ligue Fraternelle des Enfants de France, L'Œuvre laïque du bon Pasteur are typical. The State has established state savings-banks, pawn-shops, and old-age insurance.

The *Bureaux de Bienfaisance* spent (1904) 46,810,251 francs. The orphanages cost 31,074,890 fr. Free medical assistance was given at a cost of 19,913,225 fr.

Germany.—The care of the poor is a legal obligation. Each German citizen must be relieved from misery by the local union (*Ortsarmenverband*) where he is at the moment; but the cost is charged to the district where he last resided for two years without receiving relief (*Landesarmenverband*). Three systems are in vogue: First, the director of the *Armenverwaltung* (civic relief board), often the mayor, through paid officials, examines and relieves cases; this system is disappearing. Second, the board assigns districts to unpaid assistants, who report to the board, and the board decides. Third, the board puts responsibility on the unpaid honor-officials (*Armenpfleger*) to decide what is the best way of meeting each case. It makes them guardians of the cases, and gives them certain districts to watch and prevent the beginnings of evil and want, when it costs much less than to relieve than when it has grown desperate. This is the famous Elberfeld system to-day spreading through Germany. These guardians cooperate and consult. They report to and consult with the *Vorsteher*, or inspector of different circuits, and these report to and consult with the *Hauptverwaltung*, or central body. It is considered an honor to be a guardian, and all classes are drawn from. Only the chairman of the Central Board usually is paid, except the paid clerks, statisticians, etc. In Hamburg there are 1,600 honor helpers and 100 clerks. The relief is mainly outdoor relief (not in institutions), but it is carefully watched. The guardian can give relief of any kind: money, clothing, food, medical attendance. He must relieve necessity at once; but the main aim is economic independence, by finding work. In some cities women visitors are added. The Catholic Church has many societies, brotherhoods, and sisterhoods, especially the Sisters of Mercy, of Vincent de Paul. The *Charitas Verband für das Katholische Deutschland*, with central office at Freiburg, in Breisgau, seeks to unite these. The great Protestant movement is the Inner Mission (*Innere Mission*), the result of the labor of J. H. Wichern, at the Rauhe Haus, in Hamburg (1848). Its aims are spread of the Gospel, parish work, training of children, saving of youth, rescue of the lost, care of the defective and sick, contest with social evils, and social betterment. The Central Committee is in Berlin. Trained deaconesses and agents largely do the work. It has to-day thousands of hospices, or homes, for work-people; nurseries, "mother schools," for the training of domestics; 450 *Herbergen zur Heimath*, or lodging-houses for wanderers (laborers seeking work), workmen's colonies, Magdalene and inebriate asylums, etc., etc.

Great effort is made to coordinate public and private relief. The German Society, *Der Deutsche Verein für Armenpflege und Wohltätigkeit* (1880), is the National Conference of Charities. In 1885 1,078,921 persons were relieved at home; only 288,476 in institutions. The outdoor relief includes medical aid, with paid physicians, trained nurses, care of households, help of women in confinement, care of convalescents, diet for the

sick, etc. It is estimated that in Germany there are 40,000 blind, mainly in special schools or institutions. In 1900 there were 91 institutions for deaf-mutes. The insane are estimated at 1 to every 300,400 inhabitants, with 47 special institutions. In 1903 35,596 children were given a summer outing.

Hungary.—Relief is quite undeveloped, tho recently progress has been made. There are no workhouses, and indoor relief is rare. In 1897 there were 359 hospitals. There were 10,000 communes with no resident physician. There are 105 asylums for orphans and 195 for paupers. In 1897 there were 1,002,369 depositors in savings-banks.

Private charity is extensive, and fairly large sums are given to public institutions by individuals.

India.—Hindus call India "The Land of Charity"; foreigners add "of beggars." The laws of Manu make it the Brahman's duty to beg. There is no poor law. Charity is all private. The government, in time of famine, supplies relief works. In all the principal cities and mission stations Europeans have established Friend in Need Societies or Charity Boards. There are 48 houses for opium refugees. The Lady Dufferin Association has hospitals and dispensaries, lady doctors and medical students. There are probably 500,000 lepers in India; and there are now 47 leper asylums. The largest has 545 inmates. There are 9 asylums and schools for the blind and deaf-mutes, and 23 for the insane; 115 orphanages, and 7 juvenile reformatories. The government is developing large schemes of irrigation, commerce, and industry. It is introducing agricultural banks and postal savings-banks.

Italy.—In each commune there is a Board of Charities, which represents all the interests of the poor in the commune, but leaves them large autonomy. Settlement is acquired by residence without serious interruption for five years. A provincial administrative commission (*giunta*) supervises private institutions, but gives them large autonomy. In 1899 the total sum of funds in *opere pie* (benevolent funds) was over 2,000,000,000 lire. Hospitals have 80,000,000 li.; orphanages, 56,000,000; local charities, 18,000,000; instruction, 2,500,000. In Italy 10,644 brotherhoods have an annual income of 9,400,000 li., from which 1,700,000 goes to administration, 5,000,000 to ceremonies, and 1,700,000 to charities. Provision for the vagrant is inadequate. Hospitals in Italy numbered 1,208 in 1898, including 20 children's hospitals. Schools for the deaf numbered 47 in 1900, and asylums for the insane 128 in 1898. Foundling asylums numbered 113. Begging is forbidden where asylums exist, but the police rarely arrest under this law, and begging is general and persistent, and said to be increasing. The total resources of Italian charity were estimated in 1901 at 150,000,000 li. In 1895 64,700,000 came from provincial or communal subsidies. New legacies for charities from 1880 to 1905 amounted to 415,114,617 li.

Japan has both a central and prefectural system of poor relief. Since 1899 the central fund for relief has been abolished, and the prefectural funds were decreed to have a minimum of 500,000 yen. The deficiency, if any, is made up by the central treasury. In 1904 the prefectures gave relief to the amount of 76,183 yen—shelter, 354; food, 34,826; clothing, 2,363; medicine, 274; provisional dwellings, 22,113; providing work, 15,-

748; miscellaneous, 505. The central government grants relief, however, to the absolutely helpless. In 1904 the total thus expended amounted to 201,398 yen, relieving 18,536 persons. The central government also sustained 2,276 foundlings at the expense of 39,678 yen. Local corporations and private persons have established several workhouses. The famine of 1905 presented extraordinary needs and relief, and the assistance of foreign countries was gladly accepted.

Netherlands.—There are some 7,500 charitable institutions in Holland: 1,200 under civil administration; 3,060 controlled by the churches; 710 for the aged; 712 for the sick. The support of the poor is kept mainly to the churches and private societies, but all must report to the government. In 1903 the number relieved was 177,109, or 3.26 per cent of the population. Of special importance is the Amsterdam society, *Liefdadigheid naas Vermogen* (charity according to means). It covers the whole city in 34 districts, with a superintendent for each. The Society for Public Welfare is also important. The periodical *Tijdschrift voor Armenzorg* covers the whole field. Mendicity and vagabondage are treated as crimes, and persons so convicted are placed in a State-work establishment. A few communes support workhouses.

New Zealand.—Relief is mainly preventive. The government life-insurance does more than one half the life-insurance business, abstainers being placed in a class apart. The old-age pensions law gives a pension to every person sixty-five years of age who has resided twenty-five years in the colony, who is of good moral character, has been sober for the past five years, and whose accumulated property is not over £270. Payments are made through the Postal Department, the cost of administration being only £2,535. The highest amount per person is £26. In 1906 there were 12,583 pensioners receiving £313,081. There are 1,180 various relief institutions. There are 19 benevolent asylums for indigent persons, with 1,167 inmates. "Tramps" are set to work. Beggars are arrested. The needy are aided by relief boards. There are 4 orphan asylums, but the boarding-out system is largely adopted for needy children. In 1905 there were 2,315 inmates of various asylums of whom 1,104 were over sixty-five years of age. Under the First Offenders' Probation Act, offenders are placed under probation officers. The public trustee takes charge of estates where no will is left and funds left for charity.

Norway.—The communes are obliged to give relief. Settlement is gained only by two years of continuous residence. Differences are settled by the ecclesiastical ministry in the courts. The nearest relative must support where possible. Miners must and industrial regions can establish their own poor districts. Each district has a poor commission consisting of the pastor and persons chosen by the communal council. Any citizen may be required to act as a relieving officer without pay. The sources for relief are endowments, gifts, and a State fund, and repayment of expenditures. Institutions are rare, paupers mainly being boarded out. In 1894 only 2,390 were in poorhouses. Idleness and neglect to support a family are punishable by imprisonment or labor in a workhouse. Pauperism is extensive, but seems to be decreasing; 10,967 received only medical aid. Christiania has built a few blocks of artizan buildings and created a fund to be lent

for the purchase of homes. Factory inspection and protection of laborers in mines and handicrafts exist. Child labor is restricted and education insured. Children under fourteen may not be employed in factories, and youths from fourteen to eighteen not over ten hours. Women may not be employed in mines nor with machinery nor for six weeks after confinement. Adult men may not labor after 6 P.M. before a Sunday or a holiday nor till after ten on a Sunday or a holiday.

Sweden.—The duty of relief lies on the communes. Settlement may be acquired by registration with liability to taxation. The nearest relative must support, so far as possible. There is a superior board of administration. The communal board may create a poor commission with at least three members. The parish pastor has a voice. Ancient endowments and gifts are drawn upon, supplemented by a head tax. Methods of relief are left to the communes. Boarding out of paupers is common. In 1904 Sweden had 1,893 institutions for poor relief and cared for 55,890 persons. Pauperism is on the increase. It has grown steadily since 1860, when 132,982 people were cared for, to 1904, when 234,639 received aid; 78,633 from towns; 214 poor farms shelter vagrants and furnish food in exchange for work. Public relief is given to dependent children under fifteen, controlled by boards of guardians.

Switzerland.—The existence of common lands belonging to the communes, formerly used for the benefit of all, but now only for those not having private lands, is thought by some to increase indolence and pauperism. Relief was formerly limited to those inheriting local citizenship, but is now being changed to be given to those having territorial settlement, the registration for settlement is carefully guarded. The State gives a subsidy of 60 to 70 per cent of what is lacking in a commune. The entire State expenditures for poor relief are estimated at 2,000,000 francs. Institutions are largely supported by the State. Only the cantons of Bern and Neuenberg have a poor-law. Private charities and benevolent societies have considerable development, especially The Swiss Benevolent Society and the Basel Association. In inebriate asylums Switzerland is in advance. In 1895 there were 2,107 blind persons, only 350 in institutions. There are 16 institutions for deaf-mutes. In the care of neglected children Switzerland frankly recognizes that the State must take the parents' place. For workmen in search of work Swiss cantons have followed the models of Germany's stations for help and hospices, with even more agencies under police control.

REFERENCES: Edward T. Devine, *The Practice of Charity* (1904); ib., *Principles of Relief* (1904); C. R. Henderson, *Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes* (1901); ib., *Modern Methods of Charity* (1904); Mary Higgs, *Glimpses into the Abyss* (1906); Edith Sellers, *The Danish Poor Relief System* (1904). (See also CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES; POOR LAWS; POVERTY.)

PAWNBROKING: It is difficult to determine the origin of pawnbroking. References are made to it in the Bible (Genesis concerning Judah and Tamar) and by several Greek and Roman writers. It was generally allied with usury, especially during the Middle Ages, when it was largely in the hands of Jews. It was the predecessor of banking. Its career has been one of oppression, and is so still where the public authorities have not interfered and regulated it.

Private pawn-shops were the first in the field. The business is very profitable, since the broker loans on a security assessed by himself. Frequent charges in American cities have been from 30 to 300 per cent. In some cases—kept from the public—they have been greater. What they may have been during the Middle Ages, when the pawnbroker was often the only man with money, and the need of the borrower great, we may surmise from treatment of the Jewish pawnbrokers and their persecution everywhere.

Religious pawn-shops—monts-de-piété—originated in Italy during the fifteenth century in order to counteract the exorbitant rates of money-lenders and save the poorer classes from ruin. In nearly all Latin Roman Catholic countries these institutions do practically all of the pawnbroking.

The *monts-de-piété* were, however, first developed in Belgium by a priest in 1534 at Yprès with the gift of a small sum of money. Bruges followed in 1572; Lille, 1607; Brussels, 1615; Antwerp, 1620. The institution spread rapidly over the provinces and is now doing all the pawnbroking under State supervision. The managing board consists of five persons nominated by the communal council; one of these is a member of the board of charities—Bureau de Bienfaisance—and one of the asylums board—Administration des Hospices. Under the law of 1848 all important matters, e. g., amount and rate of interest, salaries, publication of budgets and accounts, are under the supervision of the communal council. The Constitution provides that profits arising are to be applied—after payment of expenses—successively to the payment of borrowed funds, then to the creation of an endowment, eventually to free loans to indigent persons, and finally to charitable institutions.

The rate of interest charged on loans varies from 4 to 16 per cent per annum. Ghent adds to the minimum of 4 per cent a fixt fee of 2 per cent at receiving and 1 per cent at returning the loan, altho the maximum of either fee is fixt at 1 franc. Brussels charges 6 per cent; Namur, 10 to 16. The loan varies from one half to three fourths of the value of the pledge. The officers are all under heavy bonds—director, 40,000 fr.; secretary, 20,000; cashier, 10,000.

Business transacted in 1895 for Belgium was: articles pawned, 891,756; amount loaned, \$2,135,378; average loan, \$2.39; articles redeemed, 845,617; amount loaned, \$2,061,824; average, \$2.44; articles sold, 37,795; amount loaned, \$100,256; average, \$2.35. The net profit of the *monts-de-piété* for Belgium was: in 1889, \$21,204.91; 1890, \$21,776.96; 1895, only \$12,477.84. Private pawnbroking is prohibited.

France has developed the system of the *monts-de-piété* on lines almost identical with those of Belgium. The only notable exception is that the mayor of the town is ex-officio president of the society—a fact indicative of the close supervision of these institutions by the State and municipalities. The reselling of pawn-tickets is prohibited. Stocks and bonds may be pledged for loans.

In Italy pawnbroking is carried on along the lines of the *monti-di-piété* under State supervision. There were 555 institutions in 1896 with a net capital of 71,986,698 lire; some of the

larger institutions are banks. In Milan the rate of interest is 5 per cent on loans below 10 li.; above, 6 per cent plus 5 per cent for marking, and 2 per cent for storage. In 1896 387,132 articles were pledged for 7,088,369 li. Rome's bank of *monti-di-piété* had (1898) a capital of 3,549,535 li.; loaned 15,000,533 li. on 1,066,146 articles at 4 to 7 per cent. It has 15 branches. The interest in Bologna is 7 per cent; the fund 1,041,051 li.; in 1896 2,389,567 li. were loaned on 208,040 articles.

In Spain the institution is connected with the savings-banks. The pawn-shop advances money at 6 per cent; the savings-bank charges the pawn-shop 5 per cent on money advanced, and pays its depositors 4 per cent. Thus both the bank and the pawn-shop make 1 per cent—sufficient for expenses and a small profit for the increase of capital.

State and Municipal Pawn-shops.—In Germany pawnbroking is conducted by the State, by the *Gemeinde* (parish), or by private persons under State supervision. The Berlin *Königliches Leihamt* is under the protection of the German Reichsbank, which advanced the necessary funds.

The pawn-shop usually advances on two thirds of the estimated value of household goods, four fifths on silver, and five sixths on gold. During the year 1893 the sum of \$1,200,000 was lent on about 220,000 pledges. After payment of all administrative expenses and interest on capital, there remained a net surplus of over \$10,000, which was placed to the account of the reserve fund, and of which the interest is devoted to a charitable institution. Under the State system the interest on loans is 12 per cent, while under private management it is either 12 or 24 per cent, according to the amount of the loan. Under both systems the loan is contracted for six months; under the first, six months' grace is allowed, while under the second four weeks only. The State pawn-office is used by the middle rather than by the very poorest classes. Artizans and tradesmen head the list, widows and unmarried women follow, while day-laborers and factory workmen occupy the third place.

In Austria-Hungary there exists a system of *Versatzämter*, usually under the control of the municipalities, but more or less under the control of the State also. The prototype of them all is the so-called Imperial Pawn-office of Vienna, founded like any other charitable institution and intended solely as such. The Minister of the Interior nominates the officials and sanctions any important matter connected with the management. The original advances have now been paid off; the Imperial Pawn-office is entirely independent, and is annually adding to its cash capital from its own profits. The interest charged is at the uniform rate of 10 per cent. In 1893 the Vienna office received over 860,000 articles, for which it advanced \$2,100,000.

In Holland the State authorized (1826) the creation of pawn-banks (*banken van leening*) under municipal control; the head of the local government is president of the institution, and appoints the directors and officers. The interest varies from 5 to 15 per cent, according to locality, article pledged, and length of loan. A private pawnbroker enjoys the greatest freedom. The law ignores him, and he is thus able to transact his business on his own terms. He frequently buys the tickets issued by the municipal shops, and

thus gets the benefit of the surplus and profit of these institutions, or resells the tickets at an advance. In 1895 the business of the bank at Amsterdam was: Total capital, \$298,908; borrowed capital, \$193,563; surplus, \$6,028; other credits, \$6,588; profits, \$3,528. It loaned \$906,913 on 762,246 articles at rates of 5 to 12 per cent. The total for Holland was: \$2,294,937 loaned on 2,126,245 articles; average loan, \$1.08; articles redeemed, 2,088,531 for \$2,256,204; articles sold, 65,921 with loans of \$64,549; amount outstanding, \$853,616.

England has no municipal pawn-shops, notwithstanding a strong agitation along this line. Private pawn-shops must be licensed, and charge $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for the ticket on loans below 10s., and 1d. above. Interest at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per month on loans under 10s., and 1d. from 10s. to 40s. On sums above a special limit, pawn contracts may be made on terms agreeable to the two parties.

In the United States all the states have laws regulating pawnbroking. Licenses are required as a rule, and the maximum rate of permitted interest varies from 24 to 120 per cent per annum. There are no municipal shops, but a number of incorporated institutions trans-

act business along these lines. The *Collateral Loan Company of Boston* was organized 1859, with a paid-up capital of \$300,000. It charged 1.5 per cent monthly, raised it to 3 per cent, and lowered it later to 1.25. Business in 1861 was: Loans, 7,593; amount, \$226,508; average loan, \$29.83; average interest per loan, \$1.89. The corresponding figures for 1897 were: 52,065; \$818,816; \$15.73; \$1.22. *St. Bartholomew's Loan Association of New York* was established by parishioners of St. Bartholomew's P. E. Church in 1894, under the rectorship of Dr. D. H. Greer. Capital: \$40,275; rate of interest, 1.5 per month. Business in 1896: Loans, 693 for \$38,968; average loan, \$56. In 1906: Receipts, \$100,704; loans, 923 to 955 people; average loan, \$91.12; gross earnings, \$10,000. The society just mentioned awakened a wide interest in loans to the poor with the result that in 1894 (May 21st) the *Provident Loan Association of New York* was incorporated—a society which has become the model of numerous other organizations in cities all over the U. S. Its capital is \$100,000; interest has been lowered from 1.5 per cent per month to 1 per cent; it pays dividends of 6 per cent. Business in 1894—one office: Number of loans, 14,234; amount, \$229,155.50; pledges redeemed, 5,575; amount, \$84,174.50; interest earned on loans, \$7,566.27; expenses and losses, \$15,579.22; net earnings, \$15,579.59; interest on funds employed, \$11,260.65; surplus, \$4,309.94. Corresponding figures for 1906—in five offices—are: 240,321; \$9,612,430; 224,159; \$8,603,659; \$443,389.77; \$104,917.45; 338,472.32; \$172,040.84; \$166,431.48.

The advisability of taking pawnbroking out of the hands of private individuals will appear from this fact: A loan of 65 cents for one week paid interest per annum, in 1894, as follows: Paris, 0; Madrid, 6; Brussels, 7; Berlin, 12; London, 260. It has been proved, moreover, that small shops are not profitable, even at the rate of 100 per cent per annum, while large ones pay good dividends at from 5 to 10 per cent.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: U. S. Bulletin, Bureau of Labor No. 21, 1899. Report of Her Majesty's Representatives Abroad on Systems of Pawnbroking in Various Countries, 1894.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS: In Great Britain at present the members of Parliament receive no salary. This has worked, until recently, to prevent working men and others without income from entering the political arena. Recently this has been in part obviated by the Labor Party, which collects from each labor organization belonging to it, on the basis of two pence for each member of the organization, thus paying to its representatives in Parliament a small salary. (See LABOR PARTY.)

But Labor and Radicals in England have long demanded the payment of a salary, and to-day the demand for it is general. The following table prepared by Sir Edwin Grey is from *The Reformer's Year Book* (1907):

COUNTRY	Salary	Other advantages
Austria.....	16s. 8d. a day during session.	Traveling allowances.
Hungary.....	£200.	£66 house rent. Reduced railway fares. Free railway travel.
Bavaria.....	10s. a day during session.	Free railway travel.
Belgium.....	£160.	One free journey.
Bulgaria.....	10s. a day during session.	Free railway travel.
Denmark....	11s. a day during session (reduced to 6s. 8d. if more than six months).	Free travel on State railways. Nominal fee of 8s. per month on private lines.
France.....	£360.	Free railway passes. Free railway travel.
Germany....	£150.	Free travel.
Prussia.....	15s. a day during session.	Free railway passes. Free railway travel.
Greece.....	£72.	Free travel.
Italy.....	None.	Free travel.
Netherlands..	£166.	One free journey.
Norway.....	13s. a day during session.	One free journey. Medical attendance. Funeral expenses.
Portugal....	None.	Free railway travel.
Rumania....	20s. a day during session.	Free travel.
Russia.....	21s. a day during session.	One free journey.
Servia.....	12s. a day during session.	One free journey.
Spain.....	None.	Cheap railway tickets.
Sweden.....	£66.	One free journey.
Switzerland..	16s. a day during session.	One free journey.
United States	£1,000.	£25 for stationery. One free journey. Free postage, free seed for distribution.

As a general rule members of the upper houses are not paid, but notable exceptions are France, Russia, and the United States. Senators in France and the U. S. are on exactly the same footing in this matter as the deputies or congressmen, while in Russia a seat in the Upper House carries with it a salary of £2.12s. 0d. a day, or more than double the sum received by a member of the Duma.

PEABODY, GEORGE: Merchant; philanthropist; born South Danvers, Mass., 1795; received little education, and entered a store as clerk at an early age. In 1814 he began a dry-goods business in Georgetown, D. C., as partner with Elisha Riggs. He later had establishments in Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia. In 1829 Peabody became head of the firm; in 1837 he removed to England; in 1843 he withdrew from the old firm of Peabody, Riggs & Co., and established a banking-house. He became very rich, and gave away large sums of money. His

gifts, in all, amounted to about \$7,000,000. The freedom of the City of London was given to him, and his statue placed in the Royal Exchange in 1869. He died in London, Nov. 4, 1869.

One of the chief benefactions of George Peabody was the gift of \$2,500,000 to provide dwellings and lodging-houses for the poor of London. Of this £350,000 was given during his life, and £150,000 in 1873 by bequest. The fund was in the form of a trust, and is in care of a secretary and six trustees, one of whom is the United States Minister to England. Their annual report for 1890 is an interesting document and proves beyond question the wisdom of Mr. Peabody and the value of a good gift wisely bestowed. The fund which in 1873 was £500,000 has grown by the addition of rents and interest to a total of £1,023,446. The land and buildings under the care of the trust are valued at £1,233,845. Up to the end of the year there had been furnished to the artisan and laboring poor of London 5,071 dwellings, 75 having four rooms, 1,789 three rooms, 2,401 two rooms, and 806 one room. The average rent of each dwelling was 4s. 9d. per week, and of each room 2s. 1d.; the rent in all cases including the free use of water, laundries, sculleries, and bath-rooms. The highest rent charged is 7s. 6d. for some of the four-room dwellings. The dwellings are not in a group, but are scattered over the city, apparently being placed where they will do the most good. That the plan of cheap dwellings contributes to the health as well as to the comfort of the poor appears from a glance at the vital statistics. The death-rate in 1889 was 21.15 per 1,000, or .85 per 1,000 above the average for all London, but this was exceptional, the cause being an epidemic which last spring visited the sections where some of the dwellings are located. The infant mortality was 141.22 per 1,000, or 21.37 below that of all London. The births were 38.49 per 1,000; 9.41 above the London record. The trustees' report also gives the employment of each tenant, and the list covers nearly 100 trades and occupations from expert artisans to unskilled laborers.

PEACE CONFERENCE, THE HAGUE: A conference called by the Czar Nicholas II. of Russia for the consideration of means and measures by which wars might be avoided, and peace promoted. All civilized nations were invited to send delegates. One hundred delegates met, May 18, 1899, and held a number of sessions between that date and July 20th. The net results of the deliberations were: (1) The prohibition of the use of projectiles or explosives from balloons for five years; (2) the prohibition to employ projectiles which diffuse suffocating gases dangerous to life; (3) the prohibition to employ dum-dum bullets which expand or flatten in the human body. The conference also passed six resolutions, of which the most important was that relating to international arbitration, and which made a deep impression on the civilized world. A permanent Court of Arbitration was created, which has settled a number of disputes amicably; the first of these was that between the United States and Mexico concerning the Pius Fund Claims, in 1902.

The moral effect of the first peace conference at The Hague was so great that a second conference was called for June 1, 1907, by Queen Wilhelmina at the initiative of the czar. The sessions began June 15th, with a much larger attendance of delegates and a more favorable and appreciative public all over the civilized world. The conference was in session for eighteen weeks, and the net results were embodied in the following conventions adopted unanimously:

1. The peaceful regulation of international conflicts.
2. Providing for an international prize court.
3. Regulating the rights and duties of neutrals on land.
4. Regulating the rights and duties of neutrals at sea.
5. Covering the laying of submarine mines.
6. The bombardment of towns from the sea.
7. The matter of the collection of contractual debts.
8. The transformation of merchantmen into warships.
9. The treatment of captured crews.
10. The inviolability of fishing-boats.
11. The inviolability of the postal service.
12. The application of the Geneva convention and the Red Cross to sea warfare, and
13. The law and customs regulating land warfare.

"The right to sign these conventions will be open until June 30, 1908."

In addition the conference has made declarations and adopted resolutions as follows:

First. That balloons shall not be used for the throwing of explosives.

Second. A recommendation in favor of obligatory arbitration.

Third. A recommendation regarding the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration.

Fourth. A resolution concerning the limitation of armaments.

Fifth. The convocation of the third conference.

Sixth. The prohibition of unnecessarily cruel bullets in warfare.

Seventh. The cooperation of all countries in the building of the Palace of Peace.

The third conference is to meet in 1915 by resolution adopted in the last session.

PEACE SOCIETY, THE: Founded in London in 1816, it has, therefore, been at work ninety years; and its history and results are largely seen in the position of the great question of peace to-day. (See INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION; PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE.) The society thus sets forth its objects:

1. To promote to the utmost of its ability permanent and universal peace throughout the world.

2. To diffuse information tending to show that war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the true interests of mankind.

3. To indicate the manner in which Christian principles may be reduced to practise in the relations of states.

4. To advocate the adoption of practical methods of settling international disputes without recourse to arms, such as international arbitration, a High Court of Nations, a proportionate and simultaneous reduction of armaments, etc.

5. To oppose the increasing tendency to militarism, which is so fatal to national prosperity and progress.

6. To advocate a reduction of ruinous war expenditures, and thus to lessen the burden which oppresses the peoples of Europe, and especially the working classes.

7. To promote the study of these and similar questions likely to assist in the formation of a healthy public opinion.

The president of the Peace Society is Robert Spence Watson, LL.D.; the secretary, W. Evans Darby, LL.D. The Society publishes monthly *The Herald of Peace and International Arbitration*. Secretary's address: 47 New Broad Street, London, England.

PEACOCK, SIR ALEXANDER JAMES: Sometime Premier of Victoria; born at Creswick, Victoria, June 11, 1861. Member of legislature since 1889; minister without portfolio, 1890-92; Minister of Public Instruction and sometime Postmaster-General, 1892-93. Chief secretary and Minister of Public Instruction, 1894-99; chief secretary and Minister of Labor, 1901-2. Premier Feb., 1901-June, 1902; member for Victoria of National Convention which framed the Commonwealth Constitution, 1897-98. Prominently identified with Australian Native Association movement and several times president of the board of directors. Was grand master of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of Victoria, 1900-5. Address: 339 Collins Street, Melbourne, Creswick, Victoria.

PEASANT REVOLT (1377-81): An uprising of the English peasantry under the leadership of Wat Tyler (*q. v.*), Jack Straw, and the priest John Ball (*q. v.*). The immediate cause of the revolt was the imposition of an unjust poll-tax, which was to be exacted equally from the poorest as well as the richest; but many other influences had prepared the way for an outbreak. The teachings of John Wyclif and his "poor priests" had very largely emancipated the minds of the laboring

classes from the unjust authority of Church and king. John Ball (*q. v.*), called by the rich "the mad priest," had for years been circulating his leveling doctrine: "When Adam delved, and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" In 1348 the Black Death had swept over England, carrying off more than half its population, and being especially severe among the poorer classes. As a result there was great scarcity of laborers, and for the first time they found themselves masters of the situation. The demand for workers was twice as large as the supply, and they soon began to reap the benefits of this condition of things. The villeins suddenly became conscious of their strength, and even dared to oppose their masters. The lords and landowners, then as now, at once called for the aid of the law, and enacted what is known as "The Statute of Laborers." This provided that no laboring man or woman, whether bond or free, should leave the parish in which he or she lived, and should receive the same wages as before the Black Death. All the lawyers in the country were set to work undoing the movement of emancipation which had been in progress before the plague. It was found impossible to enforce the Statute of Laborers, for men were at this time too scarce and valuable to be put to death or imprisoned, and too poor to pay the fines levied upon them. However, oppression followed oppression until the poll-tax, in 1377, forced the exasperated peasantry to arms (June, 1381). The revolt spread like wild-fire over the country, and for a time the peasants carried everything before them, burning the records of their serfdom, and killing every lawyer who fell into their hands. The poorer artisans of London opened to them the gates of that city. They destroyed the palace of John of Gaunt and the houses of the wealthy; they burst into the Tower and beheaded the Bishop of Canterbury, but abstained from plunder, calling themselves "seekers of truth and justice, not thieves or robbers." They were finally met by the boy king, Richard II., who promised to free them and their lands forever, and called himself their leader. They believed his promises and gradually dispersed, the assassination of their leader, Tyler, seeming to deprive them of unity and decision. The king then gathered a large army and marched through the land, ruthlessly executing hundreds of the working people and their leaders, and declaring his promises null and void. In this he was supported by the Parliament, which was composed of landowners. The peasants' revolt was, nevertheless, not a failure. It created a healthy respect and fear for the might of united and indignant serfs, and struck feudalism its death-blow. During the century and a half after the revolt, villeinage died out so rapidly that it soon became a rare and antiquated thing. Sixty years after a workingman's wages commanded twice the amount of the necessities of life which could have been obtained under Edward III.; while one hundred years after came what is usually called the "Golden Age" of English labor.

REFERENCES: Knight's *Popular History of England*, vol. ii., chap. i.; Rogers's *Work and Wages*, chap. ix., and Ashley's *English Economic History*, pt. ii., chap. iv., for opposing views.

PEASANTS' WAR, THE: The name usually given to the revolutionary uprising of the peasants of southern and central Germany in 1525. The miserable condition of the German serfs,

the appropriation of the common pasture lands by the lords, the refusal of the lords to let their tenants fish in the streams or hunt in the woods, the increase of ground-rent, of socage service, and of tithes, had led to small uprisings in Germany, all through the later Middle Ages. The *Bundschuh* (the shoe), which had been universally adopted as the symbol of these uprisings, had become known through all Germany; yet the revolts had been weak and easily put down. When, however, the Reformation gave the people a new impetus and a new hope, the peasants thought that now was their opportunity. They even at first looked to Luther to lead them. They pleaded the communistic practises and principles of early Christianity. The peasants rose with religious zeal. The twelve principles they formulated show this. They were: (1) The right of the peasantry to appoint their own preachers, who were to be allowed to preach the word of God from the Bible. (2) That the dues paid by the peasantry were to be abolished, with the exception of the tithes ordained by God for the maintenance of the clergy, the surplus of which was to be applied to general purposes, and to the maintenance of the poor. (3) The abolition of vassalage as iniquitous. (4) The right of hunting, fishing, and fowling. (5) That of cutting wood in the forests. (6) The modification of socage and average service. (7) That the peasant should be guaranteed protection from the caprice of his lord by a fixt agreement. (8) The modification of the rent upon feudal lands by which a part of the profit should be secured to the occupant. (9) The administration of justice according to the ancient laws, not according to the new statutes and to caprice. (10) The restoration of communal property illegally seized. (11) The abolition of dues on the death of the serf, by which the widows and orphans were deprived of their right. (12) The acceptance of the aforesaid articles, or their refutation as contrary to the Scriptures. Karlstadt and some of the Reformers joined the peasants. Luther, Melancthon, and others denounced them. Münzer accused Luther "of deserting the cause of liberty and of rendering the Reformation a fresh advantage for the princes, a fresh means of tyranny." The uprising began in Upper Swabia in the autumn of 1524, and gradually spread. When the convent of Kempten was captured by the peasants, Jan. 1, 1525, the uprising became general from the Alps to the Hartz, and from the Rhine to Bohemia. With the exception of Thomas Münzer (*q. v.*) and Götz von Berlichingen, a notorious robber knight, the peasants had no leaders. They simply gathered in large masses of from 8,000 to 30,000 men. They captured and plundered castles and monasteries, often with great cruelty. As soon, however, as they met disciplined armies, in the south under Truchsess von Waldburg, and in the north under Philip of Hesse, they were defeated. The peasants captured Waldburg, but could not hold it. The insurrection of Münzer, the prophet of the Anabaptists (*q. v.*) in Thuringia, broke out later in 1525, but in a few months all was over. The peasants were put down and punished with terrible cruelty. The whole country became one scene of devastation; even young children were cast "as Lutheran dogs" to the flames.

REFERENCES: Cornelius's *Studien zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs* (1862); Schreiber's *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg* (1864); Menzel's *History of Germany* (translation, 1853).

PEASE, EDWARD R.: Socialist; general secretary of Fabian Society; born at Bristol, England, 1857; his education was conducted by a private tutor. Intended by his parents for a commercial occupation, he became a stock-broker in London; but led by the study of social conditions and principles, gave up this position in 1886, and became an apprentice to the cabinet-making trade in a cooperative company, spending his spare time in studying labor questions, economics, and socialism. In 1883 he was one of the most active in organizing the Fabian Society (*q. v.*), the first meetings being held in his rooms, and in 1886 he became for a time its secretary. He traveled later in the United States, returned to England, and became a member of the Alliance Cabinet-makers' Trade-Union, secretary of the National Labor Federation, and a most active worker in labor organization and reform. In 1890 Mr. Pease became paid secretary of the Fabian Society, and has remained so till the present. The work of the society had become so extensive as to oblige him to devote all his time to its interests. Besides his secretaryship he is editor of the *Fabian News*. Both he and his wife, Marjory Davidson, were active members of the Society of the Friends of Russian Freedom. He took part in founding the Labor Party (*q. v.*) and has been a member of its executive and a trustee of its parliamentary fund from the beginning; he was also a founder and governor of the London School of Economics, now a part of the London University, and of an associated body, the British Library of Political Science. He is author of "The Case for the Municipal Drink Trade." Address: 3 Clements Inn, Strand, London, England.

PEFFER, WILLIAM ALFRED: Ex-United States senator from Kansas; one of the leaders of the Populist Party (*q. v.*); born in Cumberland County, Pa., 1831; removed to Indiana 1853, and engaged in farming; enlisted in the war 1862-65; began law practise in June, 1865; removed to Kansas and established local journals; elected to State Senate 1874; editor of the *Kansas Farmer*, 1881; elected to U. S. Senate as Populist, defeating Senator Ingalls, 1891-97; Prohibition candidate for governor, 1898; since then mainly engaged in literary work. Author, among other works, of "Rise and Fall of Populism in the U. S." (1900). Address: Topeka, Kan.

PENOLOGY (for statistics see **CRIME**): Etymologically the word penology means the science of punishment; but it has gradually come to have a broader meaning as representing the body of principles and practises relating to the repression and prevention of crime and the treatment of the offender. It includes in its scope the study of social conditions which foster crime, the structure and administration of criminal law, the police power, the study of the offender, both as to environment and heredity; it relates also to the treatment, discipline, and correction of offenders with or without imprisonment and to measures for the rehabilitation in society of the discharged prisoner.

The history of penology is a history of the legal codes or standards written or unwritten which society from the most primitive times has prescribed for social regulation, and a history of the methods of punishments by which they were enforced. Many of these codes and punishments

are now obsolete; but the traditions of retributive justice and of social vengeance which the early codes represented are still embodied in penal theories and practise. In the writings of Plato, in the teachings of Jesus, a principle is enunciated which has become fundamental in the new penology, namely, that, combined with the protection of society, the fundamental object of law, all punishment should be disciplinary and corrective. The Emperor Julian and Pope Clement XI. were also heralds of the new order.

But its two most prominent apostles whose work and influence mark most distinctly the difference between the old conception and the new were Beccaria (born 1738), an Italian nobleman, and John Howard, an English squire, born in 1726. Beccaria's work on "Dei Delitti e delle Pene" ("Crimes and Punishments") was first published in 1764, when the author was but twenty-six years of age. Translated into nearly all European languages its influence was felt throughout the civilized world. Frederick the Great had already abolished torture and it had been discontinued in Sweden; but to Beccaria is due the chief credit of its general abolition in Europe. John Howard, though twelve years older than Beccaria, began his special work nine years later. He had already had personal experience of the barbarities suffered by prisoners of war and had raised his voice against them. In 1773 he was made high sheriff of the County of Bedford in England. The abuse of the fee system and the wretched condition of Bedford Jail led him to inspect other English jails. His observations were extended over the Continent of Europe and embodied in a work entitled "The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations; and an Account of Some Foreign Prisons." This work stirred up great interest and sympathy, and gave an initial impulse to the work of prison reform which was strengthened by the subsequent labors of Howard. Another distinguished prison reformer was Elizabeth Fry, born 1780 near Norwich, England. Her prison visiting, beginning at Newgate, extended to the Continent.

The work of Howard and Elizabeth Fry stimulated effort in two directions: it aroused public sentiment to the necessity of an improvement of the physical and moral conditions in prisons; it developed increased interest in the discharged prisoner. Their writings show, however, that they had a firm grasp of what are now recognized to be fundamental principles of penology. They also stimulated an organic movement which led to the organization of prisoners' aid societies in Great Britain and this country.

What may be called the more scientific stage of penology, due both to the work of eminent theorists and practical exponents of enlightened prison administration, came later. A leader of reform on the Continent was Vilain XIV. of Flanders, whose influence Howard recognized. In Great Britain the man who initiated the most distinct departure in prison administration and whose work was founded on a philosophic conception of penological principles was Captain Alexander Maconochie, a British naval captain of Scotch birth. He had a genius for managing men. His various writings show that he was abreast of the best modern thought as to the application of reformatory influences and methods. He had a limited opportunity to apply his ideas

at Norfolk Island, one of the South Pacific islands, 900 miles east of New Zealand, where he had command of a colony of 1,400 men from 1840-44, achieving remarkable success. Sir Walter Crofton, a man gifted with similar genius, applied with great success reformatory ideas to the Irish prison system. In the United States the acknowledged leader in what is known as the reformatory system is Mr. Z. R. Brockway, whose experiments in Michigan at the Detroit House of Correction were afterward fully developed at the Elmira Reformatory, New York.

Distinguished among the leaders and exponents of penology in this country have been Edward Livingston, Dr. E. C. Wines and his son Dr. F. H. Wines, General R. Brinkerhoff, Charlton T. Lewis, Charles Dudley Warner, Charles R. Henderson, and others. Notable leaders in Europe were Montesinos in Spain, Count Sollohub in Russia, Mittermaier in Germany, Dr. Guillaume in Switzerland, Demetz and Bérenger in France, Wichern in Hamburg, Ducpétiaux in Belgium.

The first international prison congress was held in Frankfurt in 1845, and a second was held at Brussels the following year. It was due, how-

ever, to the zeal of Dr. E. C. Wines that the International Prison Congress was reorganized and established on a permanent basis in 1870. Authorized by a resolution of Congress

of the U. S., Dr. Wines visited Great Britain and the most prominent countries of Europe, and secured the cooperation of foreign governments and experts. Under his presidency a congress was held in London in 1872; a second convened at Stockholm in 1878. Subsequent congresses at intervals of five years have been held at Rome, St. Petersburg, Paris, Brussels, and Budapest. The eighth congress will be held in Washington in 1910. These congresses have brought together eminent jurists, prison directors, prison physicians, and representatives of child-saving work and of societies for aiding discharged prisoners. The National Prison Association of the U. S. held its first meeting in 1870, and in 1883 was reorganized and has since held annual meetings.

La Société Générale des Prisons of France was organized in June, 1877, and has had great influence on the development of penological ideas in Europe.

The International Society for Criminal Anthropology has occupied a more limited field, confining itself mainly to the study of the criminal; and there is also an international society for the study of criminal law. These organizations, state, national, and international, concerned with the problems of law, anthropology, prison science, and the prevention of crime, have broadened their studies so as to cover the wide field of sociological investigation.

A crime in its simplest definition is an offense against public law to which a penalty is attached. The offense must be defined by law and the penalty affixed. Offenses in most countries are divided into felonies, misdemeanors, and infractions of local or police ordinances. The terms felony and misdemeanor no longer have their original force in Great Britain and the U. S. Originally a felony denoted offenses the penalty of which involved forfeiture of goods; this meaning of the word has long since disappeared. The distinction now between these words lies not so much in the nature of the of-

fense as in the punishment imposed. In most of the codes of the U. S. a felony is a public offense which may be punished by death or imprisonment in the penitentiary; all other offenses are misdemeanors. So far as the duration of the punishment is concerned the sentence for a misdemeanor may last longer than that for a felony. It was formerly assumed that a sentence to a penitentiary or state prison was a much severer punishment than a sentence to a county jail. This is no longer true. A sentence to a first-class penitentiary, so far as the real welfare of the prisoner is concerned, is a much milder punishment than a sentence to many county jails for the same length of time. Offenses are likewise grouped differently in different states. Variations in penalties for the same offenses in different states are very great. From time to time penalties rise and fall like the variations of the thermometer. A study of criminal codes shows that there is no general principle upon which they are established; both with reference to the classification of crime and the penalties attached they are a maze of contradictions. They serve to show, however, to some extent the categories of offenses which are now considered dangerous to society. Many offenses which were crimes in the Middle Ages, such as witchcraft and heresy, are obsolete. On the other hand our statutes teem with offenses to-day of which the ancient or medieval world was entirely ignorant. They grow out of the complexity of our civilization. Such offenses as the stealing of electricity for use as light or power, or the tapping of a telegraph-wire to get information, or violations of the sanitary code as to expectoration, are purely modern. The enactment of laws creating new offenses before people have been educated up to the new standard of civilization involved, leads to violations of law by many people who must be regarded as of average normality. Such offenders cannot be reduced to a purely criminal type; their offenses may result merely from ignorance or lack of development.

A capital defect of all of our criminal codes is in the wholly arbitrary character of the penalties imposed. They are supposed to be deterrent and exemplary, but it is impossible to measure the deterrent force of penalties. As a matter of fact our codes still embody the retaliatory principle of imposing so much suffering for a given offense. The remedy for these arbitrary penalties is in the indeterminate sentence, the principle of which is explained later on.

Ancient codes imposed the same penalties on all offenders alike. The punishment was fitted to the offense, not to the offender. In modern times criminal procedure and the application of penalties have been modified by a study of the offender. According to the code of New York a child under seven years of age is not considered capable of committing crime. A child between the ages of seven and twelve is presumed to be incapable of crime; but the presumption may be removed by proof that he has sufficient capacity to understand the act or neglect charged against him. The dividing line between legal minority and legal majority in New York and in most states is sixteen years of age. Persons who are idiotic, imbecile, lunatic, or insane are likewise excluded from punishment. The distinctions thus made in the law open the way for more minute study of the offender.

Organic Movement

Study of the Criminal

Criminal Codes

Gall and Spurzheim, the founders of phrenology, gave an impulse to the cranial study of criminals, and the studies of Lombroso, Ferri, and others have widened the field of their observation. Broca founded the Anthropological Society in Paris in 1859, and has been regarded as the founder of the modern school of criminal anthropology. Under Lombroso, Ferri, and Garofalo, Italy has since taken the lead in this matter. Lombroso's conclusions, however, are contradicted by French and German anthropologists, and have not as yet been productive of any practical results in criminal procedure or the treatment of offenders. More fruitful results may be expected from the application of psychology to the study of offenders when this new science shall have become more fully developed. It is not possible as yet to distinguish between the accidental offender and the born criminal merely by physiological or anthropological tests. The existence of a purely criminal class has as yet not been demonstrated; but beyond doubt a great many confirmed criminals belong to a degenerate or undeveloped class. The best work done by the criminal anthropologist is in insisting on the importance of the study of the offender because it throws light upon the conditions which produce him and upon the influences necessary for correction.

Theories of responsibility, partly metaphysical and partly theological, influence criminal law and penalty and the treatment of the offender. The necessity of inflicting punishment, in order that the prisoner may expiate his offense by a certain amount of suffering, is still maintained by conservative writers. Others justify punishment only as deterrent and exemplary. The newer penologists, while ascribing some deterrent value to the infliction of penalties, consider the prime office of punishment to be the protection of society and the correction of the offender. These are fundamental principles of the new penology. With the question of retribution under this view society has nothing to do; and punishment is replaced by discipline.

The question of responsibility or limited responsibility in cases of alleged insanity has become prominent in celebrated criminal cases in the U. S. The code of New York follows the English law based on the McNaughton case, and does not excuse from criminal liability any person who knew the nature and quality of the act he was doing and knew that the act was wrong. This definition does not cover acts of paranoiacs who know what they are doing, but are impelled by irresistible delusions, and does not protect society against dangerous cranks. There is need of a more elastic and effective criminal procedure, not in the interest of setting the dangerous crank at liberty, but for the better protection of society by placing him under control.

Modern penology devotes much attention to the causes and prevention of crime. Instead of focusing attention wholly on the responsibility of the offender to society, it is necessary to consider the responsibility of society to the offender. The influence of heredity and environment are important factors. Bearing on this subject, the study of the Jukes family by Dugdale is an excellent illustration of effective sociological investigation. Lombroso and Ferri

and Quetelet maintain that crime is likewise influenced by climate and temperature. Among the recognized causes of crime are war, financial depression, broken family ties, vagrancy, intemperance, bad homes, insufficient number of schools, and child labor. Among preventive agencies are education, civic improvement, recreation centers, parks, playgrounds, the drama, kindergartens, boys' clubs, live churches, manual training, and an efficient police. Of all causes of crime, alcoholism is the most frequent, and as yet the problem of the effective legal treatment of drunkenness has not been solved. The only radical cure is the reduction of intemperance by education.

Probation.—Under ancient systems of punishment imprisonment was but little used. The imposition of fines, mutilation, and death took its place. Imprisonment as a penalty is an essentially modern practise. A notable departure from it has been made in suspending the sentence and giving the offender another opportunity

Treatment

without imprisonment. This system was first developed in the State of Massachusetts, where it began to be applied in 1878. It is now a recognized part of the judicial system of that state and has an extensive application to adults. A probation officer, whose salary is paid by the state, is authorized in every criminal court. In the form of a suspended sentence and without the important feature of investigation and surveillance secured through the probation officer, France and Belgium have adopted the system. In France in 1905 39,000 cases were placed under suspended sentence. Statistics for a number of years show that less than 4 per cent default. In England excellent results have been obtained from the First Offenders Act, and efforts have been made to introduce probation officers. New York and other American states have followed the example of Massachusetts. Probation saves the state the cost of imprisoning the offender and leaves him free to work for himself and family. In cases where fines are imposed they may under the probation system be paid in instalments to the probation officer. Restitution in cases of petit larceny by returning the value of the article stolen is also obtained through probation.

Juvenile Courts.—Another important contribution to modern penology made by the U. S. is the development of children's courts. Starting in Chicago in 1899 it has sprung up in city after city and state after state, and has been introduced in England, France, and Switzerland, and the agitation is going on in other countries. In the juvenile court children are taken out of a purely criminal process and committed to one which is educational, and the court becomes part of the child-saving community.

Indeterminate Sentence.—The principle of the indeterminate sentence is now generally accepted by penologists in the U. S. It is a far-reaching principle which affects the action of the court, the administration of prisons, and the prisoner after his release. The court is relieved from the arbitrary penalties prescribed by the code or from the necessity of determining just when a prisoner shall be discharged. Advocates of the indeterminate sentence regard the fixing of a time by the judge for the prisoner's discharge as irrational as it would be for a doctor to name the date for the discharge of a patient on committing him to a hospital. The relief afforded to the

Criminal Anthropology

Responsible

Causes of Crime

court in not being obliged to impose arbitrary time sentences is but a small part of the value of the indeterminate sentence. Its most important service is in connection with a reformatory system to which the prisoner must be submitted. In fact, without such a system the indeterminate sentence has no significance. It implies the commitment of the prisoner to influences which shall develop him physically, morally, and intellectually, which shall evoke and direct his powers, educate brain and hand, reveal to him aspects of social duty, teach him the value of money, train him in habits of industries and social responsibility. It implies also that the offender shall be released only conditionally until he has proven his capacity during a period of trial to live in society a law-abiding life. In this country the indeterminate sentence was first applied to the Elmira Reformatory. It is applied now to nearly all sentences to reformatories for adults in the country. It has been extended in some states to prisoners sentenced to state prisons. Generally the maximum time for which the prisoner may be held is the maximum penalty fixt in the code. A much larger number of states have adopted the feature of conditional liberation (parole laws), without, however, developing the marking and grading system which furnishes the ladder by which the prisoner climbs to freedom. The question of the prisoner's release is determined by the board of parole, and very often by insufficient information derived from his purely negative conduct while in prison. The U. S. and nearly all the states have laws providing for the reduction of the sentence for good behavior; but the tests of good conduct are few and insufficient compared with those furnished under a marking and grading system as illustrated by Maconochie and Crofton and developed by Brockway of Elmira.

In the paragraph above we have mentioned some essential features of the reformatory system.

Reformatory System The New York State Reformatory at Elmira was opened in 1876. Similar institutions have been established in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Colorado. Reformatories for women exist in Massachusetts, Indiana, and New York. In addition there are some fifty reformatories for juveniles in the U. S. Adult reformatories on the Elmira plan have not been established abroad, but there are excellent reformatories for minors in nearly all European countries; one of the best of which is at Kassa, Hungary, and another, under De Sanctis, at Pisa, Italy.

Other Prison Systems.—While reformation is the aim of nearly all modern prisons, there is a difference of opinion as to the systems through which it is to be effected. Early in the last century the separate system was established at the Eastern Penitentiary, Philadelphia. Under this system prisoners are assigned to separate cells and have separate yards in which to exercise. The cell is also their workshop. The Eastern Penitentiary has remained the only example of this system in the U. S., but it is the prevailing system in Belgium, and has been partially adopted in France and Italy, or combined with the congregate system.

The Auburn system with congregate labor by day and separation of prisoners by night is the prevailing system in the U. S. without rigid ad-

herence to the rule of silence, and has also been widely followed in Europe. The different prison systems naturally involve different types of construction. The best modern types of the cellular system are found in Europe. In some Southern states state farms have been bought and prisoners are worked in the day at agricultural labor and live in stockades at night. In Alabama they are worked in the mines under state control.

While progress has been made in the development of penological principles their application has been much slower. Progress during the last century is most evident in the following directions: The substitution of a reformatory for a retributive system; the abolition of cruel punishments; the new attention given to the study of the criminal, his environment and history; the separation of accidental from habitual criminals; probation without imprisonment for first offenders, with friendly surveillance; the establishment of children's courts; the appointment of police matrons; the humane treatment of the criminal insane; the development of an anthropometric system for the identification of prisoners, especially the Bertillon system and later the system of finger prints; a higher standard of prison construction and prison administration; the improved personnel in prison management; extension of the civil-service system to the state prisons; new and better principles of classification; separation of the sexes, and young and old offenders; improvement in prison dietaries and sanitation; the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis in prisons; the recognition of labor as a disciplinary and reformatory agent; a general allowance to the prisoner of some share in his earnings; the abandonment of transportation in nearly all civilized countries; substitution of death by electricity for hanging in capital cases, and also the abolition of public execution, and in some countries of the death penalty; the development of the reformatory system in the U. S. for both sexes; the system of conditional liberation found in its best form in the indeterminate sentence; and the new emphasis laid upon preventive instead of punitive or corrective measures, with an increased consciousness of social responsibility.

SAMUEL J. BARROWS.

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PENSIONS: A pension is a regular payment of money to a person by the government in consideration of past services in its employ.

Pensions were formerly granted in the United States only to enlisted men of the army or navy who had suffered during our various wars, except in a few special instances. But in 1869 an act was passed providing pensions at the rate of their salary to U. S. judges who have served ten years and resigned at seventy years or upward. Pensions have also been granted to the widows of former presidents. Employees in the life-saving service, in the quartermaster's and pay-

charge come all matters relating to pensions, and who is appointed by the president, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; two deputy commissioners, a chief clerk, an assistant chief clerk, a law or appeal clerk, a board of legal reviewers, a board of medical reviewers, special examiners, examiners' clerks, copyists, messengers, laborers, and watchmen.

The pension laws since the Civil War have been too numerous and too complicated to be given here, but the growth of our pension list till it has become the chief expense of the government, is seen in the following table:

[From the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Pensions]

YEAR (ended June 30)	Number of pensioners on the rolls			First payments	Pensions, exclusive of first payments	Total disbursements for pensions	Cost, maintenance, and expenses
	Invalids	Widows, etc.	Total				
				Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
1862.....	4,341	3,818	8,159			790,384.76	
1863.....	7,821	6,970	14,791			1,025,139.91	
1864.....	23,479	27,050	51,135			4,504,010.92	
1865.....	35,880	50,100	85,986			8,525,153.11	
1866.....	55,652	71,070	126,722			15,450,549.88	407,165.00
1867.....	71,856	83,618	155,474			20,784,789.69	490,977.35
1868.....	75,957	93,686	169,643			23,101,599.36	553,020.34
1869.....	82,959	105,104	189,063			28,513,247.27	504,526.81
1870.....	87,521	111,163	198,686			29,351,488.78	600,997.86
1880.....	145,410	105,392	250,802	12,468,191.20	44,221,037.88	56,689,229.08	935,027.28
1890.....	415,054	122,290	537,944	38,721,866.03	67,371,984.36	106,093,850.39	3,526,382.13
1900.....	752,510	241,019	993,529	9,828,525.07	128,633,005.58	138,462,130.65	3,841,706.74
1905.....	717,761	280,680	998,441	8,940,064.00	132,202,797.33	141,142,861.33	3,721,832.82
1906.....	701,483	284,488	985,971	6,152,182.67	132,848,105.58	139,000,288.25	3,523,269.51

master's departments, and nurses have also received them. Private pension bills are often passed, but by far the largest number of pensioners of the U. S. are such under general laws.

The U. S. pension system may be said to commence with the resolution of Congress dated Aug. 26, 1776, by which the Continental Congress undertook to provide for disabled soldiers of the Revolution. From June 7, 1785, to Sept. 29, 1789, the several states assumed the payment of pensions by a recommendation of Congress on account of its inability to raise money by taxation. After the adoption of the new Constitution, Congress resumed their payment by annual enactments, making them payable during the life of the beneficiaries, under the acts of March 23, 1792, and Feb. 28, 1793.

Pensions were not provided for the children of Revolutionary soldiers. The first act providing pensions for disabled officers and soldiers of the regular army was passed April 3, 1790, and its provisions were renewed and amended from time to time until they were embodied in the act of March 16, 1802, which is now the fundamental law for pensions on account of disability incurred prior to March 4, 1861.

By Act of March 3, 1835, the office of Commissioner of Pensions was created for two years.

History

It was extended from time to time, and made permanent in 1849. He was to execute, under the direction of the Secretaries of War and Navy, such duties in relation to the various pension laws as might be prescribed by the president.

On March 3, 1849, the pension office became a bureau of the newly created Department of the Interior. As at present organized its affairs are administered by a commissioner, under whose

The following amounts have been paid to soldiers, their widows, minor children, and dependent relatives on account of military and naval service during the wars in which the U. S. has been engaged:

War of the Revolution (estimated).....	\$70,000,000.00
War of 1812 (on account of service, without regard to disability).....	45,542,069.24
Indian wars (on account of service, without regard to disability).....	8,260,143.38
War with Mexico (on account of service, without regard to disability).....	38,059,245.23
Civil War.....	3,259,195,306.60
War with Spain.....	15,438,355.16
Regular establishment.....	7,229,312.82
Unclassified.....	10,135,878.80

Actual total disbursements in pensions, \$3,459,860,311.23

Pensions in other countries are granted to many more classes of persons than in the U. S., tho to soldiers on a very much smaller scale. In Great Britain pensions are given to judges of the higher courts, to many other occupants of civil offices, to distinguished authors, scientists, inventors, or to their widows and families. The budget for army retired half-pay in Great Britain for 1906-7 was £2,558,000; navy, £2,460,700; civil service (non-effective and charitable), £800,345, or £5,819,045.

In most other European countries the pension list is still more varied and inclusive. Germany's pension budget estimate for 1907 was 91,259,000 marks. (See OLD AGE PENSIONS.)

PEONAGE: The holding of a man in forced labor till his debts are paid, a form of slavery prevalent in South America and Mexico, and spreading to some of the Southern states of the United States. In some states it exists with

connivance of the law—where a man may be imprisoned for debt, or be allowed to work off his indebtedness. The following illustrates a common form: A negro is fined for a real or fictitious offense; he is warned that he must go to prison or into the chain-gang unless he pays the fine; a seemingly benevolent man is always ready to pay it, and in return for this kindness the prisoner—usually innocent of the art of reading—puts his sign under a contract which “binds him out” to his liberator for a certain length of time. Where this practise is in vogue, from 50 to 200 or more men are usually “bound out” to the employer, who has his own store, where the slaves are charged “fancy” prices, and who manages to keep them continually in debt, with the result that at the end of their servitude the men must either go to prison or sign a new contract; an endless chain is thus started.

The practise came into use in the U. S. after the Civil War. Chattel slavery was abolished, but the negro was still ignorant, and subject to exploitation. In a story told in *The Independent*, Feb. 25, 1904, by a sufferer, and vouched for as true in an introductory statement of the editor, these facts were revealed: that one man was sold in peonage in his eighth year—for his “keep” by his uncle—and stayed till his twenty-first year, and then was held successively for five, ten, and finally three years, until he was “put out” for reasons which reflected not on his morality, but on that of one of his keepers. Into this camp the owner brought at first forty convicts, for each of whom he paid \$200 per year to the state of Georgia, later about sixty. They were quartered in a long, low shanty, called the stockade; guarded night and day by officers of the law. In other instances, according to the same witness, “free” laborers, i. e., those who have tried to work off their debts, have fared little better. Whippings on the bare back or on the soles of the feet are resorted to in case of disobedience. Work is “from sunrise to sunset,” i. e., from ten to twelve hours per day. There are a number of these convict camps, the state leasing its prisoners, and helping to recapture them in case of escape, but the number of places where negroes are held in bondage in payment of debt is said to run into the hundreds.

The Public, in its issue of June 27, 1903, stated that two prosecutions for peonage were before the federal courts, one in Alabama, the other in Georgia; and on July 17, 1903, the federal grand jury returned 99 indictments against 15 persons for enslaving negroes under the peonage system. A similar system is practised against poor whites who are friendless, altho with less frequency. On March 8, 15, and 16, 1906, the Boston press gave the names and addresses of three men from that city who had been shanghaied and kept in virtual slavery on the Florida keys; one of these men claimed that he knew between forty and fifty Boston men in the same condition and place, unable to escape (*Boston Post*, March 15, 1906).

The trial of Bertha Claiche in the summer of 1903 brought out the fact that a number of immortal women are held in virtual slavery in New York City. *The Outlook* (July 18, 1903), commenting on the ruthlessness and the cynic attitude of some employers who pay starvation wages, said that “if it were true that cotton cannot be raised by free labor, it would not alter the resolve of the nation [to stamp out the evil]. If we cannot have both cotton and liberty, we will have liberty, and get along without cotton.”

PEOPLE'S PALACE: An institution at Mile End, London, established by John Beaumont in 1840 to furnish the people of East London opportunities for education and recreation. The bequest of Beaumont was badly managed until Sir Edmund Hay Currie took charge of it, and raised £45,000 in addition to the £12,000 still left. In 1882 Walter Besant's story of a “Palace of Delight” in “All Sorts and Conditions of Men” attracted the attention of many people to the institution and gave it the present name. In 1890 the Drapers Company took charge of the educational work, and in 1892 this corporation voted £7,000 annually. The Charities Commission contributes £3,500.

The People's Palace has extended its activities every year since Besant became a trustee. A permanent building—Queen's Hall—was opened by Queen Victoria, May 14, 1887, and other buildings have been erected since. The activities now comprize *entertainments*—given in a large hall, with a seating capacity of 4,000, and a fine organ; *instruction*—given in laboratories, class rooms, libraries, machinery rooms, etc.; *physical culture*—provided by numerous athletic clubs, swimming-tanks, cricket-grounds, etc.; *sociality*—in reception-rooms, dance-halls, etc.

The institution has a day-school limited to 500, preparing for technical courses. The evening classes embrace all kinds of subjects, dress-making, music, languages, commerce, physics, art in relation to crafts, etc. Refreshments are served. The Palace is open to members from 3 to 10 P.M.; the library all day to everybody, Sundays 3 to 10. All kinds of exhibitions have been given on the premises with success. The clubs and classes number over 4,200.

The People's Tabernacle in Jersey City, N. J., has established a People's Palace, chiefly for amusement and recreation.

PEOPLE'S PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES: In 1884 Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts was nominated for the presidency by the Anti-Monopoly Party at Chicago, and by the Greenback Labor Party at Indianapolis. He received some 133,000 votes. This common ticket of the two parties was known as the People's Party ticket. The People's Party, however, best known to-day, is quite another and a larger party. Its first direct impetus came from Kansas, tho there had been wide-spread talk of such a party. (See *FARMERS' ALLIANCE*.)

In April, 1890, the Kansas Alliance officers met to consult as to a new political party, and called for a delegate meeting in June. At this delegate convention the People's Party of Kansas was organized.

An enthusiastic state campaign resulted in carrying the state to the extent of controlling the House and defeating the reelection of Senator Ingalls, and sending to Washington the Alliance advocate, Senator Peffer. This success largely led to the sending out of a call to all parties willing to cooperate in holding a national convention in Cincinnati, May 19, 1891. This met,

and 1,418 delegates were present.

History

Of these more than one quarter were from Kansas alone, and more than three quarters from six states, Kansas, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Nebraska. The organized labor of the East was scarcely represented. Mr. Powderly, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, was present and

in sympathy with the movement but not a delegate.

In accordance with the vote of this convention, a nominating national convention was held at Omaha, Neb., July 4, 1892, concluding its labors on July 5th. By its action the People's Party was launched. The greatest enthusiasm was displayed.

The names of Gresham and Weaver for president had been prominently before the convention, but General Weaver won on the first ballot, receiving 995 votes. General Field, of Virginia, was nominated for vice-president.

The platform declared for the union of the labor forces of country and cities; for the nationalization of railroads, telegraph, and telephone; a full legal-tender currency, "safe, sound, and flexible"; the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at a ratio of 16 to 1; a graduated income tax; postal savings-bank; all land not in actual use to be reclaimed by the government and held for settlers only. The convention also declared itself in favor of reducing taxation, liberal pensions to the soldiers, the restriction of undesirable immigration, reduction of the hours of labor on government work, the Australian ballot, and as condemning the fallacy of protection, the Pinkertons, and other evils.

The total popular vote for the party in 1902 was 1,041,028 with 22 electoral votes (Colorado, 4; Kansas, 10; Idaho, 3; Nevada, 3; North Dakota, 1; Oregon, 1). The largest state votes were: Kansas, 163,111; Texas, 99,688; Alabama, 85,181; Nebraska, 83,134; Colorado, 53,584; North Carolina, 44,736; Georgia, 42,937; Missouri, 41,213. In 1904, taking the State elections

Vote of 1892

and estimating at the presidential vote the states in which there were no elections, the People's Party claimed 1,564,318 votes, led by Texas with 159,224; North Carolina, 148,344; Kansas, 118,329; Nebraska, 97,815; Georgia, 96,888; Minnesota, 87,931; Alabama, 83,283; Colorado, 82,111; Illinois, 59,793; California, 51,304; Ohio, 49,495.

In Congress the Populist strength in the Fifty-third Congress (March, 1893-95) was five senators and ten representatives; in the Fifty-fourth Congress (March, 1895-97) five or six senators and six or seven representatives; in the Fifty-fifth Congress six senators and sixteen representatives.

In 1895, in an off year and with a light vote, the People's Party slightly lessened its vote in Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Massachusetts, and New York, and somewhat increased it in Minnesota, Mississippi, Ohio, and Texas.

In 1896 the Democratic Party (*q. v.*) having adopted a platform favoring free silver at a ratio

Election of 1896

of 16 to 1, and so far inclining to some other Populist demands that it was continually called a Populist platform, the People's Party convention at St. Louis, July 24th, voted, after a prolonged and heated debate, to support the Democratic nominee, Mr. William J. Bryan, the nominating a vice-presidential candidate of their own, Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia. A heated minority claimed that this result was gained by political intrigues of the Democratic leaders. (For the election see **PRESIDENTIAL VOTE**.)

In 1900 the so-called "Middle of the Road" Populists, who refused to fuse with the Democratic Party, nominated Warton Barker and Ignatius Donnelly, but only polled 50,373 votes. Since then the party has practically ceased to exist, tho a national committee still exists of which James H. Ferris, of Joliet, Ill., is chairman.

PÉRIN, HENRI XAVIER CHARLES: Belgian economist; born at Mons (Hainaut), 1815. Educated at Louvain, was in 1844 chosen to the chair of political economy and law in the Catholic University of Louvain, occupied this position

thirty-seven years, retiring as emeritus professor in 1881. His work on the "Laws of Christian Society" is prefaced by a pontifical breve, dated Feb. 1, 1875, full of unqualified praise from the pope.

Périn founds social order on Divine authority, but he trusts to the moral influence of the Church rather than mechanical obedience to her laws, as pronounced *ex cathedra*.

Périn allows that, in exceptional cases, repressive measures by the State are necessary; but under ordinary circumstances, he thinks, the preventive measures proposed by Christian socialism, in its endeavors to revive the moral force of self-restraint and self-denial, will prove sufficient. He acknowledges the impossibility of returning to medieval forms of corporate union, but strongly recommends the revival of that principle of Christian love which inspired them.

He is author of "Les Economistes, les Socialistes, et le Chrétianisme"; "De la Richesse dans les Sociétés Chrétiennes"; "Le Socialisme Chrétien."

PEROVSKAYA, SOPHIA: Russian revolutionist; born 1854. Tho a member of the aristocracy, the despotism around her early roused a hatred of oppression and desire to protect the oppressed. In 1869, refused permission by her father, she ran away from home, determined to study and know for herself. The wider horizon led to the conviction that the present social arrangements were on a wrong basis, and indicated socialism as the remedy. Meeting with others who shared similar views, they joined themselves into a secret "circle" for the purpose of propaganda among the young; later, in 1871, upon her suggestion, the propaganda was turned in the direction of the working men. In 1873 Sophia Perovskaya was arrested in St. Petersburg; after being imprisoned for a year she was released, but had to go to the Crimea; where for three years she was practically a prisoner in her own home. In 1877 she was brought to trial, in the "trial of the 193," and was acquitted—but instead of being allowed to go free, was exiled to one of the northern provinces. Escaping soon afterward, she returned to St. Petersburg, and again took up work for the revolutionary cause. In all the terrorist enterprises, from 1878 till her death in 1881, she took an active part; often being the director of the most desperate of them, such as the Moscow mine which was to blow up the imperial train, and the attempt which succeeded in assassinating the czar on March 13, 1881. A week later she was arrested, and on April 15 was hanged with Kibalcic, Geliakhoff, Timothy Micailoff, and Rissakoff. In person very beautiful, and only twenty-six when she died, she was, with it all, of so kindly and loving a nature that all with whom she worked entertained for her the warmest regard and personal loyalty. (See **NIHILISM**.)

PERU, SOCIALISM IN ANCIENT: Peru in ancient times included a vast extent of territory on the Pacific slope of South America. It was inhabited by many different tribes and nations, all, however, under the scepter of the Incas. The Peruvians seem to have been, in many respects, the most civilized of all the native inhabitants of America, and certainly came the nearest of any to the formation of a true nationality. It is probable that four tribes of the Andes table-land, the Quichuas, the Incas, the Canas, and the Canchas,

formed the nucleus of the nation. From the first comes the name of the ancient language of Peru, Quichua. The second tribe, the Incas, was probably the conquering tribe, and hence became the rulers, or ruling caste. The career of conquest of this tribe or caste, according to native annals, began with the first Inca, Manco Capac, about 1280 A.D.; and before the time of the arrival of the Spaniards the petty state had developed a great empire. It extended from a point north of the equator to Chile, a distance of 2,700 miles, and its area was more than 800,000 sq. m.

The government of the Incas was a despotism, a theocracy, and a unique example of paternal and State socialism. At the head was the Inca, an absolute monarch, but more than a monarch—a god-king, a living incarnation of the sun. Next to him came the nobility, who were regarded as superior beings, and by whose aid the Inca governed the people.

The empire was the result of military conquest and occupation. As peoples were subdued, the laws and even the language of the Incas were imposed on them. The government was secured by an elaborate system of military roads and defenses. Each province had a viceroy appointed by the Inca. Cieza de Leon, an early chronicler, says of the great highway from Cuzco to Quito, that the roads made by the Romans in Spain are not to be compared with it. An elaborate system of couriers made communication with different parts of the empire easy. This military system was carried also into the industrial organization. There was no private property; everything belonged to the State, and everything was managed by the State. It was a communistic despotism. Of the entire produce of the nation two thirds went to the Inca, the nobles, and the priesthood as taxes, one third only to the people, altho they were the only producing class.

In regard to the details of industrial organization Fiske states ("Discovery of America," vol. ii., p. 353):

Families and villages were organized upon a decimal system, like companies and regiments. The average monogamous family of five persons was the unit. Ten such families made a *chunca*, ten *chuncas* made one *pachaca*, ten *pachacas* one *hwaranca*, and ten *hwarancas* one *hunu*, so that a *hunu* was a district with a population of about 50,000 persons. Each of these decimal subdivisions had its presiding officer, who was responsible directly to his immediate superior, and ultimately to the Inca. The decurion was obliged to perform two duties in relation to the men composing his division. One was to act as their caterer, to assist them with his diligence and care on all occasions when they required help, reporting their necessities to the governor or other officer, whose duty it was to supply seeds when they were required for sowing; or cloth for making clothes; or to help to rebuild a house if it fell or was burned down; or whatever other need they had, great or small. The other duty was to act as crown officer, reporting every offense, how slight soever it might be, committed by his people, to his superior, who either pronounced the punishment or referred it to another officer of still higher rank ("Garcilasso," lib. ii., cap. xii.).

The land belonged to the village community (*chunca*). It was redistributed at times to maintain equality.

Land was divided into *tupus*, one *tupu* for each family, with additions for children. All the farming operations and those of irrigation were supervised by the decurion. If a village suffered from war, or pestilence, or earthquake, other villages were assessed to repair the damage.

It is remarkable that such an artificial system, originally intended for a petty State, could have been adapted to a large empire made up of many different peoples. But it must be remembered that these peoples had not reached a

high grade of culture; the social organization was simple, to begin with. There was little division of labor, and little extension of human wants. Exchange was limited, for there was no money of any kind and trade was by barter. Fiske explains the existence of the Inca State socialism by the theory that the establishment of the ruling caste took place before there had been much development of the idea of private property among the people.

Notwithstanding the complete repression of individual liberty under the Inca government there are great excellencies to be ascribed to it. Of these, the chief is that poverty and idleness were entirely abolished. Every one worked, and every one was taken care of by the State. Prescott, tho inclined strongly to individualism, says ("Conquest of Peru," vol. i., p. 173):

With their manifold provisions against poverty the reader has already been made acquainted. They were so perfect that in their wide extent of territory—much of it smitten with the curse of barrenness—no man, however humble, suffered for the want of food and clothing. Famine, so common a scourge in every other American nation, so common at that period in every country of civilized Europe, was an evil unknown in the dominions of the Incas.

In another passage he says ("Conquest of Peru," vol. i., p. 63):

If no man could become rich in Peru, no man could become poor. No spendthrift could waste his substance in riotous luxury. No adventurous schemer could impoverish his family by the spirit of speculation. The law was constantly directed to enforce a steady industry and a sober management of his affairs. No mendicant was tolerated in Peru. When a man was reduced by poverty or misfortune (it could hardly be by fault) the arm of the law was stretched out to minister relief; not the stinted relief of private charity, nor that which is doled out, drop by drop, as it were, from the frozen reservoirs of "the parish," but in generous measure, bringing no humiliation to the object of it, and placing him on a level with the rest of his countrymen.

The system of the Incas produced in many respects an industrious and happy people. Yet it fell to pieces before the Spanish invaders, with wonderful rapidity, because there was nothing in it to nourish patriotism and independence in the people.

Modern socialism, dealing with the complex problems of a highly developed civilization, can learn little from Peru, where the state of society was primitive and the conditions entirely different. The State socialism of the Incas was unlike anything that ever existed elsewhere, or is likely ever to exist.

REFERENCES: See the books quoted.

PETRUNKIEVITCH, IVAN ILYICH: Member of the Russian Duma; Constitutional Democrat; representative from the Jver Province; born in 1844; ex-justice of the Court of Peace (1869), and chairman of the Court of Appeals (1879). One of the most prominent zemstvo workers in Russia. Member of the Chernigov Provincial Zemstvo (1868); editor of the zemstvo address to the government (1879). Banished for it to the Kostrama Province. Member of the Novotorzek Province Zemstvo (1890). Member of the deputation to the czar, June 6, 1905.

PETTY, SIR WILLIAM: Author; born Romsey, Hampshire, England, 1623. He sided with Parliament in the Civil War. In 1651 he was professor of anatomy at Oxford, but in 1652 was appointed physician to the army in Ireland, and about 1654 executed by contract a fresh survey

of the forfeited lands granted to soldiers. He bought large tracts of land and established various industries. In 1663 he invented a double-bottom boat. He was knighted after the restoration.

Petty anticipates or at least gives germs of some conclusions of Ricardo and Adam Smith. One of his leading thoughts was that "labor is the father and active principle of wealth; lands are the mother." He divides population into two classes, the productive and non-productive. The value of any commodity depends, with him, on the amount of labor necessary for its production. He chooses as his unit of value the average food of the cheapest kind required for a man's daily sustenance. He opposes government control of interest, and industry generally. Died in London, 1687. A study of Petty, by W. L. Bevan, was published by the American Economic Association, Aug., 1894. He is author of "Quantulumque; or, a Tract Concerning Money"; "A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions"; "Essays on Political Arithmetic"; "Political Anatomy of Ireland."

PHILADELPHIA: Legislation.—As a result of the decisive defeat of the Republican organization at the polls in the Nov., 1905, election, a special session of the Pennsylvania Legislature was called by the governor to enable it to undo its earlier work and to enact the several laws long demanded in the interest of reform.

This special session, which met on Jan. 15, 1906, and adjourned on Feb. 15th, was one of the most remarkable legislative sessions ever held in any state in the union. It was unique in the annals of Pennsylvania in that it was the only special session that carried out the purpose for which it was called together. It was composed of the same men who at the regular session in Jan., 1905, had servilely executed the orders of the bosses. Yet the same men who had enacted the ripper legislation of 1905, which called forth indignant protest in every part of the state, as unanimously repealed it at the special session. Every item mentioned in the governor's call received the sanction of legislative enactment with a single exception—that of the State Civil Service Bill, which, altho it received a majority vote, did not receive the 103 votes required by the Constitution.

The record of the session includes the passage of the Greater Pittsburg Bill, Senatorial and Legislative Apportionment (which had been delayed and postponed for twenty years and more), the enactment of the Roberts Corrupt Practices Act; the Sheatz Personal Registration Bill for cities of the first and second classes, and the Third-Class City Personal Registration Bill; the Uniform Primary Act; the Jackson Bill, regulating the deposit of state funds, the bill fixing the salary of the insurance commissioner at \$6,000 in lieu of \$3,000 a year and enormous fees; the bill fixing the salary of the Secretary of the Commonwealth at \$8,000 in lieu of \$6,000 and large fees; the Philadelphia Civil Service Bill; the bill making a new salary schedule for the Insurance Department; the Sherman bills—one restricting political activities of municipal employees of Philadelphia, the other prohibiting municipal employees from soliciting campaign funds; the bill limiting to \$750,000 the annual expenditures for state bridges in lieu of the present loose law which permitted the expenditure of an indefinite amount practically at the dictation of the Bridge Trust.

The personal registration bills, requiring the personal registration of each voter in advance of the election, represented the culmination of ten years of unremitting effort on the part of reformers of the state. The Sheatz Uniform Primary Bill provides for direct primaries of all parties on the same day under the control of the general election-day officers. The Political Assessment Bill provides that no officer, clerk, or

employee in the government of Philadelphia shall demand, solicit, correct, or receive, or be in any manner concerned in demanding, collecting, or receiving any assessment, subscription, or contribution; nor shall any such officer, clerk, or employee give any contribution intended for any political purpose to any person, corporation, committee, or association.

The Roberts Bill, patterned somewhat after the law in England, aims to prevent corruption by means of publicity. While it places no limits upon a candidate's expenditures, it does provide that he must under oath report his campaign expenses. It requires that all expenditures must first pass through the hands of the treasurer of a committee who must account for every expenditure made.

The regular session of 1907 has likewise a considerable list of excellent legislation to its credit, altho its failure to enact an adequate child labor law will be remembered as one of its most unfortunate shortcomings.

Among other acts a two-cents-a-mile bill was passed and a railroad commission established. Numerous measures intended to give force and effect to constitutional provisions, long ignored, were placed on the statute-books, including one forbidding a railroad corporation to acquire in any way the control of any street passenger railway corporation owning or controlling a parallel or competing line. The Italian Emigration Society's bill, to authorize school boards to open special schools for adults in districts where there is a local desire for them, was passed. A most important measure enacted related to the better protection of children under the age of sixteen; still another extended and defined the liability of employers in actions for negligence.

Investigations.—The scandal growing out of the erection of the \$13,500,000 state capitol was diligently and carefully probed by a committee of the legislature, upon the initiative of Governor Edwin S. Stuart, who pledged himself to that end during his campaign. Gross overcharges and negligence on the part of the architect, builders, and supply men have been disclosed. Both criminal and civil suits have been brought, and the cases may be brought to trial in 1908.

Municipal Utilities.—The city of Philadelphia is completing its \$17,500,000 filter plants and it is expected they will all be in running order within two years.

Municipal Utilities The gas question has been settled for twenty years. In 1905 an effort was made to extend the present lease for seventy-five years upon grossly inadequate terms. Not only was this proposition defeated, but its introduction led to the revolution in Philadelphia politics which resulted not only in the defeat of the Republican organization at two elections, but compelled it to put up men of high personal character and attainment at the Nov., 1906, election.

The gas lease of 1897 provided that the city might at the end of ten years give notice of the termination of the lease and by paying what had been expended for improvements during that period, take over the plant again. The councils of the city refused to give the notice and to advertise for new bids, so the present lease will continue for the remainder of its term—twenty years.

All electric lighting is done by a private concern, which represents a merger of all the original companies.

All the street-car systems are now under one company—the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company.

Parks, Boulevards, and Playgrounds.—The development in Philadelphia along these lines

during the past decade, and especially the last four or five years, has been rapid and satisfactory.

**Progress
on Other
Lines**

A \$2,000,000 art museum at the park end of the boulevard is projected.
Law and Order.—The high license law and the Law and Order Society are responsible for a very rigid enforcement of the liquor law so far as the licensed saloon is involved. There are very few violations on this score. There are more in connection with places for the illicit and illegal sale of liquor known as the "speak-easies," but the Law and Order Society is equally vigilant as to these and they are fairly well kept in subjection. The same may be said in regard to the social evil, altho the new administration has not been in office a sufficiently long time to enable a general statement in regard to its policy to be made. There has been a great improvement, however, in all that relates to the enforcement of law and order over the conditions prevailing during the Ashbridge administration.

Philadelphia has its full quota of effective charitable, reform, and social organizations. For some years past these have been well sustained and they have contributed to the creation and maintenance of a sound public opinion on important questions of policy.

INSTITUTIONS

Charity Organization, southeast corner Eleventh and Walnut Streets.
Central Labor Union, Odd Fellows' Temple.
City Club, 1418 Walnut Street.
Civic Club, 1611 Walnut Street. (Composed of women.)
College Settlement, 433 Christian Street.
Public Education Association, 1427 Chestnut Street.
Christian Social Union, 704 North American Building.
Child Labor Committee, 708 North American Building.
City Parks Association, Stephen Girard Building.
Allied Organizations, Stephen Girard Building.
Young Men's Christian Association, Fifteenth and Chestnut Streets.
Committee of Seventy, West End Institute Building.
Socialist Labor Party, 809 North Sixth Street.
Eighth Ward House, Ninth and Locust Streets.
Law and Order Society, 920 Walnut Street.
Octavia Hill Association, 708 North American Building.
Election Reforms Committee, 703 North American Bldg.
City Party, 1205 Walnut Street.
Women's Directory, 210 South Seventh Street.
Playgrounds Association, City Hall.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: Ceded to the United States by Spain, Dec., 1898. The government is composed of a civil governor, who is the chief executive, and seven commissioners (four Americans and three Filipinos), who form the legislative body. There are four executive departments: Interior, Finance, and Justice, Commerce and Police, and Public Instruction, of which the American commissioners are secretaries. The islands are divided into 40 provinces, each with a governor and other officials, the governors being elected by the town councillors. Municipal government exists in over 900 towns, the officials being elected by the qualified voters. There is a municipal police and a military insular police of about 7,500 natives under American and native officers. There is a supreme court with sixteen judicial districts.

Area and Population.—1,700 islands (342 inhabited, 50 of appreciable importance). Total area, 115,026 sq. m. Luzon has 40,969 and Mindanao 36,292 sq. m. The total population (1903) was 7,635,429, of whom 647,740 are uncivilized. Those born in the Philippines are 6,931,548; Chinese, 41,035 (only 517 females); Americans (civilians), 8,135 (1,215 females); Spaniards, 3,888; of the uncivilized tribes, the Mohammedans (Moros) in Mindanao and the Sulu islands

are the most numerous, 277,547; the Igorotes of northern Luzon are 211,510 and the Nigritos 23,511. Luzon has a population of 3,798,507 (223,506 uncivilized). Manila, the capital, has 219,941 (Filipinos, 189,782; Americans, 4,389; Spaniards, 2,528; Chinese, 21,230).

Commerce and Finance.—Revenue (1905), \$16,110,248. Expenditures, \$17,933,162. Customs revenue, \$9,177,380. Exports (1906), \$31,917,000. Imports, \$25,799,000. Exports to the U. S., \$11,579,000; imports from U. S., \$4,334,000. The imports from Great Britain are almost equal to those from the U. S. The principal exports are hemp, sugar, copra, tobacco. The chief imports are rice, flour, wines, dress, petroleum, coal.

Fifty-seven per cent of the males are employed in gainful occupations; of these 16 per cent are engaged in agriculture, 21 per cent in domestic and personal service; 12 in manufacturing and mining; 7 in trade and transportation; 1 in professional service. Two thirds of the factory operatives are in Manila and suburbs, including Cavite, mainly cigar or cigarette makers. Their average earning is 434 pesos per year (\$82). The cultivated land is mainly held by native owners in very small holdings, an average of 8.57 acres, compared with 146.6 in the U. S. The climate is tropical and the difference between cultivated and non-cultivated land is often slight. In the country districts, however, there seems little or no beggary or distress. The wages of field hands on the sugar plantations are from 42 to 63 cents per week, besides keep, which costs little (70 cents per week). Wages have risen since 1893, but cost of provisions has also risen. The planters have lost through the lower price of sugar. Peonage of various kinds is common, and slavery still exists. There are 120 miles of railway and 720 of telegraph, but franchises have been granted for 720 miles of railway, on 295 miles the government guaranteeing 4 per cent interest on construction and equipment for a period not to exceed 30 years.

Education and Religion.—Under the Spaniards education was meager, tho they did something, and the government had begun technical and agricultural instruction. In 1883 about 21 per cent of the population could read, tho less than 5½ per cent could speak Spanish. From 1883 to 1903 males who could read and write rose from 208,500 to 735,561; females from 101,273 to 267,624; males able to read only rose from 327,984 to 1,161,325; females from 270,234 to 1,049,508. Technical education is rapidly increasing. In 1905 there were over 3,000 schools and 514,631 enrolled pupils, with 25,000 adult night pupils. There were 865 American teachers and 4,400 Filipino teachers. Private schools are mainly in the hands of the Catholics, but the government has bought the lands of the friars (some 403,000 acres), and is selling to the occupants, the friars fast leaving for Spain or Italy.

Trade-unions are making a small beginning in Manila, but Victor S. Clark, writing on "Labor Conditions in the Philippine Islands" (*Bulletin of Bureau of Labor*, May, 1905), says the main need is of a wage system, not to raise wages, but to increase production and develop the individual. (See also TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS.)

REFERENCES: *Report of the Philippine Commission* (3 vols., 1905); F. W. Atkinson, *The Philippine Islands* (1906); J. Foreman, *The Philippine Islands* (3d ed., 1900); Victor S. Clark, *Labor Conditions in the Philippine Islands* (*Bulletin of U. S. Bureau of Labor*, May, 1905).

PHILLIPS, WENDELL: Abolitionist, orator, and reformer; born in Boston, Mass., 1811. His father was first Mayor of Boston in 1822. Educated at Harvard, he was called to the Suffolk bar

in 1834. The agitation on the slavery question was at its height. It was in 1835 that a Boston mob, moved by the commercial spirit, dragged Garrison through the streets by a rope. This event made a profound impression on Phillips, and in 1837 he identified himself with the antislavery cause. In a Faneuil Hall meeting, called to protest against the murder of Lovejoy, he made an eloquent speech. Believing, like Garrison, that slavery was a national sin, he gave up his profession because it required the observance of an oath of fidelity to the United States constitution and consecrated his life to the fight against slavery. He did a great work for years in the North by his wonderful eloquence, but also spoke with perhaps equal power on temperance, the emancipation of women, and labor reform.

Phillips, as has been said, advocated the doctrines of the Garrisonian abolitionists, who believed the constitution of the U. S. to be an immoral compact between freedom and slavery, and who therefore refused allegiance to it, abstained from voting, and labored for the dissolution of the Union as the best means of negro emancipation. When the war came he urged, from the beginning, the duty of emancipation, and he even opposed the reelection of Lincoln, because the latter did not go far enough. In 1865 Garrison proposed that the Anti-Slavery Society should be disbanded. He had been its president for thirty years. But Phillips wished the society to exist for the purpose of securing for the negro his constitutional right of suffrage. Hence he took Garrison's place, and after full citizenship was won for the negro, in 1870, he resigned the office of president, tho he continued to work for the removal of race distinctions in public resorts, etc.

Phillips now turned his attention to other social reforms. The sufferings of the working classes had made a deep impression upon him, and he became an advocate of thorough social and economic reform. In 1870 he was the candidate of the Labor Reform Party for Governor of Massachusetts, and later favored the Greenback Party and worked with it. Harvard College had ignored Phillips, but in 1881, when he was seventy years old, he was selected to deliver the address on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa society.

As an orator Phillips is easily in the very first ranks of those whom America has produced. As a social reformer he was devoted and unselfish, and his work was fruitful in the highest degree. He died at Boston, 1884.

PHILOSOPHICAL ANARCHISTS. See ANARCHISM.

PHYSICAL DEGENERATION: A subject largely discust in Great Britain during recent years. During the South African War, out of 12,000 would-be recruits in Manchester, 8,000 were rejected as virtually invalids and only 1,200 could be regarded as fit in all respects. General Sir Frederick Maurice declared that, according to the best evidence he could obtain, out of every five recruits only two were found fit after two years' service. These and other similar statements arrested general attention. The Government appointed an Inter-Department Commission to inquire into the whole subject of physical deterioration among the masses. This commission issued a report (the first volume in 1904) recommending the systematic and periodic taking

of measurements among school children, in factories, etc., the registration of other data, etc., and for relief, drastic measures against overcrowding, the establishment of labor colonies, education in hygiene and against alcoholism, etc. Progress in degeneration was not proved because of the lack of statistics, and was denied by some, but most of the witnesses heard (Charles Booth and others), believed it had taken place. The great difficulty was declared to be underfeeding and improper feeding. In one quarter of London, the Johanna Street schools, Dr. Eickholz, the medical examiner, declared that 90 per cent of the children were unable to attend to their lessons by reason of their physical condition. Thirty-three per cent had to be fed by voluntary agencies. From the recruiting returns for 1900, out of 52,022 laborers, agricultural laborers, and servants, 285 per 1,000 were rejected; out of 11,971 artisans, 290 per 1,000; out of the smiths, masons, and carpenters, 260 per 1,000; out of the clerks and shopmen, 306 per 1,000. (See also POVERTY.)

REFERENCES: *National Physical Training*, Atkins, J. B. (1904); *Physical Efficiency*, Cantlie, James (1906); *Physical Deterioration*, Smyth, A. Watt (1904).

PHYSIOCRATS (from Gr. *φύσις*, nature, and *κρατία*, rule): A name given to a school of French economists and philosophers which arose in the eighteenth century, largely led by François Quesnay (*q. v.*), 1694-1774. The distinguishing doctrines of the physiocrats were that a so-called natural constitution or order exists in society, the violation of which causes all the evils suffered by man; that in this natural order man has a fundamental and inalienable right to freedom of person, opinion, property, contract, or exchange. The physiocrats held that all wealth is derived from the soil, thus denying the principle of the mercantilists (*q. v.*), who virtually held that wealth consists in the precious metals. Labor expended in manufacture or in commerce the physiocrats held to be sterile, tho useful, in that, while it transferred or transformed wealth, it did not produce it. Thus, conceiving all wealth to be produced from the soil, they argued that all revenues for the State should be derived by a direct tax on land, and thus became the predecessors of the believers in the single tax (*q. v.*). They advocated complete freedom of trade and *laissez-faire*. Their influence on their day and succeeding thought was very deep, altho not always acknowledged. Adam Smith (*q. v.*) seems to have imbibed and to have been influenced by very many of their ideas. For the details of their school and its leaders, see their respective names (see also **POLITICAL ECONOMY**). Dr. Gustav Cohn, in his "History of Political Economy," translated by Dr. J. A. Hill, says of the school as a whole:

The French philosophical school of the eighteenth century, which deserves the lasting honor of having founded a science of economics, was at first much ridiculed by its contemporaries and later—on account of its growing influence and questionable conclusions—much abused. . . . It is none the less true, as Knies declares in his reply to Hildebrand, that "however little credit they may get for it in the popular tradition, much of their thought—tho presented to be sure in the name of Adam Smith—is still regarded as unshaken truth."

The enduring importance of the economists consists in the eminent ability with which, unlike their predecessors, they comprehended and formulated in a philosophical system the practical characteristics of their own age. Realizing that the workingman was overburdened with taxes and feudal dues, they were led to adopt an entirely new theory

of productivity. The realism of Adam Smith brought this theory into closer relations with practical life; but Smith, far from developing the doctrine scientifically, did not even understand it; and so the thread of the argument was not taken up again until Ricardo's time. Upon this conception of productivity the physiocrats built up their single-tax theory, which furnished a scientific basis for the principle, the assessment, and the obligation of taxes; they established a philosophical foundation for their aversion to the regulations which absolutism had adopted from the corporations of the Middle Ages; the corner-stone of this foundation was the principle of self-interest, the workings of which, borrowing from the mechanical ethics of the century, they traced to natural law; all this, and even more, was the peculiar work of the physiocrats.

They demanded the reign of the natural order (*ordre naturel des choses*) and hence the Greek name given them by one of their followers (Dupont de Nemours).

In emphasizing the productivity of agriculture, or indeed in calling it the only productive occupation, the physiocrats are not to be understood in the sense falsely imputed to their words; for they did not mean that the heavily burdened peasant was the only productive man. Indeed, the real meaning of the word productive, as applied by them to agriculture solely, has a much wider significance than any philistine comparison of the advantages of manufactures on the one hand with those of agriculture on the other. As the deliverance of the starving masses from the traditional pressure of taxation and feudal burdens was uppermost in the thoughts of the physiocrats, they deduced from the theory of the exclusive productivity of agriculture (that is, the yielding of a surplus over the cost of production) their argument in favor of a single tax. This tax should bear heavily upon the landowners; hence, the theory could assume an aspect friendly to agriculture only by the complete separation of landowners from the peasant classes, being favorable in such a case to the masses, whose misery had already attracted the attention of Sully and Colbert. From a practical standpoint, the essential thing is not so much the prominence given to agriculture compared with industries and manufactures, as the intercession in behalf of the masses of laboring people; not the presentation of a new theory of taxation, but the demand for the deliverance of the masses from the burdens of traditional imposts. It is only because the masses were engaged in agriculture, and only so far as agriculturists belonged to the working masses, that the demands of the physiocrats were favorable to agriculture.

Their theory of a natural tax, the *impôt unique* or *impôt direct*, is admirable for its scientific consistency with their system; how thoroughly socialistic it is in its opposition to the landlords has for the most part entirely escaped notice in the usual repetition of their "overestimation of agriculture." Indeed, the physiocrats declared that the landlords were entirely superfluous, as they performed no labor; that if the State should absorb the entire rent, and thereby deprive them of their means of support, society would be just as well off as it was before; and that the landlords, therefore, should be quite content if the State, to provide for its wants, took a part only of the rent of their land as a just compensation for the protection it afforded their property.

Cohn criticizes the physiocrats for the ambiguity that lay in their conception of a natural law of social life, which led them to limit nature to agricultural activities, and thus to limit the surplus which should be taxed to the rent of land. (See SINGLE TAX.)

The most prominent physiocrats were Quesnay (*q. v.*), the physician of Louis XV. (*q. v.*); Turgot (*q. v.*), intendant and minister of Louis XVI.; Marquis Mirabeau; Abbé Baudeau, and Mercier de la Rivière. Baudeau produced a text-book which resembled the later text-books of political economy. The numerous writings of the school were collected and published in 1844 by Eugène Daire under the title "*Œuvres des Physiocrates*" (2 vols.), and "*Œuvres de Turgot*" (2 vols.). Before that time, in 1768-69, a collection of these writings had been published in six volumes by Dupont de Nemours. The collection was entitled "*Physiocratie, ou constitution naturelle du gouvernement plus avantageux au genre humain*."

Despite many differences in details, these writers all agree in the essentially fundamental principles and doctrines. The especially noteworthy works are "*Tableau Économique*," by Quesnay (1758), and an essay by Turgot, entitled "*Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses*" (1766).

PIECE-WORK is work done or paid for by the quantity or piece. This is the usual system in many trades, especially in tailoring and shoemaking, in almost all trades producing personal

wear, in printing, etc. Mr. Mundella said, in 1876, that 90 per cent of production was piece-work. This is probably not true to-day. Certain trades, where many men have to work together in one operation, scarcely admit of piece-work. Says Professor Marshall ("*Economics of Industry*," p. 393):

The system of piece-work is seldom found in the finest and best of industrial relations. The most careful and artistic work can seldom be measured by it; and in many trades, especially small trades, the work varies so much from bench to bench, and from day to day, that no regular tariff can be devised; and piece-work degenerates into contract work, in which the individual workman has to bargain alone with his employer.

But in the majority of trades, the various tasks can be graded accurately; and when a list of prices for them is agreed on, the employees grade themselves, and yet present an unbroken phalanx in bargaining with their employers. Piece-work adds to the wages of the industrious workers, and it checks those habits of half-hearted work which flourish in every rank of life where the soil is favorable.

Workmen, however, have learned by experience not to take so favorable a view of piece-work. Professor Marshall says (*idem*, p. 394):

In some cases this is caused by an undue eagerness of certain employers to reduce piece-work rates when they have thought their men were taking too much money home. Some workmen oppose it because they desire to take things easily, and have perhaps a latent dislike to be graded according to their merits. And some oppose it because they think it makes work scarce, by inducing men to get through more of it than they otherwise would; and here again come in the combined effects of a little trade-selfishness and the fallacy of the fixt work fund. Perhaps these imperfections of human nature, rather than unionism, are further to be held responsible for whatever ground there may be for the complaint that some unionists urge their fellows not to exert themselves overmuch, and absorb work that others might be glad to do. This is not effected by general regulations; but in some workshops, unionist and non-unionist alike, social pressure is brought to bear on any one who works so hard as to set a standard of work higher than the others like; and no doubt the presence of a union element may increase this pressure.

Workmen, however, claim that this effort, not to allow any one to work too hard, is due not to any dislike of work, but to the necessity under present conditions to make a job go as far as it can, employ as many men as possible, and be paid for as highly as possible. It is an inevitable result of the present system. Says Mr. George Gunton ("*Wealth and Progress*," p. 180):

Workmen agree among themselves not to do more than a certain quantity of work, because repeated experience has taught them that if they do, their wages will soon be proportionately reduced. That is why, in some trades, the unions forbid the men to produce more than a given quantity per day, which is so bitterly denounced as one of the injurious features of trade-unions. This practise is adopted the most when new kinds of work or new machinery are introduced, in order to keep the price "per piece" as high as possible.

Why rapid work reduces wages Mr. Gunton explains. He shows that wages depend on what it costs the workingman to live according to the standard of comfort of his class. He cannot long get more than this, because, if he does, some other workman will offer to work at this standard of comfort price and, under competition, the employer will be compelled to employ him, since the competition compels him, in order to sell cheap, to hire the cheapest labor which can produce a given quantity and quality of work. Hence, if, either by day-work or by piece-work, workmen are seen to be earning more than the standard of comfort wages, the employer not only usually does cut down the wages, but is usually compelled to cut them down. Hence competition

prevents working men from long earning in any system wages above the standard of comfort, and rapid work lowers their wages. Says Mr. Gunton (*idem*, p. 181):

Altho this law has never been understood, it has always been implicitly obeyed. Consequently, wherever the wages system prevails, whether the price of labor is fixt by royal proclamation, statute law, or competition, we find the rate of wages tends to conform to the cost of living, and the price of "piece-work" to the rate of wages for "day-work."

Accordingly, in the various statutes regulating wages in England from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, we find the price fixt for "piece-work" always sustained a uniform relation to that of "day-work." For instance, thrashing a quarter or mowing an acre of wheat was always regarded as a day's work. Hence, in the thirteenth century, when harvest wages were 3*d.* a day, the price of mowing an acre or thrashing a quarter of wheat was 3*d.* also. During the same period, when artisan wages were 3*d.*

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a day, the price for a pair of sawyers to saw 100 planks—which was always reckoned a day's work—was 7*d.*

So when wages rose after the rise in prices in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the price of "piece-work" always rose correspondingly with that of "day-work." Thus, in 1651, when the Essex magistrates fixt the wages of common laborers at 1*s.* and 2*d.* a day, the price of sawing 100 planks was fixt at 2*s.* and 6*d.* or 1*s.* and 3*d.* for each sawyer. And if we compare the price paid for "piece-work" in the same industries in different countries or localities where similar methods of production are employed, we shall find that the rate paid will vary according to the difference in the cost of living.

Again, in manufacturing industries, where machinery is extensively used and "piece-work" is the general practise, altho the average wages keep pace with the average cost of living, the price of "piece-work" always varies inversely with the productive capacity of the machinery. In the cotton industry evidence of this fact is constantly in view. Through the changes in machinery, which are mostly gradual, it sometimes happens that two kinds of machinery (the new and the old) are in use in the same factory, and very often in the same locality, at the same time, and accordingly we frequently find two different prices paid for the same work in the same town, and even in the same establishment—not a different rate of wages, but a different scale of prices, in order to equalize the rate of wages. And sometimes, in order to avoid two scales of prices for the same work, one will be put on "day-work," the rate of wages being fixt upon the average earnings of the other. In fact, this is the general practise on new machinery, until its productive capacity is correctly ascertained, after which the scale of prices is fixt accordingly.

I have, myself, seen three different prices paid for weaving the same cloth in the same room, all because it was woven

in different kinds of looms. For example, a 50-inch loom will not run as fast as a 30-inch loom—i. e., the shuttle will not, *ceteris paribus*, pass as many times a minute across a 50-inch space as it will across a 30-inch space. While the former to-day will run at the rate of from 130 to 150 picks a minute, the latter will average from 180 to 200 picks a minute. It will thus be seen that when 30-inch cloth is woven in 40- or 50-inch looms, the weavers on the broad looms cannot weave as many yards per day as those on the narrow looms; hence a higher price per cut is always paid for weaving narrow cloth in broad than in narrow looms.

If we examine the shoe trade we find the same unvarying law obtains; and while the average wages of shoemakers have grown in a direct ratio with the cost of living, the price per pair for making shoes has grown less and less in proportion as improved machinery has been adopted. The same is strikingly true in the watch and jewelry business.

The price of "piece-work" for pivoting, burnishing, gilding, fitting, casing, etc., through the use of improved tools and machinery, is in many instances from 50 to 75 per cent less than it was formerly. Still, the real wages in these industries are not reduced, the price of "piece-work" being lessened only in proportion as the capacity to produce is increased. But while wages never rise in the same proportion with the increased power of production, the price of commodities always falls in that ratio; consequently, tho the nominal wages of watchmakers, jewelers, shoemakers, and weavers are not proportionately higher, the prices of watches, jewelry, cotton-cloth, and shoes are relatively lower. This explains the fact that the direct and immediate effect of improved machinery is always more strikingly seen in lower prices than in higher wages, all of which is in strict accord with the doctrine that the price of labor always moves in direct ratio with the cost of living, and that of commodities in direct ratio with the cost of production.

It will thus be observed that wherever we go or to whatever industry we turn our attention, we find that the price of labor, either under "piece-work" or "day-work," is ultimately governed by the same law. Manifestly, therefore,

"Whether laborers work by the piece or work by the day,
The cost of their living determines their pay."

The above principles are well illustrated by the following table as to the actual prices paid by day-work and piece-work in Massachusetts and Great Britain. The table is taken from the "Sixteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Labor Bureau" (1885, p. 113). It will be seen that in these industries, in both Massachusetts and Great Britain, piece-workers receive less average weekly wages than day-laborers:

GENERAL AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE PAID TO DAY, PIECE, AND DAY AND PIECE EMPLOYEES

INDUSTRIES	MASSACHUSETTS			GREAT BRITAIN		
	Day hands	Piece hands	Day and piece hands	Day hands	Piece hands	Day and piece hands
Agricultural implements.....	\$9.94	\$14.27	.....	\$8.85	.....	.....
Artizans' tools.....	11.88	10.81	.....	10.94	.....	.....
Boots and shoes.....	14.53	11.42	.....	4.93	\$5.42	.....
Brick.....	8.63	.....	.....	4.16	.....	.....
Building trades.....	14.99	.....	.....	7.81	9.49	.....
Carpetings.....	5.96	6.56	.....	4.11	.....	.....
Carriages and wagons.....	12.80	14.90	.....	18.53	.....	.....
Clothing.....	9.17	10.46	\$10.43	9.73	5.78	.....
Cotton goods.....	6.61	6.31	.....	7.28	16.08	\$4.72
Flax and jute goods.....	6.48	5.55	.....	13.27	.....	2.78
Food preparations.....	10.08	6.65	.....	3.74	.....	.....
Furniture.....	11.16	11.35	7.69	7.96	.....	.....
Glass.....	12.83	9.62	.....	10.95	.....	9.92
Hats: fur, wool, and silk.....	9.73	11.75	9.00	7.30	8.66	5.87
Hosiery.....	8.69	16.48	.....	7.22	.....	4.44
Liquors: malt and distilled.....	12.86	13.13	.....	19.46	.....	.....
Machines and machinery.....	11.96	.....	9.43	7.40	7.16	18.62
Metals and metallic goods.....	11.55	10.74	11.92	10.51	16.91	.....
Printing and publishing.....	11.36	11.40	.....	9.48	10.07	7.14
Printing, dyeing, bleaching, and finishing cotton textiles.....	8.68	7.63	.....	4.83	4.97	16.32
Stone.....	13.54	15.01	.....	10.16	.....	.....
Wooden goods.....	13.51	8.55	.....	5.67	.....	.....
Woolen goods.....	6.79	7.01	.....	5.49	.....	.....
Worsted goods.....	7.39	7.21	.....	2.55	.....	4.27

¹ Indicates that of wages on more than one basis the highest has been used.

CLASSIFICATION	MASSACHUSETTS		GREAT BRITAIN	
	Number of industries	General average weekly wage	Number of industries	General average weekly wage
Day hands.....	24	\$10.46	24	\$7.43
Piece hands.....	21	9.85	9	7.17
Day and piece hands.	5	9.69	9	6.01

There can be no questioning these facts. Hence workmen have learned that by working fast they do not permanently increase their pay, but soon find themselves producing more, working faster, and employing fewer men, while their wages are not higher. They do find, however, that wages rise by making labor more costly.

The best and most intelligent workmen, therefore, do not favor piece-work; it is usually the more ignorant tho quick new workers who sometimes favor it, because for a while it seems to enable them to earn more; a gain, however, soon to be lost when the employer lowers the wage to bring it down to the level of earnings necessitated by the competition of the market.

Piece-work also often makes the worker scant his work and sacrifice quality to quantity. Nevertheless, in many trades it prevails, because employers usually favor it, since it enables them to get more work for the same pay, and because in many trades, where quantity counts for more than quality, it is a convenient form of payment.

Piece-work seems to be more favored in Great Britain than in the United States. Mr. and Mrs. Webb found, in 1894, that 49 British unions with 573,000 members preferred piece-work, that 38 unions with 290,000 members preferred time-work, and that 29 unions with 140,000 members used both. In general, however, in both countries piece-work is on the increase, owing to the high tension of industry, tho the change is often resisted sometimes to the extent of a strike, like the long strike over this cause, 1902-3, in the Union Pacific Car Works.

REFERENCES: George Gunton, *Wealth and Progress*, chap. viii.; Marshall's *Economics of Industry*, pp. 393-394; Webb, *Industrial Democracy*, chap. v.; Bolen, *Getting a Living*, chap. x.

PINGREE, HAZEN S.: Municipal reformer; born in 1842 in Maine. In 1856 he served his time in a shoe factory. At the age of twenty enlisted, served through the Civil War, and was six months a prisoner at Andersonville. At the close of the war he found work in a shoe factory at Detroit, and there started a small factory of his own. A man of great business ability, keen instincts, and sterling honesty, he soon had the largest shoe factory west of New York. In 1889 he was elected Mayor of Detroit on the distinct issue of saving the city from municipal corruption and mismanagement. Opposed by a corrupt council and private companies who could buy whatever franchises they wanted, he flung himself into the fray with indomitable energy, and began at once to run the city on business principles. In his first message he announced that the time was come for the city to do its own fighting. The companies fought him; the council fought; but he prevailed. He also fought for municipal ownership of the street-railways, and

from the gas companies secured a reduction of rates from \$1.50 to \$1. In the hard times of 1894 through his potato-patch scheme he successfully relieved, and showed others the way to relieve, the unemployed. He strove also for free water, direct legislation, a general adoption of the eight-hour-day, and other reforms. In 1896 he was elected Governor of Michigan on the Republican ticket, and still did valiant service for the people. He was author of "Facts and Opinions; or, Dangers that Beset Us." Died 1901.

PINKERTON, THE, AGENCY AND LABOR STRUGGLES:

In 1852 Allan G. Pinkerton, a Scotchman, involved in the Chartist outbreak in Birmingham, emigrated to the United States, and here, having from love of adventure secured the arrest of a band of counterfeiters, established in Chicago a detective agency. His agency was successful, and during the War of the Rebellion Mr. Pinkerton superintended the secret service of the army. The U. S. Secret Service developed out of this army service (1864); it is, however, so completely engrossed with its duties as a division of the Treasury Department that other matters are necessarily referred to other agencies. Thus the War Department employs men to obtain special and varied information, and the Post-office Department in 1872 established an efficient division charged with the investigation of mail depredations. When the industrial conditions of the country led to violence and strikes, Pinkerton organized a body of armed men who were hired to protect the property of the employers. Later, in the labor troubles in Pennsylvania, Pinkerton's agency was employed against the Molly Maguires, a secret society founded in the coal-mining section of Pennsylvania, which was exposed chiefly through the instrumentality of James McParlan, a detective, and Franklin B. Gowan, president of the Pennsylvania & Reading Coal & Iron Company. Henceforth the Pinkerton agency was employed more and more by employers to defend their works from threatened violence on the part of mobs in connection with strikes. They became bitterly hated by working men. The working men claim that the Pinkertons do more than protect the property of their employers. They claim that the agency goes into the slums of the great cities, hires desperadoes and men of the worst character, swears them in as special detectives, and then sends them not only to protect the property of employers, but to incense the populace and provoke it to violence, then firing upon the populace on the least provocation. The working men claim that the Pinkertons create more evil than they allay. Stories are circulated of the Pinkertons secretly doing violence themselves, laying it to working men, and then firing on them. In the great Homestead strike (*q. v.*) Pinkertons in large numbers and armed with rifles were brought to Homestead, the working men rising and repulsing them as they would an invading army. Working men claim that the duty of protecting property should be left to the police; that if these are not sufficient, the army should be called in, but that bodies of reckless armed private mercenaries should not be allowed to fire on citizens. As a result of this popular feeling Congress appointed a committee to investigate into the employment of such private armed bodies of men, and some states passed

bills forbidding such employment. (See HOME-STEAD STRIKE, and STRIKES.)

Nevertheless, the Pinkerton and other agencies are continually employed in times of strikes, and the former is said to have been particularly active in the Colorado labor struggles. During the Haywood trial (June, 1907) attempts were made by labor agitators to charge the Pinkerton agents with fomenting strife among and violence on the part of the Western Federation of Miners. A number of letters from operatives in the pay of the Pinkerton agency were placed in evidence in court, which, however, proved nothing more than spying on the part of these men. The letters were obtained and placed before the court on behalf of the defense by Morris Friedman, a young Hebrew-American who testified that he had been stenographer to McParland, the manager of the Denver agency, and admitted that he had taken many letters from that office, without asking anybody's permission, for use at the "proper time and place, as I have done." These letters, together with other evidence, were, however, stricken out and withdrawn from the jury in the Haywood trial (1907) as soon as the defense rested without making the necessary connection to make them material. Friedman admitted having written a book based on his observations in the Pinkerton office under the title "The Pinkerton Labor Spy." The publishers of this work in their preface state that they "recognize the Pinkerton agency as an indispensable instrument to the capitalist class in the great and unceasing struggle with labor." (For a complete statement of this phase, and a statement of contrary views, see article WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.)

The assertion that Pinkerton agents have been engaged in espionage in the interests of capitalists has not been denied, and the practise concerns this work, therefore, only in its relations to society. The Pinkertons were responsible for the disbanding of the "Molly Maguires"; for the capture of a gang of thieves who had robbed the Adams Express Company safe of \$700,000 on a New York, New Haven, & Hartford Railroad train (Jan. 6, 1866), and in dispersing a body of murderers who had terrorized the State of Indiana for a number of years.

Why do private corporations employ private detective agencies instead of calling upon the police of the municipalities and the constabulary of the states? Is it from choice or from necessity? Why do, moreover, the Government of the U. S., the governors of the states, and the mayors of the cities in this country permit such agencies to exist? Other civilized countries do not permit private police agencies to interfere with the state agencies of public safety. Why, then, has such a condition arisen in this country?

There can be only one answer to these questions. The inadequacy and the inefficiency of our police force—taking this word in its widest sense, as implying all agencies that have to do with the prevention and detection of crime, the maintenance of public safety, and the protection of life and property. This inefficiency may be due to one or all of three causes: (1) Paucity of numbers in the force; (2) intellectual deficiency of the men employed; (3) lack of integrity.

1. *Paucity of Numbers.*—The fact that we have too few men in our police force becomes evident from the fact that in all large business concerns of our large cities private policemen and detectives are employed and paid by their employers.

Even private families or, where single families cannot afford that luxury, several families combine in hiring private policemen for their own protection. Apart from this generally known fact statistics tend to prove the same contention. London had in 1905 approximately 1 policeman, etc., for 390 of the population; Berlin 1 for 453; Vienna 1 for 480; Paris 1 for 340; New York (1903) 1 for 495. That is, New York City, with its heterogeneous population—fully one fourth of whom arrived within ten years previous to that date from foreign countries—with its large area, had a smaller police force proportionately than either of the large cities of Europe with their homogeneous and largely native population, and small areas. This force has since been increased, but it is doubtful whether the increase has been proportionate. The percentage of police to the population is, of course, smaller in other American cities, e. g., Chicago, 1 to 644, and very much smaller in country districts where there is usually only a sheriff and a constable to a whole county with sometimes a population of 10,000 outside of the cities. The paucity of men on our police force is, then, an established fact, and this necessitates a private detective agency. This is never more forcibly illustrated than in times of strikes where the municipal police have repeatedly been found unequal to the task of protecting life and property.

2. *Intellectual Deficiency of the Men.*—Our police is largely appointed through political influence. This used to be altogether the case in the cities, where foreigners—coming perhaps from the country districts or from small villages—were invested with the powers and insignia of public guardians within a month or even less time after their landing. No proof needs to be furnished that these men were entirely unfit to deal with the quick, ingenious, subtle, shrewd, and experienced criminals of large cities. The introduction of civil-service examinations has effected a change for the better in this direction. But physical fitness, ability to read and write, proof of citizenship are not sufficient to turn a formerly good and inoffensive citizen into a clever detective. The detectives are largely selected from the police force; they are, as a rule, but little better equipped for their special duties than the roundsmen. Finally, the sheriffs and constables in the country districts, and police commissioners in the city, are elected, mostly without even a question being asked by the electorate as to their fitness for such offices. It is practically impossible under present conditions to develop an intelligent class of detectives, since the tenure of police commissioners is dependent on the accidents of politics.

European countries pay special attention to this branch of service. They develop men who have particular aptitude as detectives; the latter must, as a rule, be well educated, speak several languages, and have the ability to move among all classes of men. The secret-service men in India, for instance, where problems are somewhat similar to those of America, are a picked force, having been trained carefully and having served a long apprenticeship before being appointed.

From the intellectual point of view, again, there is, consequently, need for private detectives carefully trained and gifted with special aptitude—such men as are employed in the United States Secret Service.

3. *Lack of Integrity.*—Little need be said on

this point, since the newspapers have often spoken about it. "Graft" is a word so generally connected with our police that it is really a wonder how patient and long-suffering American citizens are, paying good salaries to men for inefficient service, and being compelled to pay bribes in addition. We quote Mr. George R. Turner (*McClure's*, April, 1907): "It is not necessary for me to tell you that you have practically no protection on your streets. . . . The condition of the department is summed up in the statement that in two years, 1904-5, over half the force was before the police trial board for one cause or another. . . . There must be, at a conservative estimate, \$200,000 a year paid over to the police for protection to the business of dissipation" (in Chicago).

This lack of moral integrity again calls for private detectives whom the employer may trust without fear that the very interests for which he pays are protected by the employee for graft. If private agencies must be abolished, as some claim, the only way to replace them is to organize a state police force, constabulary and detective, that is efficient in quality and sufficient in numbers to take proper charge of the interests entrusted to their care—men carefully trained for particular duties, honest and morally reliable. This cannot be done in a day or a year, but it is greatly desirable that it should be done both in the interests of the state, the public, and the laboring classes who would welcome a police of this kind and not suspect it to be in the pay of capitalists. (See article POLICE.)

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

PLACE, FRANCIS: A master tailor who played a large and important part in the English labor movement at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Before setting up his own shop at Charing Cross, London, he had worked as a journeyman breeches-maker, and had been active in effecting organizations in his own and other trades. After 1818 he left the conduct of his business to his son, and devoted himself wholly to the labor movement: first to the repeal of the combination laws, and second, to the reform movement. He was a pupil of Bentham, a radical individualist, and a shrewd parliamentary lobbyist. As early as 1810 he testified before a select committee of the House against measures proposed by the employers, and in 1814 set himself seriously to overthrow the combination laws (see CONSPIRACIES). Working through a little working-class paper, the *Gorgon*, he gained the support of Joseph Hume and J. R. McCulloch, then editor of the *Scotsman*. Joseph Hume, in the House of Commons in 1822, gave notice of his intention to bring in a bill repealing all combination laws, but Place really managed the case, marshaled the witnesses, and arranged their evidence. Scarcely realizing what was done, Parliament passed the bill. The employers were now thoroughly roused, and the next year succeeded in partly modifying the bill, tho Hume in Parliament, and Place outside, ably fought them at every point. After this Place took less active part in the movement. (See "History of Trade-Unionism," by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.)

PLATO: Philosopher; born in Athens B.C. 429, the year of the death of Pericles. At the age of twenty, coming under the influence of Socrates, he chose philosophy for his life pursuit, but was

driven from Athens and lived in Sicily, visiting (probably) Italy and Africa. At the age of forty he was able to return to Athens and establish a school of philosophy, the Academy, a garden, where for forty-one years he taught, his greatest pupil being Aristotle. His greatest economic writings are "The Republic" and "The Laws." Died B. C. 347. The following review of his economic teachings is given in Professor Ingram's "History of Political Economy." He says:

The most celebrated of Greek ideal systems is that of Plato. In it the idea of the subordination of the individual to the State appears in its most extreme form. Within that class of the citizens of his republic who represent the highest type of life, community of property and of wives is established, as the most effective means of suppressing the sense of private interest, and consecrating the individual entirely to the public service. It cannot perhaps be truly said that his scheme was incapable of realization in an ancient community favorably situated for the purpose. But it would soon be broken to pieces by the forces which would be developed in an industrial society. It has, however, been the fruitful parent of modern Utopias; specially attractive as it is to minds in which the literary instinct is stronger than the scientific judgment. Mixed with what we should call the chimerical ideas in his work, there are many striking and elevated moral conceptions, and, what is more to our present purpose, some just economic analysis. In particular, he gives a correct account of the division and combination of employments, as they naturally arise in society. The foundation of the social organization he traces, perhaps too exclusively, to economic grounds, not giving sufficient weight to the disinterested social impulses in men which tend to draw and bind them together. But he explains clearly how the different wants and capacities of individuals demand and give rise to mutual services, and how, by the restriction of each to the sort of occupation to which, by his position, abilities, and training, he is best adapted, everything needful for the whole is more easily and better produced or effected. In the spirit of all the ancient legislators he desires a self-sufficing State, protected from unnecessary contacts with foreign populations which might tend to break down its internal organization or to deteriorate the national character. Hence he discountenances foreign trade, and with this view removes his ideal city to some distance from the sea. The limits of its territory are rigidly fixed, and the population is restricted by the prohibition of early marriages, by the exposure of infants, and by the maintenance of a determinate number of individual lots of land in the hands of the citizens who cultivate the soil. These precautions are inspired more by political and moral motives than by the Malthusian fear of failure of subsistence. Plato aims, as far as possible, at equality of property among the families of the community which are engaged in the immediate prosecution of industry. This last class, as distinguished from the governing and military classes, he holds, according to the spirit of his age, in but little esteem; he regards their habitual occupations as tending to the degradation of the mind and the enfeeblement of the body, and rendering those who follow them unfit for the higher duties of men and citizens. The lowest forms of labor he would commit to foreigners and slaves. Again, in the spirit of ancient theory, he wishes ("Legg," v., 12) to banish the precious metals, as far as practicable, from use in internal commerce, and forbids the lending of money on interest, leaving indeed to the free will of the debtor even the repayment of the capital of the loan. All economic dealings he subjects to active control on the part of the government, not merely to prevent violence and fraud, but to check the growth of luxurious habits, and secure to the population of the State a due supply of the necessities and comforts of life.

PLAYGROUNDS: To the necessity of providing places for children in large cities to romp, play, and exercise, playgrounds owe their origin. They are to take the child away from the crowded streets, where life, limb, health, and morals are in danger, and to give him a better opportunity to develop physically, morally, socially, and intellectually. The country and small village offer plenty of space; the city must provide it at large expense. It is an expense which bears good interest in the better physique, cleaner morals, keener intellects of our future citizens.

The history of playgrounds goes back to the kindergarten movement of 1826. When the direction of children's play was recognized as necessary, the conclusion that children should have the opportunity to play was apparent. Accord-

ingly, city after city has established free playgrounds either on school or municipal grounds. Glasgow led; Berlin, Hamburg, and other large cities of Germany, England, and America soon followed.

The scope of playgrounds is usually this: sand piles for little children—to be renewed frequently so as to keep them clean and wholesome; gymnasium, running-tracks, basketball grounds, etc., for boys; seesaws, swings, etc., for girls. During adolescence boys and girls need special physical exercise, e. g., dumb-bells, staffs, in the open air under separate instruction.

A feature of many German playgrounds needs particular mention—the concert garden playgrounds where mothers may leave their little ones while they attend the concert or the matinee.

In order to obtain the best results, it is necessary that instructors should be present at all times, both for supervising and teaching new games.

Seward Park in New York City is a type of the best playground, and a brief description will give the best idea of the function of this institution. It cost the city \$1,800,000, and is located in the Ghetto, a very crowded down-town district. At one end a complete outdoor gymnasium surrounded with a running-track; at the other swings, seesaws, etc., for girls; in the middle sand piles, tents, etc., for the little ones. The mothers are encouraged to be present with their little ones, and provision is made that milk and crackers can be bought on the premises. New York City has set aside \$300,000 per annum for the purchase of playgrounds.

Lately (1906) a Playground Association of America has been formed with Theodore Roosevelt as honorary president and Dr. Luther Gulick, New York City, president. The headquarters of the association are 926 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., and Dr. Henry S. Curtiss is secretary. Many prominent citizens are on the executive committee. This fact is sufficient evidence of the recognition of the necessity and importance of the movement for playgrounds in all American cities. Germany has a special "Annual" of some 400 or 500 pages—"Das Jahrbuch des Volks- und Kinderspiels."

PLUNKETT, HORACE CURZON, SIR: Commissioner on Congested Districts Board, Ireland; born 1854, educated at Eton and Oxford; engaged in cattle ranching in the United States, 1879-89. Promoted agricultural cooperation in Ireland from 1899; founded the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, 1894; chairman of the Recess Committee, 1895, the report of which eventually led to the creation of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland in 1899. Member of Parliament for South County Dublin, 1892 to 1900; member of the Privy Council in Ireland in 1897; Fellow of the Royal Society. Sir Horace's views on social and economical questions are well set forth in his book on "Ireland in the New Century." Address: 105 Mount Street, Dublin, Ireland.

POLAK, HENRI: Dutch Socialist; president of Diamond Workers' Union; born in 1868, at Amsterdam; educated in the Jewish elementary school until the age of twelve; apprenticed to diamond-cutting; worked at that trade until 1895, spending three years of that time in London. In 1890 he became member of the Social Democratic Federation of Holland, branch secretary at Amsterdam in 1891, member of Central Executive Board in 1892, its secretary in 1893. He retired from the federation in 1894, because of its leaning toward anarchism. One of the founders of the Social Democratic Labor Party in 1894. In the general strike of 1894 he was secretary of the strike committee; he led the men to victory, and was appointed president of the union and editor of its paper. The union grew from sixty members in 1894 to 8,200 members out of a possible 8,500 in 1906; the hours of labor, which in certain factories were from twelve to fifteen per day, were reduced in those same factories to seven and nine hours per day; the wages being at least doubled, in many cases trebled and quadrupled. The diamond-cutters are now the best-paid workers in Europe. In 1903 he founded the International Federation of Diamond Workers, and in 1905 the National Federation of Trade-Unionists. For several years was president of the executive board of the Social Democratic Labor Party and editor of the Social Democratic weekly paper, *De Nieuwe Tyd* ("The New Era").

TABLE OF PLAYGROUNDS IN AMERICAN CITIES

CITIES	School population	Playgrounds				Appropriation from city	Average number of children in attendance
		School	Park	Public	Private		
Atlanta.....	15,000	several	.....	.....	.....	Not fixed.....	Movement new
Baltimore.....	67,000	17	7	.....	.....	Use of school buildings.....	Movement new
Boston.....	98,000	.....	17	.....	.....	According to need.....	Not given
Buffalo.....	52,000	2	1	3	1	6 supported by city.....	1,000
Chicago.....	272,000	90	4	4	3	School and city funds.....	15,000
Cincinnati.....	131,000	.....	2	2	3	According to need.....	.....
Columbus.....	.....	3	.....	4	.....	For part of cost.....	1,300
Denver.....	46,000	.....	7	.....	.....	Total cost.....	.....
Kansas City.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	Part of cost.....	.....
Minneapolis.....	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	For equipment.....	700
New Orleans.....	96,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New York.....	627,000	76	13	.....	4	Nearly total cost.....	10,000 in parks; 23,246 in school yards
Philadelphia.....	271,000	36	4	.....	1	95 per cent of cost.....	23,897
Pittsburg.....	.....	9	2	2	.....	\$5,000.....	3,985
Portland, Me.....	.....	2	1	.....	.....	Part of cost.....	150
Seattle.....	24,000	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
St. Louis.....	199,000	6	.....	1	.....	Use of school yards.....	3,565
St. Paul.....	27,000	2	1	.....	1	\$10,000.....	8,835
Washington.....	.....	13	2	.....	3	\$35,000 by Congress.....	5,000
Worcester.....	21,000	.....	8	12	ball fields	Part of cost.....	.....

He was appointed by the government in 1899 a member of the Central Board of Statistics, and elected in 1902 municipal councilor of Amsterdam. From 1900 to 1905 he was president of the Chamber of Labor in Amsterdam. Mr. Polak is a Marxian Social Democrat. He has translated Sidney and Beatrice Webb's "History of Trade-Unionism and Industrial Democracy," and most of Robert Blackford's works. He himself is the author of pamphlets on anarchism, trades federation, trade-unionism, and labor legislation and kindred subjects. Address: Fransche Laan 9, Amsterdam, Holland.

POLICE: The policeman is far more than a guardian of the public peace. Mr. Thomas Byrnes calls him "the real court of first instance." Says Mr. H. M. Boies ("Prisoners and Paupers," p. 237):

In the United States, under a social organization for self-government, a government of laws, which are solely the formulated decrees of popular judgment and will, the police and constabulary constitute almost the only incorporate and vital evidence, or general manifestation, of the authority and dignity of government; they represent the concrete absolutism of the laws, and exercise the majesty and power of the people in among, and before the people constantly. They become, therefore, to the people here, not only the agents and representatives of self-government, but the express force and soul of government, the general and popular conception of government itself. This increases the power, dignity, and influence of the police officer in this country immeasurably above what exists elsewhere. It is his province here to bring the popular power into direct contact with and control over the people. . . . The police are, in this country, the eyes and ears, as well as the hands, of the body politic; not only the means of governmental apprehension, but of discovery; the agents of prevention as well as of cure. It devolves upon them to observe the very beginnings of error, failure, and sin in society; to note the sources, the inception, and conception of crime and poverty; to watch their birth, growth, and development; to become familiar with causes and occasions; to recognize the necessary remedies. They seldom feel called upon to interfere; indeed, the principle of their action is not to interfere before the overt act, when correction becomes necessary and prevention is no longer practicable. The intimacy and constancy of their contact with society and its elements should enable them to stretch out the helping or the warning hand of government when it could be efficient, when the needed slight change of direction can be given the individual faced the wrong way, before the club, the handcuff, or the lockup have become necessary. Indeed, an interference which would be resented from a private person, however gently or kindly made, would be received not only without objection ordinarily from the policeman, but it would carry with it the weight and influence of the wisdom and will of society. A word or an act which would make no impression without authority, with it might be effectual in saving many a youth from ruin. If the police then could be enlisted as conservators of morals as well as preservers of the peace, they would become a power in the community of inestimable utility, and the necessities of their harsher activities would be greatly decreased. The task of training the twig is lighter than bending the tree. If they could be made to devote their chief care to the children and youths when they are beyond the parental eye or control, and be placed in a position representing with authority the organized parentage and domesticity of the community outside its homes, upon the streets and in public places, many of the dangers of city life would be alleviated. Their parental functions might be extended for the general benefit to the relief of the poor from suffering, to the ministrations of charity, to the restrictions of intemperance, the arrest of drunkenness, the correction of evil tendencies, and the rescue of those in peril of moral corruption and ruin.

On the other hand, what the police can do, and too often do, for evil is shown by the following account of the political situation in Chicago, by George K. Turner (*McClure's*, April, 1907):

The City Council of Chicago, in the paroxysm of excitement over the reign of crime of a year ago, voted for 1,000 new policemen, most of whom have now been added to the force. It was asserted then that there were not men enough to protect that great and wide-lying city. This was certainly true, but it was an understatement of the case. The exact condition was stated by Captain Alexander R. Piper, an expert who, with Roundsman William F. Maher, of New York, made a special investigation of the Chicago police in 1904. He said in summing up: "It is not necessary for me to tell you that you have practically no protection on your streets. You all know it, and you know how seldom you see an officer

at night. Your patrolmen pull the box on the hour or half-hour and then lounge in their holes or some saloon." These conditions exist to-day.

The reason for all this is clear. The business of dissipation, working through ward politics, has bought the protection of the Chicago police force. This fact necessarily deprives the police force of its usefulness to the public. The officials who are actually receiving pay for granting protection are in a combination to break the law. This combination extends below them to a certain extent into the department; and it encourages, of course, every patrolman who is at all dishonest to break or help to break the laws.

Various members of the force have, in the past, formed alliances with criminals; and the relation was so close with them that patrolmen have actually arranged burglaries through professional craftsmen. The force itself contains also quite a number of criminals: men who have been convicted from time to time of crimes ranging from shoplifting to burglary. Indeed, it is a fact that criminals, attracted by the possible chances of profits, are continually trying to get into the department. In a recent call for 450 men, thirty-five applicants were found to have criminal records. Of course, there can be no discipline under these conditions. There is, as Roundsman Maher said, practically no patrolling. There is continual loafing on the beat, with petty grafting down at the bottom of the department. The condition of the department is summed up in the statement, that in two years, 1904 and 1905, over half the force was before the police trial board for one cause or another. . . .

The system comes about very simply. The influence of the ward bosses in the districts of dissipation secures from the administration the police officials they desire. These officials see that the men under them carry out the business agreements which they themselves make with the leaders of the ward. If a new policeman does not enter into relations with the system or acquiesce in its working, he is "jobbed." That is, by various technical charges against him by his superior officer, he is kept under continual suspicion and finally either shipped off to some outlying district of the city or even discharged from the department on trumped-up charges. The Chicago department is now under civil service and has been for ten years, but this effective and simple method makes it possible to beat the civil-service rules and to organize the force so that the required protection can be guaranteed to the interests of dissipation. Inside the department there is either an astonishing fear of this system or a loyalty to it that is simply amazing. . . .

There must be, at a conservative estimate, \$200,000 a year paid over to the police, for protection to the business of dissipation. Just where that money goes into the department is, of course, almost impossible to tell. It is a matter of fact, for instance, that the gambling squad—eight or ten men under the personal command of the chief of police—sit and watch the operations of "handbook" makers and even bet themselves. It is also a fact that when personal information has been given to the chief of police concerning a betting-place, that place has been perfunctorily raided and has been in operation again a half-hour after this was done. But it would be impossible to demonstrate from this evidence that the present chief of police was paid to protect gambling in Chicago. It is true that criminal saloons and houses of prostitution have an understanding with the police that they may violate the law until some one protests, and that then they will be notified by the police and kept in touch with the situation until it is advisable for them to resume the practices which are objected to. But who gets the pay for this and what the pay is, has not yet been determined with legal exactitude. It is worth while, perhaps, as showing the possibilities in the case, to recall that one ex-chief of police said, in a burst of confidence, that he had put away \$187,000 during his few years of office.

With this view of the possibilities of the police for good or for evil, we come to a consideration of the facts and statistics of their organization.

The origin of the police system seems to have been twofold, military and judicial. France, as early as the fourteenth century, seems to have had a military police, the basis of the French *gendarmerie*. In England the origin was characteristically judicial, beginning with parish constables controlled by the justices of the peace. Paris by 1800 had an organized force of seven or eight hundred men. London, however, is said to have had the first modern police force, in 1828. New York, in 1841, had 34 constables (for 17 wards) 100 marshals, 300 night-watchmen, 100 wardens, bell ringers, etc.

The following table gives recent figures:

In Great Britain the total police force is: England and Wales (1905), 45,202; cost, £4,321,132. Scotland (1904), 5,307; cost, £547,521. Ireland has an armed constabulary of over 10,000 men.

In London the commission consists of a chief and his assistants, appointed for life by the king on the recommendation of the Home Secretary. The Metropolitan police is composed of 16,846 officers and men, for which the annual appropriation is over \$8,000,000. There is also the police of the city consisting of 1,056 men.

Europe

In Paris the organization of the police is distinctly military, under a prefect of police who is under the Minister of the Interior. The prefect occupies almost a cabinet position and resigns after a conspicuous failure, as after the students' riot in 1892, and the assassination of President Carnot. The number of men belonging to the municipal police of Paris is 8,000, and the total annual expenditure over \$8,000,000. There are also "indicators," or spies, usually reformed criminals.

In Berlin there are many kinds of police, all in military organization under the Minister of the Interior. The force is divided into two departments, the day-watch and the night-watch. The municipal authorities maintain besides a force of night-watchmen, whose duty is chiefly to protect the property of the citizens. The Berlin force consists of 4,500 policemen, and the expenditure is \$3,000,000.

The police of Vienna is composed of 3,500 officers and men. In Glasgow there is a force of 1,347 men. On the Continent of Europe the police are usually armed with swords and revolvers, and mounted officers are much more numerous than in the United States. In some cities, as in Paris, the police commonly carry muskets with fixt bayonets when on guard duty.

In Russia the police are the executive administrators of the empire, and their number is unknown. There are about 10,000 in St. Petersburg. Many of them are detectives, or the famous "Third Section." They are unarmed, but carry whistles.

It is estimated that there is one policeman in Chicago for every 583 persons; for every 454 persons in Boston; every 451 in Philadelphia; every 434 St. Louis; 406 New York; every 475 in Vienna; 471 Berlin; 355 Paris, and for every 253 persons in London.

In Ireland, Egypt, India, Australia, the police are under the control of the central government.

Concerning the evils of the present police system in American cities, it must not be forgotten that besides the political and administrative corruption of the police of which we hear so much, there are other evils of which we do not hear. Their task is often arduous and the need of good judgment very great. Not too much must be expected. Said an old soldier in mitigation of his drunkenness, "You cannot expect all the civic virtues and temperance included for \$13 a month." The same, tho to a less extent, since

Need of Reform

their pay is higher, might be said of the police. Many of them do discharge their difficult work with great faithfulness and surprisingly good judgment. One cannot understand the difficulties they meet without close acquaintance, and a closer acquaintance often shows that many of them are far wiser than the public

knows. Yet it is equally true that many of them are ignorant, inefficient, simply bullies in uniform. They are often brutal, and the terror of the weak, rather than a terror to evil-doers. Mr. H. M. Boies ("Prisoners and Paupers," chap. xiv.) considers what may be done for the improvement of the police system. He argues for a carefully selected personnel, men of good health, morals, and judgment, appointed for life on good behavior. The force should be firmly instructed, carefully drilled and disciplined, to develop unity and *esprit du corps*. Ordinarily, one policeman to 1,200 men he thinks enough, with a thorough system of intercommunication, all under the control of one wise chief, and well supported by the public. Says Mr. Boies:

Humanity, philanthropy, and religion must follow the policeman on his mission with an untiring and increasing care, both for his own sake and the success of his effort. Counter attractions must be opposed against the special allurements to which he is exposed. Pleasant resorts must be provided for his off-duty hours, where the better things of life may be contrasted with the debasing pleasures with which his duties make him familiar, and intellectual and moral influences may be brought to bear upon his character. Particular effort must be made to keep up his connections with all the higher influences of social life, with the educational and religious enterprises of the people.

REFERENCES: H. M. Boies, *Prisoners and Paupers*; J. P. Altgeld, *Five Questions*; Fairlie, *Municipal Administration* (1901).

POLITICAL ECONOMY (see also political economists under their names): Economics, or political economy, has long been in such an unsettled state that it seems best in undertaking a statement of its position, for the present purpose, to pay little or no attention to its specific teachings, but, instead, to direct attention to certain aspects of its historical development which reveal its fundamental character and constitution as a science. Economics, it must be admitted, is not of high report either with the general public or with leaders in other fields of thought, at the present time. The latter, especially workers in the material sciences, are not infrequently heard to declare that political economy is not a science in the modern meaning of the term, and that it is discredited by its adherence to old-fashioned methods of thought. Such criticisms are too serious, particularly when uttered with the weight of authority, to be taken lightly by either the professional economist or the student.

Few things stand out more prominently in the history of nineteenth-century thought than the change of attitude which the material sciences have experienced. It is sometimes said that modern science is "realistic" and sets a greater store by facts as facts. But the older sciences were certainly not indifferent to facts; all science deals with facts. What distinguishes the latter-day sciences is not the insistence on facts, but rather the dispassionate habit of presenting and construing them. Substantially and briefly, it may be said to be a change of spiritual attitude. For modern science, the matter-of-fact habit of mind is everywhere and always decisive. Instead of seeking to find the hidden or deeper (spiritual) meaning which underlies appearances, modern science is content to present things (phenomena) as causally related, in some sort of a material sequence. This is the *evolutionary* point of view. Helped on by the evolutionary concept of process and the notion of cumulative causation, a large part of the discipline of the

material sciences has been devoted to purifying the scientific mind of the metaphysical animus.

How far the science of economics has adopted the new conceptions and the new methods is clearly a matter of such vital interest as properly to suggest the course of the historical review to be undertaken here. Political economy has changed its theoretic constitution from time to time in the course of its modern history and it will be profitable to inquire under the pressure of what exigencies or the stimulus of what impulses the modifications have taken place, and whether they have been in the direction of progress.

For the purpose of understanding the theoretical constitution that political economy has had during the greater part of the nineteenth century, it is necessary to go back to some of its eighteenth-century antecedents. To the physiocrats belongs the credit of having attempted the first great comprehensive synthesis in economics, and, though the structure they erected was airy and fantastic, it served as a model for later generations beyond what has ordinarily been admitted. Many a later thinker is of closer kin to them than he would be willing to acknowledge.

Until the physiocrats entered the field, economics was habitually treated as an art, the chief concern of which was to formulate maxims of public policy. With the physiocrats the study takes a new direction or what to all appearances is to be rated as a new direction. They set out to discover the natural laws of wealth, tho to the physiocrats natural law means something different from the empirical generalizations of later science. Theirs is a metaphysical conception of natural law and theirs is the metaphysics

Physiocrats of the order of nature. Starting from this as their central position, they work outward to the laws of society. The natural order of society is to them a simple deduction from the physical order of the universe, and the natural laws of society are simply the laws of the physical order applied to social relations. Therefore, the physiocrats address themselves to a careful scrutiny of nature's processes. As they conceive the matter, it is the ceaseless exchange of matter and force between nature and society that makes up the natural life of society. That exchange is the phenomenon to be explained and the order of nature explains it. The ultimate term of the physiocratic formulation of economic knowledge is, therefore, the order of nature. The habitual effort to reduce all things to terms of nature is the characteristic feature of their thinking.

Nature is invested with a teleological propensity, working for the physical welfare of man. She can, however, be hindered or even thwarted, and has been. But as soon as men cease the infractions of her discipline, the natural course is resumed. In the end, nature always has her way and her way is the best possible way, for she is the interpreter of the Supreme Legislator whose laws are intended to secure the welfare of man.

Such is the physiocratic view of the order of nature. Starting with this conception, they set about to formulate the laws of wealth, the aim being to construe the economic process in terms of the natural order. And since the great enterprise in which nature is engaged is the support and perpetuation of human life, it follows that the supreme test of economic reality is the relation of anything to this nutritive function of nature. Man's work is to be rated as efficient

or otherwise according as it helps or hinders the consummations of nature's substantial end. Thus in the physiocratic analysis the interest centers chiefly in production and their economy is, therefore, mainly a theory of production. Specifically the test of productivity of any activity is its bearing upon the fund of human sustenance—food. Only such activities as enlarged the supply of food are accounted productive—all else is beside the mark. Nature is not solicitous for the spiritual welfare of man, so no alleged spiritual gains coming from diversion of industry from its true channel can compensate for the losses of nutritive material. From this principle follows by logical necessity the physiocratic theory of the "net product," the *impôt unique*, their classification of industry and their predilection for agriculture. The system is one of singular symmetry and nice adjustment of parts.

Their theory of value presents itself as an integral part of this closely compacted system. If value be conceived to mean that which avails toward some admittedly adequate end, then for the physiocrats value must mean that which avails toward nature's work. Exchange values, those which result from the conventional rating of things, manifestly could not satisfy the physiocrat's sense of reality. Natural values are real values to be arrived at through an appraisalment of things from the point of view of nature's purposes. Only that is accounted of value which contributes to the increase of nutritive force. Nothing could be farther from the physiocrat's notion of wealth or economy than to make vendibility the attribute of wealth. That would have been a degradation of the science to the position of a "market philosophy."

Other features and details of the physiocrat's theory lend themselves to a similar construction, but enough has been said to indicate how the metaphysics of natural propensity shaped the theory and to justify the view that economy made its *début* as a systematic science under the patronage of the eighteenth-century metaphysics of nature.

It gives, however, a very faulty idea of the significance of the physiocrats to represent them as mere system-builders. For them the distinction of a later day between art and science has no existence. Theirs is in truth a utilitarian science—a sort of economic sociology in which of necessity the *is* and the *ought to be* are merged in one. Under the *ordre naturel* whatever *is* of right *ought* to be.

The next important advance in economics is connected with the activity of Adam Smith; and it is to be rated the most considerable advance ever accomplished for the science by any single individual. And his work is to be rated as a great achievement whether we regard the body of its specific teachings or whether we regard only its larger features as set forth in the general attitude of the author. The painstaking scholarship that has been brought to bear on the history of economic science in recent years has shown Adam Smith's indebtedness to his contemporaries to be greater than was once supposed.

Particularly close is Smith's kinship with the physiocrats—so close that with the lapse of time there seems to be increasing disposition to group him with them, rather than to set either them or him apart from the direct line in tracing the pedigree of the science. With both, the fundamental

constitution is metaphysical, and with him, as with them, the metaphysics is the metaphysics of natural propensity; with this difference, that in Adam Smith the metaphysics is toned down somewhat and is made to play a less overt part in shaping the formulations of theory, which is, perhaps, only another way of saying, with just about that difference that we would expect between a representative Frenchman of the eighteenth century and a representative Scotchman. Indeed, in this respect, Adam Smith may be said to occupy a transitional position in the history of economic thought, if the greater prevalence of the matter-of-fact habit of mind may be taken legitimately, as broadly describing the cultural advance of the nineteenth century. The sources that fed this advance in Adam Smith need not detain us. It is probably to be set down to the credit of no single influence or individual. He simply shared in the change of mind that was being operated for British eighteenth-century thinking by the slow-working influences of the time, and that found their most definite philosophical expression in the skepticism of David Hume. So that an admirer of Hume might be pardoned for thinking that Hume did for political economy a service somewhat analogous to what he did for philosophy. However, so far as he was hard-headed and factual he was a child of his time; but so far, again, was he also child of his time as he preserved, along with the new habit, the metaphysical bias from which it was not given his century to shake itself free.

The feature of Adam Smith's thinking that is here under notice as marking an advance in the progress of the science may be viewed in another aspect. There has been not a little discussion as to the method of investigation followed by Adam Smith. Spokesmen for each of the rival methods—"induction" and "deduction"—have each claimed Adam Smith on their side. But all that this means is that Adam Smith is in his ways of thinking at a transition. So far as the deductive method goes with the metaphysical way of handling things, the abundant use of it by Adam Smith shows the vitality of the metaphysical animus; and so far as the inductive method is a suitable companion of the more matter-of-fact habit, Adam Smith's frequent resort to it points to the presence of a new item in the conceptual equipment of the science. For this reason it is a matter of some difficulty to define Adam Smith's true attitude.

Adam Smith, like the physiocrats, is concerned to find the *natural* laws of wealth, and his discussion runs almost habitually on the causal sequences of things, and so far justifies the title of his book, "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations." But a closer examination shows that, in his handling of the phenomena of wealth, he is not content to let the inquiry stop with the description of proximate causes. His feeling for reality is not appeased until the causal material situation is resolved or, at any rate, is resolvable, into its ultimate spiritual causes; in other words, for him things must have a meaning beyond what the naked situation yields. His plan, therefore, like the physiocrats', demands a scheme that shall be competent to exhibit the significance of the economic processes. But, while this much may be said with confidence, it is not so easy to say what that scheme is. It is not put forth with the physiocrats' naive frankness. Adam

Smith is a Scotchman. Suffice it to say that to the older notion of a teleological trend in the course of events, Adam Smith adds the notion of a normal human nature. The human propensity to "truck, barter, and exchange" becomes the mechanism through which the "invisible hand" of nature accomplishes its purposes, and since men are pretty much alike, the mechanism is well-nigh faultless. It is, therefore, the workings of human nature as thus conceived rather than the operations of physical nature that is the object of Adam Smith's analysis. His system, like the physiocrats', is mainly a theory of production, but man, not nature, is conceived to be the central agent of the process. His system has, therefore, been properly called the *industrial system*, for human industry-labor is its efficient principle, the term in which economic knowledge is formulated. Tho he looks in much the same direction, his outlook is broader than the physiocrats'. Everything is viewed from the standpoint of production; all the economic processes are construed as aspects of the productive process, but the notion of production is widened so as to include every variety of industry, not alone that which helps the nutritive work of nature. So "natural" value belongs to whatever embodies labor; labor is the *cause* of value—the "real price" of things.

But while Adam Smith's notion of the natural course is appreciably nearer the truth, as the ordinary layman sees it, than was the physiocrats', it is very far from professing to be identical with the actual course. Thus natural values are not the values causally determined by the "higgling of the market." But, for all that, they are the "real," the "necessary" values, and the market values are the nominal values, the "accidents," tho a cynic might be pardoned for refusing to see wherein they were "necessary" except to establish the logical congruence of economic theory with its postulate. Of course, the gap between nature and the market is bridged, in thought at least, by the workings of self-interest. Where competition is the regulator of values a reasonable correspondence is held to ensue between the "real" and the "nominal prices" of things, and thus is vindicated the economist's claim that nature does all things well, and that, as she does them well, the logical is the "natural."

Quite as characteristic of Adam Smith's attitude is his treatment of distribution, and it is almost equally characteristic, it may be added, of the attitude of many later economists toward the same problem. The shares in distribution are to be accounted for. How is it done? Briefly stated, by construing them in terms of the "necessary" equivalence of effort and effect in production. Nature does not waste. Therefore, when the natural course of things runs off smoothly, that is to say, when competition does its part, effect must be proportioned to effort, and vice versa, and thus the quantitative equivalence between work and pay is neatly established. Man bestirs himself to secure a gain with no intention of assisting the productive processes of nature. But, for all that, the bargains that he drives betray him into an alliance with nature, and therewith is he led by the "invisible hand" to do his part in production and the service of society. The resulting shares in distribution are natural. But, here again, it must not be supposed that the natural and the actual correspond

in Adam Smith—least of all in that state of actual society which follows “the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock.” Nevertheless, the distribution in question is “natural,” because it falls in with the author’s preconception of the orderly course of industry.

If it be asked whether the term “natural,” as employed by Adam Smith, implies the same unmitigated approval as with the physiocrats, the answer must be “no.” In general, the “natural” means “what ought to be,” or “what is intended by a benevolent providence.” But some telling passages might be quoted to show that Adam Smith’s enthusiasm for the “natural” is considerably tempered by his noting the action of other plain, homely, matter-of-fact causes, even under the “system of natural liberty.” The case of the landlord is one. His “rent costs him neither labor nor care.” So again “the interests of the dealers in a particular branch of trade or manufactures is always in some respects different from and even opposite to that of the public.” The persistence of these and similar cases were troublesome items in Adam Smith’s system. They must have offended his nice metaphysical sense of reality. But it is greatly to his credit that he did not attempt to ignore them and was willing to sacrifice symmetry to truth. That would have offended his dispassionate practical judgment still more. He is willing to let these blemishes stand as exceptions to the beneficent trend of things. And in this respect he is better than some of his followers.

But yet, looking backward, the metaphysical animus in Smith is strong. The notion of a natural economic order guided his thinking as it had done the physiocrats’. But his natural order was the result of the free and spontaneous action of individual interest, acting, of course, under the constraint of providence. This idea of efficient self-interest was his specific innovation and his legacy to his followers. They seized upon it, and, informing and strengthening it with a new philosophy of the human mind, made it the basis of the classical system.

With the turning of the century, the constitution of economics experiences a substantial change, adding to its premises and shifting its attitude, but not in any such thoroughgoing way as to divest it of its metaphysical character. It is still a science dependent on the apparatus of preconceptions and postulates.

The leading figures in economics at the beginning of the century are Malthus and Ricardo, and they, with Adam Smith, are usually represented

The Classical System

as the great triumvirate that gave to English political economy the character that it has held ever since. But it seems doubtful if either Malthus or Ricardo has exerted a greater influence than the great utilitarian who was the tone-giving influence in nearly every department of English thought for at least one half of the century. To the influence of Bentham’s teaching the science owes that peculiar constitution which has given rise to its characterization as “the mechanics of natural liberty.” To that same influence seems due the shifting of the center of interest from the analysis of production to the theory of value. And to his teaching in particular we owe the creation of that bondman of the science, the economic man. To him also is due the rapid rise to ascendancy of the abstract deductive method. No doubt, other

influences also contributed to these changes. The incorporation of the law of diminishing returns and the principle of population into the premises of the science are to be especially noted. As limiting conditions of the environment within which the economic action of man was noted, they, also, served to add emphasis to questions of value and distribution and besides imported a strain of pessimism into economic thinking. But no other influence was paramount to the influence of the new habits of thought, the foundations of which were so convincingly set forth in Bentham’s “Principles.” That influence was deep and pervasive. It was during the reign of Benthamite utilitarianism that English political economy achieved its greatest triumph and worked its way to an authoritative position in Great Britain as a foundation for public policy. How intimately associated in the public mind were utilitarianism and political economy is seen in Carlyle’s writings where the monster “Utilitaria” and the “Dismal Science” are represented as different faces of the same vicious error.

The specific innovation that utilitarianism accomplished for political economy was the substitution of utility for providential design as the basis of theoretical formulations. Bentham gave to that metaphysics of human nature which had already emerged in Adam Smith, a matchless statement, an impregnable setting. It became for political economy a first principle. Adam Smith had shown how the actions of individual men, each seeking his own gain, inevitably promoted the public interest. But Adam Smith was no utilitarian. It was to only one class of actions that he assigned self-interest, and even there self-interest was but a wheel in the mechanism through which nature sought her ends. With the school of Bentham, however, “there is no true interest but individual interest,” not only in the region of business but throughout the whole of life. Self-interest is, therefore, not a method of nature: it *is* nature.

To Adam Smith’s followers, the “Wealth of Nations” was a sacred text. But like other sacred books, it needed interpretation. At the opening of the century the succession to Smith was in question. Malthus and Ricardo were aspirants for the leadership. Of the two, Malthus stands much nearer Smith in his philosophical preconceptions than does Ricardo. Like Smith, he imputes a purpose and constraining guidance to nature. But the victory went to Ricardo. He is a layman in philosophy, coming by his preconceptions tacitly, like many a later economist, through a simple process of absorption. That is, perhaps, what makes him so significant an exponent of the change in the point of approach that was taking place in the science. Ricardianism is Benthamite utilitarianism turned economic. It was given to Bentham to formulate the new articles of faith, to Ricardo, to use them.

In the hands of Ricardo and the disciples of Bentham, economics ceases to be a theory of the natural order and becomes, what was already foreshadowed in Adam Smith, a theory of the workings of human nature, but of human nature construed in hedonistic terms. Human nature is regarded as a competent mechanism for transforming the effects wrought upon it by the environment into an equivalent amount of conduct. Human action is viewed as inert, mechanical reaction, the effect in conduct being always quantitatively proportionate to the cause. This being

the general position of hedonism, the particular office of each of the sciences living under its dispensation was to show in detail, in its appropriate department of activity, how this reaction takes place. And since the process through which the human agent translates the adequate cause into its appropriate effects is obviously a valuation process, economics ceases to be primarily a theory of production and becomes a theory of valuation. Its principal problem is not to discover the causes of the productiveness of industry, but, as Ricardo puts it, to "determine the laws which regulate distribution." Value ceases to be regarded from the side of production and production becomes a category of value, and political economy takes a long step toward attaining, in appearance at least, what Professor Marshall three quarters of a century later describes as its proper goal—a theory of the equilibration of economic forces. In keeping with this change of base, value is no longer conceived as that which avails toward production, but as that which avails toward exchange. Labor falls from being the cause of value to being merely its measure. Value being taken as the earmark of wealth, the Ricardian economics becomes a theory of acquisition, attention being given to the money-making propensities rather than to productive activity. The distinction between industry and business, between the making of things and the making of money, is obscured and neglected. Archbishop Whately designated the essential interest of the utilitarian economics when he proposed the name "catalactics"—the science of exchange. However considerable the changes thus wrought in the theoretical structure of the science, the adoption of the utilitarian conception did not destroy or seriously damage the belief in a meliorative trend in events. The facts of diminishing productiveness and the law of population made it far from easy for the Ricardians to contemplate the "natural advance of society" with the unmixed satisfaction of the physiocrats and Adam Smith. But utilitarianism with its "greatest good of the greatest number" and "every one to count as one," saved the day for the system of natural liberty. Since society is the sum of its individual men, and the collective interest is the sum total of individual interests, it follows for utilitarian economics that each individual in pursuing his own private interest is also furthering the social good in the most effective fashion. And consequently the natural laws of the science under its utilitarian organization, tho they have lost something of their former coloring and unimpeachable authority, are still uttered in a sense that usually applies approval even tho in a greater degree than before they are exprest in the conventional language of science. Competition makes for the happiness of the greatest number. Therefore, the natural laws of political economy, which are the laws of competition, carry with them the suggestions of precepts.

So long as utilitarianism maintained its position unimpaired, economic science had a clear and easy course to follow—that is, until about the middle of the nineteenth century. During that time, it advanced to a commanding position among the social sciences because it was, of all of them, the most competent to turn the utilitarian expedient to effective account in explaining the motions of men and society. Its deliverances, tho frequently uttered in a spirit of dogmatism,

were accepted almost unquestioned. Its standing with the public had never been better. There were differences among the Ricardians on questions of theoretical detail, but nothing touching the spiritual stability of the system they had devised. New departures in economics were taken or proposed by Sismondi in France, List in Germany, and Richard Jones in England. But highly valued as the work of these innovators has been by later economists, it made little impression upon the development of the science at the time. The authority of the classical political economy was not impeached and could not be impeached by any such attack. The time had not yet come. So long as utilitarianism was in the ascendent, the public credentials of political economy must needs be the best. But let the supremacy of utilitarianism once be threatened and troubles must begin for economics. The old constitution would no longer avail; a change must follow.

That change began about the middle of the century and, strangely enough, was associated with the intellectual enterprise of one who frequently has been represented as having given to political economy its most telling exposition from a clarified Ricardian standpoint—so much so, that the English economics of this middle period has sometimes been called the Ricardo-Mill political economy. But seen in the

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fuller and truer perspective of time, Mill's "Political Economy" is read to very little advantage, and his position is very badly understood, when he is represented as merely the "Secrétaire de la Rédaction" keeping to his task with the "piety of a disciple." The truth of the matter is that Mill was at a transition in British thinking in a sense which neither he nor his following appreciated. In his hands political economy was shifting its ground insensibly, perhaps, but nevertheless unmistakably. Mill may have echoed the laws and phrases of the earlier generation of thinkers, but he was informing them with a new spirit which reflects the presence of the new influences that were effecting the thinking of his day. This is not the place to attempt an enumeration of these influences. They were several and diverse. It will answer the purpose to mention a single one connected with the decline of utilitarianism and its psychological counterpart. For this decline imparted a considerable change in the outlook and status of economic science. The change in question is already foreshadowed in Mill's "Logic" (1843), where the older view that individual conduct and character are but the mechanical product of the molding circumstances of the environment is qualified so far as to allow to the individual himself an influence and responsibility in shaping those circumstances. That is to say, a teleological trend is coming to be claimed for individual conduct where formerly such a trend was looked for and found only in the sequence of events in nature. In other words, the human nature, into the workings of which the economist inquired, is being differently construed under the guidance of a changed psychology. The psychology that was making its way in Mill's time was moving away from the older associationist standpoint and approaching the position of modern functional psychology. Centering its interest in the process of attention, it teaches that cognition or perception as the attentive process always implied the presence of a purpose or in-

terest that elicits and guides the attention. That attention is essentially the process of examining a situation with the view to discovering what objects and conditions it contains that may be made use of for a given intended purpose. Human conduct, as viewed from this standpoint, ceases to be merely uniform, quantitative, inert reaction to adequate forces, and comes to be regarded as qualitative, purposive response to stimuli. The ethical counterpart of this revamped hedonism, the utilitarianism of Mill, correspondingly recognizes in the motivation of human conduct differences in kind as well as amounts of pleasures, and imputes to the selective agent in conduct a continuity of purpose that gives a spiritual stability to the life process. And herewith there begins to fall away from political economy that ancient article of faith which had seen in nature, and nature alone, that consummate, beneficent trend which enabled the economist to go to his work with conviction in his heart and confidence on his lips.

It is out of the question here to pursue the modifications wrought by Mill and his following in the received version of economic doctrine as a result of the change in their spiritual attitude. To one of these, though it is far from being the most significant, Mill himself calls special attention. It is the distinction he draws between the laws of the production of wealth and the laws of its distribution. The first are "real laws of nature dependent upon the properties of objects" and cannot be modified; but the second are only the "necessary consequences of particular social arrangements," and are "liable to be much altered by the progress of social improvement." And any attentive reader of Mill will recall many instances in which the outcome in the economic situation is represented as controlled or modified by other forces than mere pecuniary interest. The economic situation is far from frictionless. The many circumstances that Mill finds impeding the indiscriminate play of human competition, as, for example, in his discussion of the cause of differences of value or differences of wages, are cases in point. The "counteracting forces" as well as the "controlling principles" are noticed. It is the "negligible factors" that mar the symmetry and glow of his exposition. For similar reasons the unmitigated results of gain-seeking traffic are not necessarily to be construed as good, and competition loses something of its former virtue as the natural scheme of social salvation. There is a visible shrinkage of the teleological content of the laws of political economy. They imply less of approval than formerly, of the competitive process of which they are presumed to offer the explanation. They are still natural laws but with more of the limitations of later-day science—empirical generalizations, statements of impersonal uniformities, of coexistence and of sequence. Moreover, they are abstract laws built on assumptions and of hypothetical validity only. They are not entitled to exercise, therefore, a narrowly constraining influence on the economist who undertakes to apply them. Hence, Mill does not hesitate, in applying the principles of political economy to social philosophy, to propose some very substantial departures from what so many of his predecessors had been disposed to regard as a sovereign, natural principle of the science—the principle of *laissez-faire*. For Mill the "admitted functions of government embrace a much wider field than can easily be in-

cluded within the ring-fence of any restrictive definition; and it is hardly possible to find any ground of justification common to them all, except the comprehensive one of general expediency." Liberty and property cease to be "natural rights" and are treated as human contrivances to be tried on their merits. To the emancipated mind of Mill's day, Bastiat's "Harmonies" was an anachronism, a voice from the past. Cairnes's impatient declaration that political economy has nothing to do with *laissez-faire*, shows how changed was the animus of the science.

Clearly, then, the forces of disintegration were at work in political economy and the constitution of the science as it left Mill's hands was a different thing from what it had been in the confident days of his father. When Cairnes some years later undertook to rest on the prestige of political economy by a guarded restatement of its leading principles and explanation of its character and methods, he believed himself, no doubt, to be walking in the footsteps of the masters. But the net result of his effort was to show how far political economy had drifted from its traditional position. The unpretentious character that

Cairnes

Cairnes assigns to economic laws was far from expressing the ambition of the masters. The fact is that Cairnes, in attempting to give to political economy an irreproachable character, was simply sterilizing it. He set out to do for political economy what was being done in the natural sciences. In the overhauling the physical sciences were experiencing in Cairnes's day, an attempt was being made to read metaphysics out of them, and the physical sciences were in this respect serving as an example to the social sciences. Whatever success the effort to relieve science of the metaphysical taint may have had in the field of the former, the results of the innovation in political economy are not to be accounted as highly effective. Under Cairnes's dispensation political economy became not so much less metaphysical as less vitally metaphysical. The virile and imposing metaphysics of natural liberty simply gave way to an impersonal and spiritless conception of normality, and political economy becomes what it has remained for many of Cairnes's followers, a perfect, hypothetical science—formulations of theory in terms of tendencies—a body of ultimate principles. For the average reader, Cairnes took the discussion of economics out of the older region of reality into an atmosphere so tenuous that it could not preserve the aspect of vital interest. It was a metaphysical science without a message. It was neither stimulating philosophy nor good observation. Is it then surprising that Cairnes should have complained that political economy had "ceased to be a subject of fruitful speculation with the educated public" or that Bagehot should have found that "it lies rather dead in the public mind" and that "it no longer matches with the most living ideas of people"?

It is hardly necessary to add that all this is said with no thought of disparaging the services of Cairnes's school to economic science. His is deservedly an honored position in the history of the science, and it may well be that the phase that it has seemed fit to connect with his name was an unavoidable phase in the development of the science. Indeed, there is good reason for thinking that it was. Economics was threatening to

become a closed circle and to come to a full stop. Such a condition could not, however, long endure in a subject of such vital concern. A reaction in some form was inevitable. What is matter for surprise in reviewing the history of the past fifty years, is that the reaction, in a form competent to deliver the science and give it a modern constitution, should have been so long in coming. Earnest efforts to regenerate economics and to recover for it something of its lost prestige have surely not been wanting. But the record, if the truth is told, is not one of big achievement or even of measurable progress when we consider the startling advances that have been taking place in other fields.

Looking first at the work of the economists of the last generation, mainly English and American, who have set themselves the special task of formulating economic theory, it will hold true, with some exception, that their work has been mainly work of repair and extension, rather than of fresh construction. They are the legitimate heirs of the classical tradition—the classical school of to-day. Magnify as we will the differences that separate these later theorists from their classical predecessors, the differences are differences of theoretic detail and emphasis rather than differences in point of approach or method of attack. The problems they handle are the old ones and they handle them after much the old fashion, tho, be it

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said, with some change in the phrasing of their conclusions. Utility may take the place of cost and productivity of sacrifice; a single law of distribution may do the work that once required three; but we still have the problems of the Ricardian economics and the apparatus for handling them shows little change. It is still deductive economics of the old type, seeking by a skilful manipulation of definitions to explain the normal case. A perfectly balanced system in which everything is reduced to order and symmetry and congruence with itself, that is accepted as the test of truth. Such, for example, is Professor Clark's "Distribution," a consummate achievement in the art of system-making. And tho the phrase "system-making" cannot be applied to Marshall's "Principles" without qualification, it is largely because the amplitude of accessories, with which he invests his treatment, divides our interest with the system. Every competent reader of this monumental work knows how much more it contains than a system. But tho Professor Marshall's practice is more liberal than his precept, he has made it clear on more than one occasion that the ideal he cherishes for economics is to place it on a firm foundation as a systematic science, seeking to establish a body of general principles—an organon, as he has called it—by those methods which the natural sciences of an earlier generation have made familiar. He aspires to make economics a perfect, quantitative science and would, therefore, keep value in its traditional position as the central problem of the science, to which and from which all else leads. The play of human motives working their way to a position of equilibrium, that is the thing to be explained. Recourse is therefore taken to the analogies of physics rather than biology and so the science remains a mechanics of human action—a study of balance rather than of growth—a theory of action, no doubt, but one in which the interest centers in the conditions that limit the play rather than in the

factors that vary it. No doubt neither Professor Marshall nor his colleagues are indifferent to those considerations which the biological and anthropological sciences of our day are pressing upon the attention of the learned world. There are too many evidences in the writings of Professor Marshall, at least, of a sincere and solicitous regard for the view-points of these sciences, to charge such neglect. He is read to poor purpose if it is not discovered how the notions of continuity and development in the movement of things have tempered and broadened his attitude. They are the watchwords of his preface. But for all that, when the analysis is once under way, it is not the notion of development but rather that of stability that shapes the discussion.

The legitimacy of systematic science is clearly not to be impugned. Science it certainly is. The history of scientific endeavors in other fields shows that such work has, at one time or another, engrossed a considerable share of the leading minds; but the later history of many of these same sciences shows a diminishing conviction of its usefulness. And those that have been most successful in detaching themselves from the discipline of philosophy have given it up as an unprofitable enterprise and have taken to other and less pretentious methods. Systematic science must lose caste, because its tentative conclusions fail to satisfy that desire for concrete knowledge of things that it seems to be the appointed mission of science in our day to provide.

If this version of the matter be sound, it cannot but be a cause for serious misgiving that so much of the intellectual energy of the economists of the present day that is being devoted to theory should have taken such a lead. It lends substance to the criticism sometimes leveled against economists by the adepts of other sciences that it is behind the times in its adherence to outworn methods in handling its subject-matter. There seems to be room, if indeed there is not great need, for work of a different type from that which has engaged the attention of the neo-classical school. Progress demands it.

And much the same may be said of the diversion created by the Austrians. However much they may have done to advance the discussion of a particular detail of economic theory, albeit an important one, their achievement is not to be rated as a serious innovation for the science as a whole. Indeed, the ready assimilation of the doctrines of the Austrians into the body of the classical economics shows how near they were in temperament and standpoint to the school they set out to supplant. The movement has apparently spent its force and the science goes on its accustomed way.

What shall be said of the historical movement? To it is usually accorded the place of chief importance in the history of the reaction. It made its appearance about the middle of the century

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with the intention of saving political economy from its unprofitable career. The movement has been variously known as the inductive, historical, or German school. It was in fact all three; historical and inductive in its professed method, but German in its essential spirit. The rise of this school is not a self-explanatory phenomenon, but it is not enveloped in much mystery. Just as the classical political economy was shaped by English utilitarianism, so the German historical economics was an outgrowth of

German philosophy. In each case economics was building on the current metaphysics of the home country. Each was a distinctive national product, and the historical movement, tho it has won adherents in other countries, has preserved up till to-day a peculiarly German character. Roscher started the movement. Reacting from the excessive *a priori*ism of English political economy, stimulated by the example of the new historical jurisprudence, and inspired by the Hegelian notion of development, he set out to reorganize economics on a broader basis. The movement that he inaugurated soon found adherents. Bruno Hildebrand followed in 1848 with his "National Ökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft," and Karl Kries in 1853 with his epoch-making "Die Politische Ökonomie vom Standpunkte der geschichtlichen Methode." Taken together these works define the fundamental articles of the constitution of the new historical economics. They were its confession of faith. Kries emphasized the idea of the parallel development of economic ideas and economic institutions—the idea of historical relativity. But Roscher was more ambitious; he aspired to make of economics a "philosophy of economic history" whose special function should be to discover the laws of cultural development in their economic aspects. Hegel had given to German thought the conception of organic society. According to this, society has a life history of like kind with organic nature; therefore, the process of organic life supplies the proper analogy for studying the cultural sequence. It was a part of this conception which Roscher seized on—that the cultural sequence repeats itself in cycles of "youth," "maturity" and "old age," each nation going through much the same course. The history of the past, therefore, is prophetic of the movement of the future; for history repeats itself. The laws of historical development are the "natural laws" of society. It is thus that history became the method of the new departure—history, that is to say, as officially interpreted by Hegel's formula. Seen in the light of its derivation, therefore, the historical school was as much metaphysical as historical. History was to be read with a purpose. "He," says Hildebrand, "can have no right understanding of history to whom the conditions and needs of his own time are unknown." It is the business of the economist "to discover the link which the present generation is to add to the chain of social development." The movement, therefore, from the beginning had an ethical as well as an historical import. Its self-appointed mission was to control, as well as to explain, development. It was a "*historisch-ethische Richtung*." As Held stated it, the new school "demands a conception of the science, which includes social policy"; and since, according to the German view, the State is the appropriate organ of social control, the new economics was a theory of the State and its functions as much as it was a theory of economy and its changes.

Whether the reaction thus described is to be regarded as a far-reaching and salutary reaction in the field of economic study is not here in question except so far as it has had a bearing upon the transformation of the theoretic constitution of the science. Every economist, no matter of what school, knows how much his attitude has been modified and tempered by the criticisms of the "Historiker." The "abstracter economics"

has been shown its proper place, its spiritual pride has been reduced, and it has been put, as it were, on its good behavior. Every historian as well as economist knows, too, how much history owes to the activity of the new school. If it has turned out much lumber of which nothing better can be said than that it is scholarship, it has also given some noteworthy and vital researches of the highest value. But all this and more that might be said to the same effect is beside the mark of our present interest. What has this school done, in a positive way, to give a new formulation of theory? Its earlier champions promised a rapid and radical transformation of economic science. Has that promise been fulfilled?

It may be said at once that so far as the activities of the historical school have moved in the orbit described for it by its founders it has failed to make good. Economic theory has not experienced at the hands of the exponents of the new method the reorganization of which it stood in need. Institutional history is not economic science. A narrative and descriptive account of things is not a scientific relation. The theory of institutions requires that these should be accounted for in terms of determinable cause and effect. A causal sequence implies very much more than historical succession. So far as the work of the historical school has been a search after the laws of social development, it has seldom eventuated in any more definite articles of theory than such loose and sweeping historical generalizations as, for example, Wagner's law of the increasing extension of State activity, or Held's law of the evolution of industry through the successive stages of family system, guild system, domestic system, and factory system. Such and similar guesses at "the curve of economic evolution" may be useful for the purposes of the economists who use them, but they do not make good the claim of their inventors that they "see things as they actually are"—"free . . . of all *a priori* theories." The frankly avowed preoccupation of many members of the school, with learning the "significance and appropriateness" of things, discredits their theoretical work no less decisively than it does that of the Manchester school whom they set out to supplant. The doctrines of the one are as unmistakably of metaphysical derivation as those of the other. But since historical induction seems a less competent contrivance than abstract deduction for turning a metaphysical postulate to rapid account in the formulation of theory, the theoretical output of the historical school has been notably small. Indeed, many of the school appear to have given up the profession of theory, being content to use as their working principles, when occasion arises, the body of doctrines worked out by the later economists of the classical trend. It was such a change of heart, no doubt, that made it possible for Professor Wagner, some years ago, to express such ready acquiescence in the work of Professor Marshall. It would appear, for this and many other symptoms of like effect, that the large group of economists for whom Wagner speaks—the historical proper—has abandoned the field of theory and taken to writing history.

When, however, we turn to the branch of the historical school of which Professor Schmoller is the representative, we meet a different situation. There is much in the later activity of this branch that is of capital importance for economic theory

and much that sets it apart from its own past as well as from the conventional line of the historical trend. Taking, at the outset, a position so radical that it drew from his colleagues the characterization of "extreme Historismus," Professor Schmoller yet stands to-day as one of the foremost workers in the field of theoretical construction. Whether or not such an outcome was to have been expected as a result of the interest that hitherto engaged the activity of Professor Schmoller and his school may be doubted. It is well known that Professor Schmoller began his career by discouraging all attempts at theory as premature and ill-advised until an extensive equipment of historical, statistical, and other material should have been provided, and his utterances on different occasions left no doubt that this preliminary work would need to be done with such exhaustiveness as to absorb the energy of at least one generation. An eventual formulation of results was avowed to be the end in view; but the long-continued and painstaking devotion to history, and the easy avoidance of theory, gave much ground for the belief that history rather than theory would always be their characteristic product. Indications, however, have not been wanting in the writings of Bücher, Knapp, and others, that history was not to be the last word of the school but the pathway to construction. Above all, the work of these gave substantial promise that the theory at which they aimed would not rest with empirical, historical generalizations, but would lead to laws of causal sequence. It is this latter aspect that makes historical economics, as seen through Schmoller's "Grundriss," of such significance for economic theory. The function of economic theory as Professor Schmoller understands it is very different from the conventional view. He made it clear, some years ago, in a review of the Austrian doctrines, that he could not regard the doctrine of value as the main preoccupation of economic theory. For him, the economic process includes much more, and much of more significance than the process of valuation. What he aspires to offer is a theory of institutions, more specifically a theory of the factors that have shaped the successive phases that make up the life history of these institutions, and the outcome, as we have it, in the existing situation. The economic situation, as Professor Schmoller views it, has nothing definitive about it. Institutions are always regarded as a part of the conventional apparatus of life. They are still in the making, therefore, and always will be; and they are not accounted for by representing them as functions in an orderly and rationalized scheme of things. They represent the accumulated influence of a complex of forces whose shifting play is to be ascertained by a careful scrutiny of the exigencies under the stress of which the process of adaptation has taken place. The interest centers, therefore, much more in the origin, variation, and survival of institutions and habits, so far as these determine or are the economic situation, than in their present working or efficiency as rated by some conventional standard. The result is, therefore, to be described as a genetic rather than an historical account of institutions—a natural history of institutions in their economic aspects, the chronological sequence always giving way to the causal sequence. The point of view is that of evolution rather than of "historical development," the dis-

cussion habitually following the lines that evolutionary science has made familiar. Elaborate notice is taken of such features and circumstances of environment as have an appreciable bearing upon the economic life process, and a no less careful regard is paid to the changing make-up of human nature; for it is the complex interaction of man and his environment that issues in institutions.

For such a survey of the natural growth of institutions, history is of obvious importance. It describes the field of investigation; but more than history is needed. One has only to turn the pages of Professor Schmoller's "Grundriss" to see how widely he has ranged in fields of knowledge that lie beyond the conventional frontier of economic science, as it has usually been cultivated by economists of either the historical or the classical trend. The fact that is of moment, and that is to be signalized in following the progress of our science, is that we have here a new type of economics, a type that attempts, and with much success, to carry into the study of economic institutions the spirit and method of modern science.

A. C. MILLER.

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POLITICAL SCIENCE may be defined as that branch of social science which treats of the theory of the State. Its province is not coextensive with the investigation of society. It is concerned only with such activities of society as are organized in the constitution. "A population speaking a common language and having ideas as to the fundamental principles of rights and wrongs, and resident upon a territory separated by high mountain ranges or broad bodies of water, or by climatic differences from other territory,"¹ is the State behind the Constitution. It presents us with the natural basis of a true and permanent political establishment, but does not constitute the subject-matter of political science. Political science studies the State within the constitution and shows how it expresses its will in acts of government. It inquires how this State within the constitution is created and molded by the State behind the constitution, but beyond this political science proper does not go. The State behind the constitution, or natural society as we should otherwise call it, is for politics, as for political economy, a datum. The detailed study of its origins and evolution falls within the province of sociology (*q. v.*). Political science, however, like sociology, finds its premises in facts or human nature. The motive forces of political life are the desires of men, but they are desires

¹The American Commonwealth, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. i., No. 1, March, 1886, p. 13.

massed and generalized, desires felt simultaneously and continuously by thousands, even by millions of men who are by them simultaneously moved to concerted action. Transmuted into will, these desires become the phenomena of sovereignty—the obedience-compelling power of the State—"original, absolute, unlimited, universal power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects."¹ Political science describes these gigantic forces and studies their action. It assumes for every nation a national character and concerns itself in the political constitution of the State scientifically deducible from the assumed character of the nation. It takes the fact of sovereignty and builds upon it. It starts where Aristotle started, with the dictum that man is a political animal. Until within quite modern

Definition and Nature

times writers on political science included in their works a treatment of the topics that are included to-day under the special sciences of politics and political economy. But the whole group of subjects which these names suggest—natural rights, democracy, individualism, socialism, questions of finance, statistics, and the like—have now gathered about them a history and theory too comprehensive for any but special treatment.

Political science, therefore, strictly construed, limits itself at the present time to the discussion of the nature and functions of the State. The general topics, for instance, treated under the caption Political Science in Prof. J. W. Burgess's "Political Science and Constitutional Law," are: the idea of the nation; the present geographical distribution of nations and nationalities; natural political character; the idea and conception of the State; the origin of the State; the forms of the State; the ends of the State. Constitutional law, or the study of the concrete methods by which the State exercises its powers, is naturally a closely allied subject, but, nevertheless, in this work it receives separate treatment under such topics as the organization of the State within the constitution in Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France; the idea, source, content, and guaranty of individual liberty; the systems of individual liberty guaranteed in the aforementioned nations; their forms of government; the construction and powers of their legislatures; the duties of the executive and judiciary.

Early writers on political science failed to make these distinctions, and their treatment of the nature of society in general, of the organization of the State within the constitution, and of the forms and functions of government, was therefore less clear and scientific than now obtains.

Historically, political science begins with the whole mass of primitive political theory.

In every community of human beings, however rude, there may be detected some form of regulating authority which determines in some degree, however slight, the relations of the members of the community with one another. Very early in the development of civilization man sought some explanation of the phenomena of authority that should satisfy the national spirit. The first results of this seeking were often ridiculous enough, in the judgment of more advanced reason, tho not more so than the earliest results of

investigation into the phenomena of the physical world. Such attempts were the beginnings of political science. Writers, however, who hold that the most satisfactory distinction between political science and the wider social science of sociology is based upon the existence of a political consciousness in a community are inclined to leave this subject of primitive ideas of authority to the latter branch of thought and begin the history of political science at that point where the idea of the State, as distinct from the family and the clan, becomes a determining factor in the

life of the community. When the laws of Manu in India, the sayings of Confucius and Mencius in China, the sacred books of the Hebrews and the

Beginnings

priestly traditions of Egypt and Babylon, were formulated, they represented the culmination of a long process of the development of political ideas. The political theories of Plato and Aristotle, from which it has been customary to date the beginnings of political science, likewise were but the culmination of Greek thought on the subject—thought that had its origins in the civilizations of Cyprus and Ionia, and in the formulated ideas of the Hittites, the Hebrews, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and their earlier intellectual forebears. The earlier ideas were inextricably blended in the conceptions known to us as legal, ethical, theological, ecclesiastical, and even mathematical. The Oriental Aryans, for instance, never freed their politics from the theological and metaphysical environment in which it is embedded to-day. The Semitic Jews and Saracens at times achieved rather more, but their achievement was not permanent. The Turanian Chinese attained a strikingly advanced position in the evolution of ethical doctrine, but neither in theory nor in practise did they ever take the further and decisive step of discriminating between ethical and political conceptions. The Aryans of Europe have shown themselves to be the only peoples to whom the term "political" may be properly applied. Hence it is that political science, in the strictly modern meaning of the term, began with the Greeks.

I. Classic Times

Political science among the Greeks was incidentally treated in writings attributed to Homer and Solon and was to some extent discusst by Thucydides, Socrates, the Sophists, and others. It was left to Plato and Aristotle, however, to place the subject upon its permanent basis.

Three dialogues, "The Statesman," "The Republic," and "The Laws," contain substantially all Plato's political ideas. Of these, the first is primarily an exercise in dialectic, and the second mainly a treatise on ethics. Only the third, the work of the author's mature years, has the deliberate purpose of dealing with political subjects.

Plato

In "The Republic" the ideal State is considered almost exclusively. In "The Statesman" this point of view is retained, but certain highly significant phases of actual government are nevertheless considered. In "The Laws" Plato formally abandons his idealism and seeks to set forth a system that would be workable among imperfect men. "The Republic" is the greatest of the three works. In it the first cause of the State is found in the diversity of men's desires and the necessity of mutual assistance in

¹ John W. Burgess, "Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law," vol. i., p. 58. Gunn & Co., 1898.

satisfying them. A community arising from this cause embraces three classes of people: producers of sustenance, warriors to protect the laborers, and, finally, counselors and magistrates. These three classes working harmoniously together will insure the ideal State. Thus was foreshadowed the modern principle of division of labor. The ideal unity of the State is set forth in the famous discussion of communism. Private property can have no existence in the ideal State. Parents are not to know their children nor children their parents. The relations of the sexes are to be subject to the absolute control of magistrates. In education is to rest the permanent stability of the State.

On the character of the citizens, in the ultimate analysis, Plato relies for the successful operation of government. But this government is not thought of as democratic. The real State, for Plato, exists only in the abstract idea of the State; hence the real rulers are only those who possess knowledge of this idea. In "The Republic" occurs the celebrated descending series of the forms of the State, from the perfect aristocracy, through timocracy, oligarchy, and democracy to tyranny. In timocracy love of honor (*τιμή*) or glory dominates rather than justice; oligarchy is the rule of the wealthy over the many; democracy produces anarchy, and finally results in tyranny.

In general the political philosophy of Plato was largely determined by the conditions of Greek history and was the product of his judgment upon existing institutions. Of his influence, says Dunning in his "History of Political Theories":

The aristocratic city-State was the absolute limit of Plato's thought. But so fixt is the backward look of philosophy that some nineteen centuries were destined to elapse before political theorists freed themselves from the city-State idea and adjusted their speculations to the fact of systems in which the citizens were numbered by millions.

Aristotle begins with the concrete and the actual as Plato with the ideal. He is said to have analyzed more than one hundred and fifty constitutions.

From this work he drew much of the material for "The Politics." Nevertheless, the tremendous influence of his master, Plato, and of contemporary Greek thought is reflected in his theories. One of the great advances

Aristotle

he made on Plato was the disentanglement of political from ethical conceptions. The good of man, Aristotle held, is the perfect development and activity of all the powers that are in him. It is to be attained only by association with others. The good of the individual is merged in that of the State. Abstractly, then, ethics was, to him, a subdivision of politics. The separation of the two fields was largely on the practical side of Aristotle's treatment of the problem. The first book of "The Politics" describes the practical basis of the State. The State is an association of persons. It develops out of the family, household, and village. But the State is different from the household. In the household the master holds different relationships to the various members. In the State the ruler bears exactly the same relation to all citizens. This contention, however, required a justification of slavery. That justification Aristotle found in the fact that men differ from each other by nature. Only those of great ability are fitted to command, others must obey. The former are by nature masters, the

latter slaves. The combination of the two is necessary in the household. Therefore slavery is in accordance with nature. Aristotle severely criticized much of Plato's thought—especially his communistic scheme of the State. The working classes Aristotle deems essential to the State's existence, but this does not make them citizens. Their actual admission has been justified, he thinks, only by a regrettable lack of true material. However, Aristotle ever seeks the best attainable by actual men and under the given conditions.

True to the principle of the golden mean he holds that form of State best in which the middle class is stronger than either or both of the extremes. Circumstances, however, may make any form the best obtainable. Stability is the main essential to be secured.

From Aristotle's time to the period of Rome's power practically no contributions were made to political science. The Epicureans were interested in the ethics of the individual. Any form of State that produced quiet was sufficient for them. The Stoics, however, did concern themselves with the analysis of a law of nature above and beyond all human enactments—a principle which, says Lecky ("History of European Morals," vol. i., chap. ii.), "has been the basis of the best morality and of the most influential tho most chimerical political speculation of later ages."

Rome's genius was practical rather than philosophical. Her institutions rather than the theories of her great men exerted that profound influence on history for which she is justly famed. Polybius and Cicero were the chief writers. The first was responsible for the first formal exposition of the principle of check and balance in constitutional organization, the latter developed and outlined more fully than had previously been done the practical application of the concept, natural law.

II. The Medieval Period

The main political problem of the Middle Ages was the relation of Church and State. Rome had bequeathed to the successors of Charlemagne the traditions of a great State. The Church had built upon the simple teachings of Christ a great secular power. Thomas Aquinas (*q. v.*), in a treatise "Of the Government of Princes," left unfinished, but completed by his disciple, Ptolemy of Lucca, argued the independence of the Church. Dante (*q. v.*), in his "De Monarchia," defended the independence of the State. (For the discussion, see AQUINAS; CANON LAW; DANTE; MIDDLE AGES.) Both sides admit the need of a wise ruler. Only under such a ruler, said Dante, is freedom possible.

For citizens are not for the sake of the consuls, nor a nation for the king; but contrariwise the consuls are for the sake of the citizens, the king for the sake of the nation. For as a commonwealth is not subordinate to laws, but laws to the commonwealth, so men who live according to law are not for the service of the lawgiver, but he for theirs; which is the philosopher's opinion in that which he hath left us concerning the present matter. Hence it is plain also that tho a consul or king in regard of means be the lord of others, yet in regard of the end they are the servants of others; and most of all the monarch, who, without doubt, is to be deemed the servant of them all.

But this, tho the main, was not the only problem of the Middle Ages. Out of the unsettled condition of the times, out of the battle between the conflicting claims of emperor and pope,

of kings and barons, of empire and free city, rose the claims of the right of local government and the conception of limited monarchy.

III. The Modern Period

The modern study of political science is sometimes said to have begun with Machiavelli. He seems, rather, a link between the Middle Ages and the present, but to belong to neither. Concerning the vexed question of how to interpret his great work "The Prince," see MACHIAVELLI; but whether it be interpreted as satire or heartless opportunism, Machiavelli shows with masterly keenness how an unlimited monarch may take advantage of his subjects' characteristics to bend all to his will. He is modern in his study of facts; he is medieval in his worship of the State and kingly power. Buntschli considers his great service to have been that he divorced political science from theology.

In the sixteenth century political theory, like all other phases of intellectual activity, was dominated by the influence of the Reformation. Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, and Calvin all held views on political subjects profoundly different from those of the unmoral and unreligious ideas of Machiavelli. The relation of State to Church regained its importance in discussion, and doctrines earlier set forth by Marsiglio, Ockam, Gerson, and Cusanus were developed in greater detail. The insistence of the reformers upon individual responsibility was still further emphasized by Knox, George Buchanan, Althusius, and Mariana. From this period on the state of nature, the contractual origin of society and government, and the indefeasible sovereignty of the people became the concepts which dominated the field until well into the nineteenth century. It was to Jean Bodin (*q. v.*), however, in his "Of the Commonwealth," that modern political science owes the statement of the necessary concept of sovereignty (*q. v.*), in the clear and unmistakable terms now current. To his mind the State could do no wrong. He it was also who reestablished political science where Aristotle had placed it, on a foundation of history and observation, and by the side of, not dependent from, the sciences of ethics and politics. After his death, however, his method of treating the subject suffered two centuries of eclipse through the prevalence of the *a priori* and deductive systems introduced by Grotius and Hobbes. It was in Montesquieu that Bodin found a worthy successor, and with him he shares the honor of marking out the lines within which the dominant philosophy of the later nineteenth century placed itself.

Not less famous than Bodin, however, is the name of Hugo Grotius, who, by his formulation of a scheme of rights and duties applicable to the relations of nation to nation, has come to be looked upon as the founder of international law (*q. v.*).

Among the early English works Fortescue's "On the Nature of the Law of Nature" and "On the Governance of England," as well as More's "Utopia," require mention. Hobbes (*q. v.*) with his "Leviathan" and Locke (*q. v.*) with his "Two Treatises of Government," were nevertheless the dominant factors in the formulation of political theory in England. (For a full discussion of the origin of and the difference between Hobbes's, Locke's, and Rousseau's forms of the theory of natural rights and the social contract, see

NATURAL RIGHTS.) With Hobbes all men are by nature free and equal; but since in this state without government they would constantly be at war, they have compacted together to give over their natural rights to some person or persons who have the sovereignty, and having given away their rights they no longer have them, and hence they can only absolutely obey. The sovereign is irresponsible and absolute. The people are his subjects.

With Locke, the people have made a similar compact, but have reserved the right to withdraw their allegiance when they will. Hence the right of revolution as defended in his "Essay on Civil Government."

Rousseau's social compact is one in which the people surrender their rights to all the people and not to the sovereign.

These theories exerted a profound influence over the modern world. The doctrine of natural rights played a prominent part in producing the

Natural Rights

French Revolution; it produced declarations of rights in various American colonies; it molded the Declaration of Independence and has affected the whole history of the U. S. even more than that of Europe. (For further discussion of these topics, see CONSTITUTIONALISM; NATURAL RIGHTS.)

In England first arose an effective check to these theories. Montesquieu's "The Spirit of the Laws" had, indeed, appeared fourteen years before Rousseau's "Social Contract," but Montesquieu, like Machiavelli, stands more or less isolated from political theory as its course is now traced. While he stood for history, observation, and broad generalization as the method of approach to political, economic, and social truth, as against the absolute standard of "nature" set up by most of the eighteenth-century writers, he nevertheless failed to exert great influence until the nineteenth century.

It was Hume who brilliantly disputed the validity of the social contract and Blackstone and Bentham who built up where Hume tore down.

Bentham's "Fragment on Government" appeared in 1776, but he belongs distinctly to the nineteenth century. He draws the following distinction between "natural" and "political"

The Nineteenth Century

society: "When a number of persons (whom we may style subjects)," he says, "are supposed to be in the habit of paying obedience to a person or an assemblage of persons, of a known and certain description (whom we may call governor or governors), such persons altogether (subjects and governors) are said to be in a state of political society. When, however, a number of persons are supposed to be in the habit of conversing with each other, at the same time that they are not in any such habit as mentioned above, they are said to be in a state of natural society." Nevertheless, as Bentham goes on to show, the difference is one of degree only. Association passes by insensible gradations into definite and permanent relations. In political society laws are the commands of the supreme governor, the field of whose authority is indefinite. The subject's duty is to obey punctually, but his right is also to "censure freely." The basis of censure is to be utility—the greatest good of the greatest number. (See BENTHAM.)

Austin (*q. v.*) is a writer whose works have been much discust and much misunderstood.

He writes abstractly and dogmatically, developing the clear concept of sovereignty with little reference to moral, social, or historical considerations. This lack, Pollock says, "has been supplied by Sir Henry Maine in the two last chapters of his 'Early History of Institutions,' and later by Mr. Frederic Harrison, in the *Fortnightly Review*. Still more lately Professor Holland has exhibited the results of the English school in a form wholly freed from the old controversial encumbrances, and thereby freed also from the extreme insularity which has prevented Austin's work entirely, and Bentham's to a great extent, from being appreciated by Continental thinkers."

The German school of political science is characteristically transcendental. It begins with Kant's "Rechtsstaat" and the German "Naturrecht"; it is developed in Fichte's socialistic treatment of his early individualistic conception of the State as composed of individuals, and Hegel's individualistic treatment of a socialistic conception of the State; it results in the paternalism of German State socialism, and the democratic socialism of Marx and Lassalle.

German political science, however, like German political economy, has developed a strong historical school. Even Hegel, in his theories, has much reference to history. Savigny, however, is the great German founder of the historical school. The problem, however, most discussed in political science in the present century has been the function and the extent of the function of the State. Wilhelm von Humboldt in 1791 argued that the sole duty of the State was the maintenance of the legal security of each individual; but most Germans have differed from this. Fichte notably broke through these narrow bounds. Friedrich J. Stahl considers the State "the union of the multitude to an ordered common existence, the setting up of a moral authority and power, exalted and majestic, to which the subjects must submit." Fr. Schmitt-henner declared the State to be "an ethical organism for the purpose of giving public expression to life, law, well-being and culture." Waitz ("Politik," 1862) says: "The State is not something arbitrarily made; it does not arise by a contract between men nor by the power of one or more individuals. The State grows like an organism, but not according to the laws, nor for the ends of mere natural life; it has its foundation in the higher moral tendencies of man, and is a sphere for the realization of moral ideas; it is not a natural but a moral organism."

More recent thought of this school has emphasized the element of nationality. Welcker in Freiburg, Lieber in New York, Laurent in Ghent, Mancini and Padelitti in Rome, Pierantoni in Naples, and notably Bluntschli in Zurich and Munich, have emphasized this thought.

The opposition to the historical and national school has been mainly in England. Mill criticized the paternal theory of the State from the radical standpoint, tho he later in life in many practical ways modified this and learned even to call himself a Socialist. (See MILL.) Buckle and Bagehot apply the methods of natural science and environment to the theory of the State; Baron Eötvös in Hungary, Laboulaye in France, Morley in England, follow Mill's liberalism. Herbert Spencer bitterly opposes any ex-

tension of the function of the State, in which he is opposed by Huxley (*q. v.*) and Ritchie (*q. v.*). Latest political science, however, devotes itself more to special subjects and historical research and analysis. Gneist in Germany, Stubbs, Anson, and Dicey in England, Macy in America, are among the chief students of the English Constitution. Laboulaye writes admiringly of the American Constitution. Treitschke, Lorenz von Stein, and others have studied Prussian and German administration. De Tocqueville (early in the century) and Bryce and Lecky (recently) have written general studies of American democracy. Paul Janet, in France, has written what some consider the best general history of political science.

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POLITICAL SCIENCE IN AMERICA: It would be difficult to overestimate the influence which the rise of the great American Republic has had on the recent phases of political philosophy. Not that the United States has produced a striking literature of the subject. The American spirit is more at home in practise than in theory. It has been the facts of our political history, far more than the literary formulation of our political science, that have produced important results. To the philosophers of Europe, groping blindly about among the rubbish of antiquated systems for a foundation on which to build a strong modern theory of the State, the development of American political institutions was full of suggestions. The Americans themselves worked away at their nation-making quite untroubled, for the most part, by philosophical perplexities. In the crisis of attaining their independence the speculative minds among them followed unquestioningly the theories of natural rights and social contract, which were the staple of English and of Continental thought. There was nothing original in the ideas of Otis, Adams, Mason, or Jefferson; only in the application was novelty to be found. In the crisis of constitution-making, the same was true. Hamilton, Madison, and the other leaders in the movement of 1787-89, followed the theories of Locke and Montesquieu and Burke; but exhibited a marvelous sagacity in distinguishing the features of those theories that were of immediate applicability to the problems at hand, and in rejecting that which, however attractive in philosophy, was not of practical moment.

The reaction of American methods on Europe became manifest at the outbreak of the French Revolution. The formulation in written documents of the rights of subjects and the form and powers of governments followed American precedents; and the effect of this practise, in clarifying thought on political subjects, was enormous. In America itself speculation in reference to the written constitution took a narrow legal form. The meaning of the language in this one concrete document absorbed our interest, and we became a race of constitutional lawyers. But beyond the

seas the written constitution, as a new phenomenon in politics, excited debate as to its abstract significance, and as to its importance, not to a particular State, but to the State in general. A new turn was given to the perennial discussion as to the relative position of monarch and people in reference to ultimate political authority. European thinkers, with the concept of a written constitution to work upon, were able to assign to the popular will a much more definite function in the abstract state. Moreover, the progress of an untrammelled democracy on this side of the water attracted the attention of social philosophers. The study of our institutions has been the source of such profound reflections, on both the good and the bad aspects of democratic development, as are to be found in De Tocqueville, in Maine, and in Bryce.

The crisis of our struggle for national unity, culminating in the Civil War, produced a considerable volume of literature, in which a solution for our practical problems was sought in the principles of abstract political theory. Lieber's "Political Ethics," published before 1840, was the most complete treatise of a broad philosophical character prior to the war; and this work followed very closely the lines of German speculation of the day. Of our great ante-bellum statesmen, Calhoun was the most endowed with the spirit of speculation, and his "Disquisition on Government" embodies some very suggestive ideas on the ultimate principles of government, apart from his peculiar interpretation of the American Constitution. Of the works called forth by the exigencies of reconstruction at the end of the war, Hurd's "Theory of Our National Existence," Brownson's "American Republic," and Mulford's "The Nation" are notable. All of these betray a close dependence on prominent schools of European thought, but all are devoted to adapting the old formulas to the determination of a national sovereignty in the Constitution of the U. S. This question of sovereignty in relation to our written constitution, is a characteristic feature in the work of Jameson, "The Constitutional Convention," and in that of Burgess on "Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law." The definitions and distinctions evolved in these latter works in the conception of sovereignty have denoted a clear advance in political theory, and have been correspondingly influential. A similar line of advance is to be seen in the works of Anson and Dicey on the English Constitution, and these writers, the latter in particular, reveal their indebtedness to American institutions for light in pushing their way. At the same time continental thought, especially since the problem of German national organization was solved, has looked for inspiration and example across the Atlantic. Laband and Jellinek, the leading German publicists, are finding solutions for the problems of constitutional law and politics in the same conceptions of sovereignty that have been developed by American conditions. It is not unfair to say that American facts and American theories, together, have given to individual rights their surest present guaranty through written constitutions, and to national authority its surest support through the interpretation of sovereignty in those constitutions. WM. A. DUNNING.

Since the Spanish-American War several new problems have arisen. The first of these was the

determination of the republic's colonial or imperial policy. That has been settled, apparently, on the basis that all continental territory of the U. S. shall be made, ultimately, states of the union and that all extracontinental territory shall either be made, ultimately, states of the union—as, possibly, the Hawaiian Islands and Porto Rico—or be erected into communities even more completely self-governing than states of the union, under the protectorate of the U. S. A second question of importance is whether interpretation of the Constitution can be made sufficiently elastic to meet the mighty changes that have been wrought recently in the structure of our political and civil society and in our commercial and industrial relations. No amendment has been made to the Constitution for some twoscore years. The methods of amendment provided in the instrument itself are unwieldy and possibly unworkable. Nevertheless, it is becoming more and more evident that by interpretation, amendment, or otherwise, the attainment of some reasonably rapid means of adopting the written instrument to new conditions is a problem of political science in this country that must soon be solved. The proper construction of the upper chamber of the legislature and the fixing of the fundamental relation between the legislature and executive branches of government are also present-day problems of American political science. Extension of the legislation of the federal government into the domain of private law—especially in the regulation of commerce and matrimonial relations—and the limitations to be placed on such extension is still another question of importance.

POMEROY, ELTWEED: President of National Direct Legislation League; born at Newark, N. J., 1860. Educated in public schools, graduating from Newark High School, 1878, he engaged in the manufacture of writing-ink, mucilage, paste, sealing-wax, etc., with the firm now known as Pomeroy Brothers Company, and of which he is now president; he has traveled extensively and has worked for various economic and political reforms. Mr. Pomeroy is a conservative Socialist of the American Fabian type, but refuses to connect himself with the Socialist Party; believes that nothing can be more democratic either in principle or practise than direct legislation of the initiative and referendum, and therefore has chosen that for his life-work. President of National League since its formation in 1896, he has also been secretary of the Direct Legislation League of New Jersey since 1892; edited the *Direct Legislation Record* for nine years; at one time associate editor of *The Arena*. Secretary of National Social and Political Conference, 1899; chairman of Conference in 1901; member of National Committee of the People's Party. He is author of "By the People"; has also written on socialism and many economic subjects in the magazines and public journals. Address: Milburn, N. J.

POORHOUSE (for statistics, see **PAUPERISM**; **POOR RELIEF**): A public institution for the care and support of the poor in general. In America such an institution is frequently called an almshouse, but in England this latter term is usually reserved for small single houses, generally supported by private charity, in which one or more poor persons may live. The institution

in England corresponding to the public poorhouse or almshouse in America is the workhouse, so called because all inmates who are able are compelled to work. The workhouse in England is maintained by the Poor Law Union (see POOR-LAWS), while the poorhouse in the United States is usually a county institution, tho in New England it is maintained by the town, and some cities have independent poorhouses of their own. The poorhouse in rural districts is frequently located on a large farm, and is often spoken of as the "poor farm" or "county farm." All of these terms have of late years been giving way, and rightly, to such terms as "county infirmary" and "county home."

Poorhouses were unknown in classical antiquity. With the advent of Christianity, however, houses for the care of the helpless poor began to be provided; and the Emperor Julian,

History imitating the Christians, issued an edict ordering the erection of poorhouses. During the Middle Ages the work of the poorhouse was chiefly performed by the hospitals, which were in reality ecclesiastical almshouses for the reception not only of the destitute sick, but of destitute children, the aged, the infirm, and the helpless of every class. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, also, a great many private almshouses for the shelter of the poor were established by private bequests, many of which still exist in European countries.

The famous Poor Law of Elizabeth (1601) provided for the erection and maintenance of poorhouses by parishes, and especially commended that those unable to work should be relieved therein. But the parishes, being small administrative units, were slow to avail themselves of this permission, and comparatively few poorhouses were erected. In 1697 the city of Bristol erected the first workhouse, a poorhouse in which the inmates were compelled to work if able, the idea being in part to make them contribute to their own support, and in part also, at first, to teach them trades. The Bristol workhouse being successful, the example was followed by other cities, and in 1723 Parliament passed an act enabling two or more parishes to combine for the erection of a common workhouse. It was not, however, until 1834, with the passage of the Poor Law Amendment Act (see POOR-LAWS), requiring that every Poor Law Union have at least one workhouse, that the workhouse became universal in England.

The early settlers in America usually cared for their few helpless poor by boarding them out with farmers; and this primitive method is still followed in portions of the U. S. that are thinly populated. Later, when the number of helpless dependents had increased, in order to diminish their cost and perhaps provide more humane treatment, the town or county authorities purchased land and erected a public poorhouse, or even more frequently made use of some farmhouse purchased with the land for such an institution. The management of this institution and the care of the inmates were usually let out by contract to the lowest responsible bidder, a system which still prevails, as we shall presently show, in many parts of the U. S. At this stage of development the poorhouse was the public catch-all for all classes of dependents. Children, insane, feeble-minded, epileptics, cripples, blind, deaf-mutes, the sick, the aged, and the infirm of

all sorts were herded together with little care and often in dire misery.

About the middle of the nineteenth century special institutions began to be established in the U. S. for the care of some of these classes, especially for dependent children, the blind, the deaf, and the insane. This movement resulted in a part of these classes being removed from the poorhouses. At the same time better buildings began to be provided for poorhouse use, usually of the "institutional" or hotel type. Within recent times the movement to exclude special classes from the poorhouse has so far advanced that seven states now exclude the insane by statute, and eleven states dependent children; while all the states have made more or less provision for indigent defectives in special institutions. Some of the more recent poorhouses, also, built upon the "cottage plan," which will be described below, are models of humanitarian institutions; but in many other cases the poorhouse remains what its evil reputation has long made it—a place more dreaded than the common jail.

The poorhouse is, as Warner says, "the fundamental institution in American poor relief." It is fundamental because it receives those classes who are not otherwise provided for, and because, as we have seen, historically all the other public institutions which provide for the poor have been derived from it. Nevertheless, on account of the difference of the poor-laws in different states, and on account of the difference in local conditions, there is probably more diversity in the poorhouses of the U. S. than in any other public institution. Over half of the counties in the U. S. have no public poorhouse at all, but care for their paupers through outdoor relief or by boarding them out with farmers, as we noted above. Nearly one half of the states, moreover, provide in their statutes that the care of the poorhouse and its inmates may be let out by contract to the lowest responsible bidder; and in two states this is even compulsory.

In an investigation of the county almshouses of Missouri, made by the writer in 1903, it was found that, out of 90 of these institutions, 55 were managed by being let out to the lowest responsible bidder; 58 had insane among their inmates; and nearly all had more or less of the other classes of mental defectives. Moreover, out of 60 almshouses from which information could be obtained, only 12 had buildings costing above \$10,000, and supplied with modern conveniences; while in the case of 21 the cost of the buildings was less than \$1,500. Finally, 50 out of the 90 almshouses had no classification of inmates except the separation of the sexes, and 14 had not even that. These facts are given concerning the poorhouses of a single state because they are typical of average conditions, taking the country as a whole.

The causes of poorhouse abuses are not far to seek. It must be remembered that the poorhouse is usually a county institution and not under the direct control of the state; and that the county is usually a small administrative unit, relatively stingy and unenlightened in its public policies. The county authorities fear that a comfortable poorhouse will attract some of the shiftless elements among the poor and thus entail, with its cost, a double burden upon the taxpayers. Rather than be troubled with enforcing strict rules of administration to prevent the poorhouse from harboring these worthless elements, they adopt the simple expedient of making the standard of comfort so low that only the most wretched will accept it. The result is

Evils

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that the poor dread the poorhouse worse than a prison, and that the average poorhouse is a disgrace to civilization.

It is evident from what has been said that the proper function of the poorhouse cannot be to care for all classes of dependents. By its very nature the poorhouse is usually a small, local institution, and it cannot be expected that experts will have charge of it. It is, therefore, unfitted to care for dependents that need special or scientific care. Only those dependents that need simply a comfortable home are suitable for poorhouse care. These are, in particular, the aged and infirm poor, of whom in every old-settled community of any size there is always a considerable number. The first principle, then, in poorhouse administration is that all classes that need special care should be removed to special institutions. These classes include, in particular, the following:

1. All children above the age of two years. Children between the ages of two and sixteen should never be permitted to remain in an almshouse except for a brief period. The education of no child can be properly conducted in a poorhouse, and it has been found that children in poorhouses readily take on the taint of their pauper surroundings. What has been said applies, of course, equally to defective children, for they need special treatment in hospitals or schools.

2. Tramps, disorderly and vicious persons should be rigorously excluded from the public poorhouse. The poorhouse is not a correctional institution, and has no proper facilities for controlling such persons. Moreover, their presence brings the poorhouse into such ill repute that the self-respecting poor shun it.

3. The insane of all classes should be removed from the poorhouse. Probably the habitual use of our poorhouses as insane asylums gives rise to more serious abuses than any other practice. The insane need skilled medical treatment, trained attendants, cheerful surroundings, and a scientific diet, all of which are lacking in a poorhouse. Their presence is also a hardship to other inmates.

4. The feeble-minded of all grades should be removed from the poorhouse for similar reasons. They are not only objectionable to other inmates, and inadequately cared for, but a danger to the community. Under lax rules of admission and discharge feeble-minded women invariably become mothers, and entail their defect on future generations.

5. Epileptics, like the insane, need skilled medical care, and cannot be properly cared for in the poorhouse. Their presence is also disagreeable to other inmates.

6. Finally, hospital cases, whether surgical cases or contagious diseases, should of course not be cared for in the poorhouse.

After all of the above classes of dependents have, so to speak, been classified *out* of the poorhouse, there remains the equally important matter of classifying the inmates *within* the poorhouse. At least a fourfold classification of poorhouse inmates is necessary, even after all of the above classes have been removed. First of all, the sexes should be absolutely separated. Secondly, in the South, at least, there should be a classification according to color, making duplicate institutions, one for whites and one for colored. A third necessary classification is in regard to health. There should be special provision for the sick, either in the form of separate wards or separate rooms. If there are cases of contagious diseases present, like consumption, they should of course be isolated. The fourth classification needed is in regard to moral character. Inmates of similar standards and congenial disposition should be grouped together. Of course, if children, or any of the above classes to be excluded, are found in the poorhouse, still other classifications are necessary.

We may now consider briefly the form of construction of poorhouse best adapted to the above classification. Without doubt the "cottage" or detached plan of construction is best. This

makes classification of inmates easy and the institution more homelike in appearance, tho the cottages may be connected by corridors with the central building, in which there may be a common dining-room, kitchens, etc., and also one or two rooms for aged couples who wish to live together. A one-story construction has many advantages. Of course the buildings should be heated by steam, lighted by electricity, and furnished with the best modern sanitary apparatus.

All able-bodied inmates should be compelled to labor. Only thus can idle and shiftless elements be effectually excluded. Moreover, work should be furnished for all inmates who are willing and able to do any work at all. The best form of labor for men is, without doubt, agricultural labor. This does not, however, necessitate a large farm in connection with the poorhouse, as intensive culture, or horticulture, secures the best results. A large farm is objectionable for two reasons: first, it requires so much attention from the superintendent that he is liable to neglect the inmates; secondly, it necessitates locating the poorhouse far out in the country, where many modern conveniences cannot easily be furnished, and where the institution is liable to be neglected by the public.

Lax rules of admission and discharge are one of the evils of American poorhouses. Paupers should only be admitted, except provisionally, after an investigation by the proper authorities. Once admitted, they should not be permitted to discharge themselves, and should be released only when there is some assurance that they will be properly cared for outside of the institution.

Finally, in the management of a poorhouse, the attempt should be made to make it as homelike as possible. Recreations and amusements should not be neglected. Books and newspapers should abound, and simple entertainments, as well as regular religious services, should be provided for the inmates.

These reforms in the American poorhouse system cannot be carried out without some degree of central supervision and control. Probably the best central supervision can be furnished by an efficient State Board of Charities (*q. v.*). Local boards of visitors to poorhouses, which have now been provided for by law in several states, can also do much to correct abuses. However, the final reliance must be upon mandatory legislation. Statutes should be enacted regulating the construction and management of poorhouses in all necessary details.

REFERENCES: Warner, *American Charities*, chap. vi. (New York, 1894); *Annual Reports National Conference of Charities and Correction*, especially a paper by Miss Mary V. Clark in the Report for 1900 (Boston, 1901); Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents* (Boston, 1901); id., *Modern Methods of Charity* (New York, 1904); Ellwood, *A Bulletin on the Condition of the County Almshouses of Missouri* (University of Missouri, 1904); U. S. Census, *Special Report on Paupers in Almshouses, 1904* (Washington, 1906).

*, CHARLES A. ELLWOOD.

POOR-LAWS (ENGLISH) (see also **PAUPERISM**; **POVERTY**): The poor-laws of England, which have played so large and important a part in her economic and social history, date mainly from the Elizabethan period.

In feudal times the poor were recognized as having direct claim on their lords; there needed to be no other legal provision. What more was needed was left to monastic and other ecclesiastical organizations, and to hospitals. There was

no inquiry into the causes of destitution; application for relief was the one thing needful. The inevitable consequence of this want of discrimination was that the very machinery for the relief of the poor became a means of increasing their number and deteriorating their character. The downfall of feudalism and the claim that the land belonged to those who had been only appointed to rule over it, the resultant stealing of the land by "the landed gentry" and the driving out of the feudal tenants, thus creating the modern landless class, developed a pauperism which differed widely from the poverty of preceding centuries.

Steps were first taken simply for the repression of the poor. An act of 12 Richard II., after providing for labor for persons able to work (see "Labor and Labor Laws," vol. xiv., p. 167), enacts "that beggars impotent to serve shall abide in the cities and towns where they may be dwelling at the time of the proclamation of this statute, and, if the people of the cities and towns will not, or may not, suffice to find them, that these, the said beggars, shall draw them to other towns within the hundred, rape, or wapentake, or to the towns where they were born, within forty days after the proclamation made, and they shall continually abide during their lives." This is the first enactment in which the impotent poor are directly named as a separate class.

But the problem grew. The reckless waste of national resources by Henry VIII., the dissolution and spoliation of the monasteries, the debasement of the currency, and the confiscation of the lands belonging to the craft-gilds—the continuous enclosure of common lands, and the enforced aggregation of men into the towns, all contributed to establish pauperism as a national institution.

In 1536 Parliament first attempted to cope with the problem by enacting that voluntary alms should be collected in each parish for the purpose of relieving the impotent poor.

Passing by various acts of similar import and growing more and more toward the compulsory relief of the poor, we come to the Elizabethan acts. Legislation (1572) took a vigorous turn "for the punishment of vagabonds and for relief of the poor and impotent."

The act of 14 Eliz., c. 5, reciting that "all the parts of this realm of England and Wales be presently with rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars exceedingly pestered, by means whereof daily happeneth in the same realm horrible murders, thefts, and other great outrages, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, and to the great annoy of the common weal, and for avoiding confusion by reason of numbers of laws concerning the premises standing in force together," repealed before-mentioned statutes and made provision for various matters, "as well for the utter suppressing of the said outrageous enemies to the common weal as for the charitable relieving of the aged and impotent poor people." Persons above fourteen, and being rogues, vagabonds, or sturdy beggars, and "taken begging in every part of this realm, or taken vagrant, wandering and misordering themselves," were upon their apprehension to be committed to prison to the next session or jail delivery without bail, and on conviction "shall be adjudged to be grievously whipt, and burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about, manifesting his or her roguish kind of life, and his or her punishment received for the same." This judgment was not to be executed if, after imprisonment, "some honest person, valued at the last subsidy next before that time to £5 in goods or 20s. in lands, or else some such honest householder as by the justices of the peace of the same county, or two of them, shall be allowed, will of his charity take such offender before the same justices into his service for one whole year," under recognizance to keep this poor person for that period and to bring him, if still living, before the justices at the year's end; on the other hand the pauper, departing within the year against the will of his master, was to be whipt and burnt as above provided. The offender was absolved from a second punishment for a short time, but if after threescore days, and being of the

age of eighteen or more, he "do oftsoons fall again to any kind of roguish or vagabond's trade of life," then the said rogue, vagabond, or sturdy beggar, from thenceforth was to "be taken, adjudged, and deemed in all respects as a felon," and should suffer as a felon—subject, however, to like redemption as on the first charge, conditioned for two years' service; but offending a third time he was to "be adjudged a felon" and suffer pains of death and loss of lands and goods as a felon, without allowance or benefit of clergy or sanctuary. Offenders under fourteen were punishable by whipping or stocking, as provided by the repealed statutes.

This was harsh, but the short-lived law of Edward VI. was harsher still. It allowed, however, for many exceptions, and called for charitable relief.

The numerous charities and endowments and foundations of almshouses, by will and otherwise, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, still extant in numerous buildings throughout the country, are illustrations of the spirit of the legislation here referred to.

Still, legal repression and private charity did not work, and occasioned the legislation of 1601, laying the foundation of the poor-law system which has endured in substance even down to the present century.

By this act two or more "substantial householders" were to be yearly nominated by the justices of the peace to serve as overseers of the poor in each parish. The overseers were to raise "weekly or otherwise, by taxation of every inhabitant, such competent sums of money as they shall think fit, for (a) setting to work the children of all such whose parents shall not be thought able to keep and maintain them; (b) for setting to work all such persons, married and unmarried, having no means to maintain them, and who use no ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by; (c) for providing a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, and other ware and stuff, to set the poor on work; (d) for the necessary relief of the lame, old, impotent, blind, and such other among them being poor and not able to work.

Poor-Law of 1601

Children whose parents cannot maintain them are to be apprenticed till the age of four-and-twenty years in the case of boys and twenty-one years or the time of marriage in the case of girls. The overseers may, with the leave of the Lord of the Manor, erect houses for the impotent poor on any waste or common. No provision is made for the erection of any house in which work may be done, and it was evidently intended that the flax, hemp, etc., should be worked up at the houses of the poor. But an act of 1576 had already empowered the justices of each county to erect "houses of correction" in which "such as be already grown up in idleness and so rogues at this present" should be set to work under strict prison discipline; and the justices were now ordered to commit to these places, or to the common jail, those who refused to work on materials provided by the parish. What they had to expect at the houses of correction may be seen from one of the rules of the Suffolk House for the year 1589—"Item, it is ordered and agreed upon that every strong or sturdy rogue at his or her first entrance into the said house shall have twelve stripes upon his bare skin with the said whip provided for said house; and every young rogue or idle loiterer six stripes with the said whip in form aforesaid. And that every one of them, without fail, at their first coming into the said house, shall have put upon him, her, or them some clogs, chain, collars of iron, ringle, or manacle, such as the keeper of the said house shall think meet."

The new act was only gradually carried out. In 1622 "A Wellwisher" complains, in a tract called "Grievous Groans for the Poor," that "tho the number of the poor do daily increase, there hath been no collection for them, no not these seven years, in many parishes of this land, especially in country towns; but many of those parishes turneth forth their poor, yea and their lusty laborers that will not work, or for any misdemeanor want work, to beg, filch, and steal for their maintenance, so that the country is pitifully pestered with them; yea and the maimed soldiers that have ventured their lives and lost their limbs on our behalf are also thus required. . . . So they are turned forth to travel in idleness (the highway to hell) . . . until the law bring them unto the fearful end of hanging."

In 1630 a royal commission was appointed to examine into the working of the law, and new legislation resulted. In 1662 the statute 13 and 14 Charles II. recited various evils, and developed the law of settlement, which proved so fruitful in ills.

English
Pauperism
Born of
Robbery of
the Land by
the Nobles

Elizabethan
Acts

It said "by reason of some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another, and therefore do endeavor to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the best stock, the largest commons or wastes to build cottages, and the most woods for them to burn and destroy, and, when they have consumed it, then to another parish, and at last become rogues and vagabonds, to the great discouragement of parishes to provide stock, where it is liable to be devoured by strangers." Justices of the

Law of Settlement

peace, upon complaint by the parish officers, within forty days after any such persons' coming to settle as before mentioned in any tenement under the yearly value of £10, were empowered by warrant to remove such person to the parish where he was last legally settled either as a native, householder, sojourner, apprentice, or servant for not less than forty days, unless he gave sufficient security for the discharge of the parish.

This act at once divided England into 14,000 warring communities, each determined, at whatever cost, to throw its burden of involuntary charity upon its neighbor. A huge code of case law, developed by hundreds of judgments and appeals, was founded upon the muddled sentences of the original acts. Every possible subtlety as to the effect of every variety of hiring or apprenticeship, or the validity of indentures given by a parish where the churchwardens and overseers were the same persons, was defined to a hair's breadth, while the incurable vagrant, the too ambitious laborer, the widow, the lunatic, the invalid, the unhappy causes of this warfare, were carted and whipped and driven backward and forward from one cruel little parish to another.

The eighteenth century saw some changes in the law. It had evidently produced evil. It was not until toward the close of the eighteenth century that an important inroad on the law relating to the removal of the poor was made by requiring actual chargeability before removal to their place of settlement (35 George III., c. 101); and at the same time justices were empowered to suspend removal in the case of sickness.

There was some development of relief. In 1676 William III., when appointing his new Board of Trade, instructed them to "consider of proper methods of setting on work and employing the poor, and making them useful." Two years later a new "corporation" was formed for London, and several houses in Bishopsgate Street were bought. Into these houses were taken "the poor distressed children that lay up and down in the streets of the city," and others, for each of whom the churchwardens of the various city parishes paid a shilling a week. There were about 400 in all. At Bristol, Cary succeeded in getting a workhouse established. The example was followed by other places. The results, in suppressing vagrancy and keeping down the rates, were so good that in 1722 a general act was passed allowing parishes either singly or in combination to build workhouses, and to refuse relief to all who would not enter them.

In a book published in 1725, describing about a hundred of the newly established houses, a correspondent from Rumford writes: "I must, sir, observe to you that the advantage of the workhouse to the parish does not arise from what the people do toward their subsistence, but from the apprehension the poor have of it." The workhouses were run for profit. John Locke's report to the Board of Trade, written in 1697, contains exact calculations as to the value of the labors of young children, and of those who, being decayed of their full strength, could yet do something.

A few years, however, sufficed to develop the injurious effects of this mode of dealing with

the poor, and the accumulated evils of the working of the poor-laws led, in 1783, to the passing of the statute 22 George III., c. 83, known as "Gilbert's Act," the principle of which was extensively adopted in subsequent legislation. Only the aged and infirm were to be sent to workhouses, and the principle was deliberately adopted that work was to be found in the neighborhood for the able-bodied, and that any difference between their wages and the sum necessary for their maintenance was to be made up from the rates.

In 1795 the magistrates of Berkshire "and other discreet persons" announced that they would make an allowance in aid of wages to "all poor and industrious men and their families," raising the household income in each case to a minimum varying with the price of bread. And so began the pauperization of the English rural population. Hitherto relief, in theory, at least, had been confined to the exceptionally unfortunate. Now the rates were to become part of the normal industrial system; farmers discharged their men in a body, to take them back next day as paupers with part of their wages paid by the parish.

Says Thorold Rogers ("Work and Wages," chap. xv.):

I can conceive of nothing more cruel, I had almost said more insolent, than to condemn a laborer to the lowest possible wages on which life may be sustained, by an act of Parliament, interpreted and enforced by an ubiquitous body of magistrates, whose interest it was to screw the pittance down to the lowest conceivable margin, and to inform the stunted recipient that, when he had starved on that during the days of his strength, others must work to maintain him in sickness or old age.

The suffering and demoralization of the English laborer that resulted from the system can to-day be scarcely credited. He could not live except by pauper relief. He cared therefore little about work. It was really the parish that sold his labor. In some parishes the laborers were put up at auction. Sometimes children of either sex were sold to manufacturers in job lots (the manufacturer sometimes contracting to take one insane child for so many healthy ones). Often children of both sexes were given over to gang-masters, who would let them out to farmers, working them in the field by day and lodging them in barns by night without any pretense of decency. The poorhouses were called "bastiles." The degraded laborer came to look upon pauper relief without shame, and the distributor of the relief would go around and distribute the bread the laborer could not buy. The poor-relief rates rose till they threatened to devour the rents of the landlords. The landlords themselves were compelled to desire a change. Various minor changes led to the appointment of commissioners to investigate the subject and the great reform law of 1834.

Says Graham Wallas (see references at the end of this article):

Their report, after two years of incessant labor on the part of the commissioners and their paid assistants, was presented in 1834, and is still the most magnificent State paper in existence, admirable in form and crushing in argument. It ended by recommending a radical alteration of the whole system. Parishes were to be formed, with or without their consent, into unions, whose accounts were to be inspected and whose by-laws were to be drawn up by a body of three commissioners sitting in London, and represented by traveling subcommissioners in the country. Outdoor relief to able-bodied persons was to be prohibited. Finally, and chiefly, the whole administration of the law was to be regulated on the principle that "the condition of

the paupers shall in no case be so eligible as the condition of persons of the lowest class, subsisting on the fruits of their own industry."

The report was adopted by overwhelming majorities. Repression of the poor was now the order of the day. Outdoor relief was gradually ended. Families were broken up, lodged in poor-houses, husband and wife being separated. Says Mr. Wallas:

The sordid abominations of the old law were soon forgotten, and the religious workingman as well as the revolutionary Chartist loathed the new science which aimed, it was said, at reducing the population to Parson Malthus's standard by starving the paupers and separating man and wife in direct defiance of the word of God. . . .

The opposition to the new law soon penetrated to the House of Commons, and it was with increasing difficulty that the powers of the commissioners were from time to time renewed. At last, in 1847, the Poor-law Commission was dissolved; two out of the three worthy gentlemen of the day disappeared, having perhaps taken themselves rather too seriously as solitary protesters against an evil world; and an official Poor-law Board with a parliamentary head was created. By 1871 so many duties of various kinds had been assigned to the department that it took the name of the Local Government Board, which it still retains. Sixty years have now passed since the new poor-law was first enacted. During that time the great evil noted by the commissioners of 1834, the relief of able-bodied men in aid of wages or as a premium upon idleness, has practically disappeared.

Relief is now given under a series of general orders and instructional circulars issued by the Local Government Board.

Outdoor relief is under strict limitations given in money and in kind, but in the case of able-bodied persons it is laid down that "one half at least shall be given in articles of food or fuel or in other articles of absolute necessity." Relief may also be given by way of loan. The relieving officer has to investigate the cases of all applicants; he can give temporary relief in kind, where necessary, and must report to the guardians as to the health, ability to work, etc., of the applicant and his family.

Of the working of the law, Mr. J. F. Oakeshot (see references) says:

The growth of humanitarian feeling has had its influence on poor-law administration, and the inhumanity of fifty years ago would not be tolerated by public opinion to-day. At the same time the administration of the law is still wanting in humanity. Over the entrance of Dante's hell was written, "Abandon hope, all ye who enter here," and if the effect of our poor-law system were to be summed up in a single sentence we should have to use the same words. In the desire of insuring that "the situation of the paupers shall not be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent laborer of the lowest class," we deliberately feed them worse than criminals (the prison dietary is luxurious in comparison with the poor-law standards), and we allow the law to be administered with such harshness that many men and women every year deliberately prefer death by starvation outside the workhouse to accepting relief from the rates with its deprivation of the privileges of citizenship and its dishonorable stigma of pauperism alike on aged and young, infirm and able-bodied, deserving and undeserving.

At present the poor-laws are universally regarded as a failure, at least in their present form, and a royal commission was appointed in 1905 to inquire—

1. Into the working of the laws relating to the relief of poor persons in the United Kingdom;

2. Into the various means which have been adopted outside of the poor-laws for meeting distress arising from want of employment, particularly during periods of severe industrial depression; and

To consider and report whether any, and, if so, what, modification of the poor-laws or changes in their administration, or fresh legislation for dealing with distress, are advisable.

Among the commissioners are Lord George Hamilton, M. P. (chairman); the Right Hon. Charles Booth, F.R.S.;

Mr. C. S. Loch, Prof. William Smart, the Rev. H. Russell Wakefield, Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet, Mrs. Sidney Webb, and Miss Octavia Hill.

Most people believe that the poor must be relieved in other ways. (See OLD-AGE PENSIONS; EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS; LABOR COLONIES; UNEMPLOYMENT, etc.)

Socialists assert that the only way to reform the poor-laws is to abolish them. Says the *Reformer's Year Book* (1907):

The only way in which to reform the poor-law is to abolish it. At present it is a separate department of government. It is subject to specially minute control by the Local Government Board, which issues ukases with the binding force of law. It is administered by specially elected boards of guardians. Its subjects are called paupers, and are deprived of the rights of citizenship whether they are veterans of labor or incorrigible rogues. This rubbish should be swept away. It is out of date, irrational, and unpopular. It pleases neither the well-to-do, who pay the piper, nor the paupers, who dance to the dismal tune. The pressing need is for a new classification. The aged, the sick, and the children, victims of accident or of a wrong system of wealth distribution, should be cared for, not under a special poor-law, but as part of the regular duty of the people's representatives. All legal disqualifications by poor relief must go. Old-age pensions will provide for some; grouped almshouses for others. The children must be educated, and fitted to take their part in the industrial life of the nation. The sick must be properly cared for. On the other hand, the idle, the wasters, the unemployable must be dealt with in farm colonies.

REFERENCES: T. W. Fowle's *The Poor-law*, "English Citizen Series" (1892); *The History of the Poor-law*, a paper by Graham Wallas, published in *The Cooperative Annual* for 1894; *The Humanizing of the Poor-law*, a Fabian tract (1894), by J. T. Oakeshot. (See also POVERTY.)

POPULATION (see also BIRTH-RATE; DEATH-RATE; MARRIAGE; CITIES; MALTHUSIANISM): We give in this article the principal facts as to population bearing on sociology, leaving to the various articles the discussion of the problems involved.

The figures of population shown on p. 922 will be found larger than those given in most year books, because they represent, in most cases, later returns.

If the whole earth were as thickly inhabited as Great Britain and Ireland (359.65 to the square mile, see next table) it would have, omitting desert and polar regions, a population of 18,218,430,000. Ravenstein estimates that the earth, with present methods of production, could support 207 to the square mile.

Dr. J. Bertillon, chief of the Statistical Department of the city of Paris, gives the following figures of the gain of population per 1,000 in ten years (*Bulletin de l'Institut International de Statistique*, vol. xiii., part ii.):

United States, 206; Mexico, 72.4; Austria, 92.6; Hungary, 102.5; Belgium, 122.9; Bulgaria, 182.1; Denmark, 126.7; France, 12.1; Germany, 139.8; Italy, 70.5; Netherlands, 131.3; Norway, 112.4; Russia in Europe, 136.2; Servia, 172.6; Spain, 32.1; Switzerland, 101.7. (See BIRTH-RATE.)

POPULATION BY RELIGIONS

The tables on pp. 922 and 923 for countries in which a religious census exists, are based on such information as the *Statesman's Year Book* affords. For countries in which no such census exists they are taken from the *Blue Book of Missions* for 1905, from the latest official estimates, or careful returns from mission fields. For the United States, France, and in a few other instances they are from special sources as indicated in the notes. It is believed, therefore, that those figures represent

COUNTRIES, AREAS, POPULATIONS

The statistics in round numbers are estimated from official sources; exact figures indicate a census.

COUNTRIES	Area in sq. m.	Population	Per sq. m.	Year	COUNTRIES	Area in sq. m.	Population	Per sq. m.	Year
AFRICA:					ASIA (continued):				
Abyssinia.....	200,000	10,000,000	50.00	¹ 1900	German Depend....	200	¹⁰ 60,000	300.00	1904
British Colonies....	532,226	7,001,073	13.15	1900	Japan and Possess... ¹¹	175,368	¹¹ 50,857,000	295.70	1905
British Depend....	2,160,000	35,000,000	16.20	¹ 1900	Korea.....	84,400	¹⁰ 12,000,000	142.18	1903
Kongo Free State....	900,000	30,002,346	33.33	¹ 1901	Nepal.....	54,000	¹⁰ 5,000,000	92.59	1905
Egypt.....	400,000	9,821,045	24.55	1900	Oman.....	82,000	¹ 800,000	9.75	1905
French Depend....	3,775,150	34,000,000	9.00	¹ 1900	Persia.....	628,000	7,654,000	12.19	1904
German Depend....	931,460	12,600,000	13.52	¹ 1900	Portuguese Possess...	8,972	¹⁰ 896,000	99.84	1905
Italian Depend....	188,500	850,000	4.51	¹ 1900	Russian Possessions...	6,207,662	19,125,000	3.10	1897
Liberia.....	35,000	2,060,000	58.86	¹ 1895	Siam.....	230,000	5,000,000	21.19	1905
Morocco.....	219,000	5,000,000	22.83	¹ 1900	Turkish Possessions	693,610	¹⁰ 16,899,000	24.36	1905
Portuguese Depend.	792,040	8,248,527	10.41	¹ 1900	Total Asia.....	14,876,485	879,455,000	59.05	
Spanish Depend....	80,580	291,946	3.60	¹ 1900					
Turkish Depend....	398,900	1,300,000	3.26	¹ 1900					
Total Africa.....	10,612,856	2156,174,937	14.71		EUROPE:				
NORTH AMERICA:					Andorra.....	175	15,000	.....	.....
Canada and British Colonies ³	3,801,318	7,235,400	1.90	1904	Austria.....	115,903	27,241,000	235.03	1905
Costa Rica.....	23,000	323,000	14.04	1905	Hungary.....	115,430	20,114,000	100.36	1905
Cuba.....	43,000	1,573,000	36.58	1905	Bosnia and Herze govina ¹²	19,800	1,591,000	80.36	1900
Danish Colonies....	86,634	120,892	1.35	1904	Belgium.....	11,373	1,017,000	629.05	1905
Dutch Colonies ⁶	403	53,486	132.70	(⁴)	Bulgaria (North and South).....	38,080	4,015,000	105.44	1905
French Colonies....	1,160	392,140	338.50	(⁴)	Denmark ¹³	15,592	2,605,000	167.09	1906
Guatemala.....	46,774	1,804,000	38.57	1905	France ¹³	207,054	39,300,000	189.81	1905
Haiti.....	10,204	1,337,000	132.01	1901	Germany ¹³	208,780	60,641,000	290.40	1905
Honduras.....	46,250	745,000	16.11	1905	Greece ¹⁴	25,014	2,434,000	97.31	1904
Mexico.....	767,060	13,600,000	17.74	1906	Crete ¹⁴	3,365	310,000	86.27	1900
Nicaragua.....	49,200	500,000	10.10	1904	Italy.....	110,646	33,604,000	303.71	1904
San Salvador.....	7,225	1,007,000	139.38	1905	Luxemburg.....	998	236,000	247.00	1900
Santo Domingo.....	18,045	60,100	33.80	1905	Monaco.....	8	15,000	1,897.50	1900
United States ⁶	3,624,122	84,154,000	23.22	1906	Montenegro.....	3,630	228,000	62.81	¹⁵ 1900
Porto Rico.....	3,435	1,000,000	291.12	(⁵)	Netherlands ¹⁵	12,563	5,592,000	445.12	1905
Total North America	8,527,860	114,460,918	13.42		Norway.....	124,130	2,311,000	18.62	1905
SOUTH AMERICA:					Portugal ¹⁵	¹⁶ 35,490	5,428,000	152.80	1900
Argentina.....	1,135,840	5,678,000	5.00	1905	Rumania.....	50,700	6,480,000	127.81	¹⁵ 1905
Bolivia.....	729,000	2,180,000	2.99	1905	Russia (Europe) ¹⁵	¹⁷ 2,122,527	¹⁷ 125,101,000	58.96	¹⁵ 1905
Brazil.....	3,219,000	14,334,000	4.45	1905	San Marino.....	38	11,000	289.52	1899
British Colonies ⁷	104,339	339,000	3.27	1904	Servia.....	18,630	2,689,000	144.34	¹⁵ 1905
Chile.....	279,901	3,239,000	11.57	1905	Spain.....	194,783	18,118,000	95.58	1900
Colombia.....	504,773	4,000,000	7.92	1904	Sweden.....	172,876	5,295,000	30.62	1905
Dutch Colonies ⁸	46,060	75,000	1.62	1904	Switzerland.....	15,976	3,459,000	216.51	1905
Ecuador.....	116,000	1,400,000	12.07	1905	Turkey (Europe) ¹⁸ ...	65,530	6,185,000	94.53	¹⁵ 1905
French Colonies ⁹	30,500	33,000	1.07	1901	United Kingdom... (Europe) ¹⁹	121,391	43,659,000	359.65	1906
Paraguay.....	157,722	630,000	4.03	1904		119	223,700	1,879.86	1906
Peru.....	713,859	4,500,000	6.30	1904	Total Europe.....	3,809,901	424,121,700	111.32	
Uruguay.....	72,210	1,038,000	14.37	1904					
Venezuela.....	593,940	2,591,000	4.36	1906	OCEANIA:				
Total South America	7,703,144	40,043,000	5.19		Australia (Common- wealth of).....	2,972,573	4,048,000	1.36	1905
ASIA:					New Zealand.....	104,751	889,000	8.49	1906
Afghanistan.....	250,000	¹⁰ 4,775,000	19.10	1905	Other British Pos- sessions ²⁰	107,207	678,000	6.33	²¹ 1905
Bhutan.....	16,800	¹⁰ 25,000	1.48	1905	Dutch Possessions...	736,400	36,000,000	48.89	²¹ 1900
British India.....	1,766,517	294,317,000	166.61	1905	French Possessions...	9,170	86,000	9.41	²¹ 1906
British Colonies and Dependencies.....	139,786	6,976,000	49.90	1905	German Possessions	96,160	443,000	4.60	²¹ 1905
China.....	4,277,170	433,533,000	101.36	1905	U. S. Possessions...	115,000	7,635,000	66.39	1900
French Depend....	256,000	¹⁰ 21,518,000	84.03	¹ 1901 ¹ 1905	Total Oceania.....	4,141,261	49,779,000	12.02	

¹ Estimated.² Nearly all these figures are based on estimates, and still they are given to the last decimal; the reason is that the number of Europeans is given in exact figures, that of natives estimated.³ Including West Indies, but not Labrador; the latter has about 120,000 sq. m. and an estimated population of 4,000.⁴ Average of estimates for several years, 1900 to 1903 and 1904.⁵ Curaçao.⁶ Including Hawaii and Alaska.⁷ British Honduras, British Guiana, and Falkland Islands.⁸ Surinam; population does not include forest-negroes.⁹ Guiana.¹⁰ Estimated.¹¹ Inclusive of Formosa, Pescadores, and southern Sakhalin; but exclusive of Port Arthur and Liao Tung.¹² Bosnia and Herzegovina have been under the joint administration of Austria-Hungary since July 13, 1878, and pay no tribute to Turkey.¹³ For colonies, see respective continents.¹⁴ Crete has been autonomous since 1898 under guaranty of England, Russia, France, and Italy. But Greece has the right to nominate the High Commissioner and exercises a general supervision.¹⁵ Estimated.¹⁶ Including Azores and Madeira (both area and population).¹⁷ Russia proper, Poland, Finland, and Ciscaucasia.¹⁸ Including Samos, but excluding Crete (under Greece), Cyprus (Great Britain, Asiatic Colonies), Bulgaria, and Herzegovina.¹⁹ Malta and Gibraltar.²⁰ Payna, Fiji, Tonga, Solomon, and Gilbert Islands.²¹ Estimated.

THE WORLD

AREA, POPULATION, DENSITY, BASED ON LATEST OFFICIAL CENSUSES

DIVISIONS ¹	Area in square miles ⁵	Desert ⁶ 7	Population, latest censuses	Estimate of Supan ¹¹	Per square mile ¹⁰
Africa.....	10,612,000	2,226,000	156,174,000	140,700,000	14.71
America, North ²	28,527,000	95,000	² 114,400,000	105,714,000	13.42
America, South.....	7,703,000	45,000	40,043,000	38,482,000	5.19
Asia.....	³ 14,876,000	1,200,000	³ 879,455,000	819,556,000	59.05
Europe.....	3,809,000	.....	424,106,000	392,264,000	111.32
Oceania ⁴	4,141,000	614,000	⁴ 49,779,000	6,483,000	12.02
Polar regions.....	.....	.....	.....	91,000	.....
Total.....	49,668,000	⁸ 4,180,000	1,664,017,000	1,503,290,000	33.50

¹ For details, see table on p. 921. ² Including West Indies. ³ Including Japan, but not the Dutch East Indies. ⁴ Including all islands in the Eastern Indian and Southern Pacific Oceans. ⁵ Total inhabited area, but in part including desert, steppes, etc. ⁶ The columns "area" and "desert" in part overlap. Differences in estimates of authorities are in part accounted for by including or not polar regions, islands, water spaces, etc. ⁷ Estimate of Ernest G. Ravenstein, F.R.G.S., in "Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society," 1891, p. 27. ⁸ Ravenstein estimates the fertile regions of the earth at 28,269,200 sq. m.; steppes, 13,901,000; desert, 4,180,000; polar regions, 4,888,800. ⁹ Including 36,000,000 in the Dutch East Indies. ¹⁰ Obtained by dividing populations in third column by areas in first. ¹¹ Dr. A. Supan, in Dr. Peterman's "Mitteilungen." Ergänzungsheft; No. 146. Gotha, 1904.

the latest returns and most reliable estimates yet made. As, however, for large spaces of the earth only the roughest estimates exist, there is room for wide divergence in such estimates. Figures

in round numbers indicate the estimates; exact figures, as in Europe, indicate a census. It must be remembered, too, that these figures are for adherents and not communicants:

RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

CONTINENTS	Protestants	Roman Catholics	Eastern churches ¹	Jews	Mohammedans	Various
Africa.....	2,665,000	2,493,000	3,799,000	381,000	48,753,000	90,578,000
North America.....	71,630,000	35,085,000	85,000	1,058,000	15,000	3,069,000
South America ²	357,000	35,871,000	.....	21,000	10,000	1,654,000
Asia.....	1,506,000	5,250,000	11,803,000	303,000	134,378,000	715,805,000
Europe.....	98,494,000	¹ 175,033,000	100,171,000	8,665,000	7,822,000	5,084,000
Oceania ³	3,286,000	8,059,000	1,000	20,000	20,613,000	17,901,000
The World.....	177,938,000	261,791,000	115,859,000	10,448,000	211,591,000	834,091,000

¹ Greek or Orthodox, Armenian, Nestorian, Abyssinian, Coptic, Jacobite, etc. ² Includes West Indies. ³ All the Pacific islands, including the Dutch East Indies, but not Japan and Formosa.

COUNTRIES	Protestants	Roman Catholics	Eastern churches	Jews	Mohammedans	Others
AFRICA:						
Abyssinia.....	.....	2,000	3,098,000	60,000	50,000	290,000
Cape Colony.....	1,118,000	23,000	.....	4,000	21,000	1,267,000
Natal.....	72,000	21,000	.....	.....	14,000	818,000
Other British.....	834,000	281,000	1,000	12,500	12,182,500	21,436,000
Egypt.....	27,000	26,000	647,000	25,000	8,979,000	.....
Egyptian Sudan.....	.....	2,000	3,000	2,000	1,693,000	300,000
French Possessions.....	472,500	758,000	26,000	117,000	17,667,000	15,808,500
German Possessions.....	47,500	21,500	.....	.....	812,000	12,166,000
Italian Possessions.....	1,000	17,000	12,000	500	450,000	369,500
Liberia.....	65,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,995,000
Morocco.....	1,000	5,000	3,000	150,000	4,840,000	.....
Portuguese Possessions.....	11,000	1,270,000	.....	.....	270,000	6,697,000
Spanish Possessions.....	1,000	14,000	.....	.....	199,000	60,000
Turkish Possessions.....	.....	6,000	9,000	10,000	275,000	.....
Kongo Free State.....	15,000	17,000	.....	.....	600,000	29,370,000
Total Africa.....	2,665,000	2,493,500	3,799,000	381,000	48,752,500	90,578,000
NORTH AMERICA:						
Canada.....	3,083,000	2,230,000	.....	.....	.....	59,000
Central America.....	20,000	5,000,000	.....	.....	.....	172,000
Danish Colonies.....	90,000	31,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mexico.....	40,000	13,381,000	.....	9,000	.....	115,000
Newfoundland.....	44,000	76,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
United States ¹	67,223,000	² 11,887,000	³ 85,000	⁴ 1,044,000	⁵ 15,000	⁶ 336,000
West Indies.....	1,030,000	2,480,000	.....	5,000	.....	2,387,000
Total North America.....	71,630,000	35,085,000	85,000	1,058,000	15,000	3,069,000

¹ Including Alaska and Hawaii, not Porto Rico or the Philippines. ² Dr. H. K. Carroll, *Christian Advocate*, Jan. 5, 1905. ³ Dr. Carroll, Armenians, Greeks, Syrians. ⁴ *Statesman's Year Book*, 1904. ⁵ *Blue Book of Missions*. ⁶ Census, 1900, Chinese, Japanese, and untaxed Indians.

COUNTRIES	Protestants	Roman Catholics	Eastern churches	Jews	Mohammedans	Others
SOUTH AMERICA:						
Argentina.....	50,000	4,660,000		17,000		67,000
Bolivia.....	3,000	1,700,000				113,000
Brazil.....	144,000	14,180,000		2,000		8,000
Guiana.....	125,000	82,000		1,000	10,000	181,000
Chile.....	7,000	3,044,000				
Colombia.....	500	3,664,500				
Ecuador.....	1,000	1,200,000				3,000
Paraguay.....	500	500,000				135,500
Peru.....	5,000	3,687,000		500		917,500
Uruguay.....	13,000	930,000				16,000
Venezuela.....	8,000	2,223,000		500		213,500
Total South America.....	357,000	35,870,500		21,000	10,000	1,654,500
ASIA:						
Afghanistan.....					4,000,000	
British India.....	1,078,000	1,595,000	250,000	18,000	62,458,000	166,500,000
Ceylon.....	75,000	283,000			248,000	2,959,000
Other British.....	3,000	20,000			870,000	64,046,000
China.....	150,000	900,000		20,000	33,000,000	387,894,000
French Possessions.....		1,140,000			66,000	17,301,000
Japan.....	58,000	65,000	27,000			47,414,000
Korea.....	35,000	32,000	1,000			11,932,000
Nepal.....						4,000,000
Persia.....	8,000	14,000	60,000	35,000	9,373,000	10,000
Portuguese Possessions.....		100,000			150,000	660,000
Russia (Asia).....	20,000	477,000	7,256,000	30,000	10,847,000	4,067,000
Siam.....	15,000					4,985,000
Tibet.....		1,000			100,000	4,000,000
Turkey (Asia).....	64,000	623,000	4,209,000	200,000	13,266,000	37,000
Total Asia.....	1,506,000	5,250,000	11,803,000	303,000	134,378,000	715,805,000
EUROPE:						
Austria.....	500,000	23,800,000	608,000	1,225,000		8,708
Hungary.....	3,798,652	11,777,056	2,815,713	851,378		11,700
Belgium.....	10,000	6,079,548		4,000		
Bulgaria.....	4,524	27,004	3,034,636	33,717	643,253	1,166
Denmark.....	2,430,084	5,373	106	3,476		19,731
France ²	580,000	35,387,000		49,000		2,945,995
Germany.....	35,441,254	20,321,441		586,948		17,535
Greece.....	2,000	15,000	2,380,000	6,000	25,000	5,800
Italy.....	65,000	32,836,247		40,000		20,000
Luxemburg.....	2,269	232,838		1,201		235
Monaco.....		15,180				
Montenegro.....		12,924	201,067		13,840	169
Netherlands.....	3,320,931	1,790,161		103,988		132,102
Norway.....	2,237,003	1,969				1,000
Portugal.....	500	5,421,032				
Rumania.....	68,276	100,000	5,415,341	269,015	43,740	16,228
Russia (Europe).....	6,035,000	10,903,000	80,128,000	5,159,000	3,082,000	1,000,136
San Marino.....		11,002				
Servia.....	1,002	10,411	2,281,118	5,102	14,414	181,723
Spain.....	7,000	18,575,174		500		25,000
Sweden.....	5,193,414	1,390	46	3,402		500
Switzerland.....	1,910,157	1,379,064		12,264		7,358
Turkey.....	30,000	208,000	3,307,000	145,000	4,000,000	633,540
England and Wales.....	31,425,000	1,530,000		150,000		27,643
Scotland.....	4,124,000	410,000		6,000		10,000
Ireland.....	1,160,000	3,360,000		4,000		5,000
Islands.....	136,000	212,000		6,000		12,000
United Kingdom.....	36,845,000	5,512,000		166,000		54,653
Total Europe.....	98,494,126	175,033,012	100,171,027	8,664,991	7,822,247	5,084,289
OCEANIA:						
Australasia.....	2,641,000	964,000	1,000	17,000	3,000	150,000
Other British.....	157,000	68,000			340,000	1,408,000
Dutch Possessions.....	380,000	50,000		1,000	20,000,000	15,569,000
French Possessions.....	10,000	16,000				54,000
German Possessions.....	71,000	21,000				369,000
United States Possessions.....	27,000	6,940,000		2,000	270,000	351,000
Total Oceania.....	3,286,000	8,059,700	1,000	20,000	20,613,000	17,901,000

¹ Almanac de Gotha, 1904.² Fournier de Flaix, 1892.

Dr. Fournier de Flaix, in the *Quarterly* of the American Statistical Association for March, 1902, gives the following estimates of the Eastern churches: Abyssinian, 3,000,000; Coptic, 120,000; Armenian, 1,690,000; Nestorian, 80,000; Jacobite, 70,000; which, according to the above, would leave 110,899,000 for the Greek or Orthodox Church. This estimate is, perhaps, the most reliable that can be made.

The *Blue Book of Missions* gives the following figures:

Buddhists.....	137,935,000
Hindus.....	209,689,000
Confucianists or Taoists.....	291,816,000
Shintoists.....	24,900,000
Animists.....	157,097,500
Unclassed.....	15,352,000

THE UNITED STATES
POPULATION AT EACH CENSUS, 1790 TO 1900
(From reports of the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce and Labor.)

STATE OR TERRITORY	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
North Atlantic division ¹ :												
White.....	1,990,616	2,552,510	3,384,438	4,249,192	5,417,167	6,618,758	8,477,089	10,438,267	12,118,992	14,277,990	17,131,639	20,661,675
Colored.....	67,424	83,066	102,737	116,724	125,214	142,324	149,762	156,001	179,738	229,417	269,966	385,020
Total.....	1,968,040	2,635,576	3,486,675	4,359,916	5,542,381	6,761,082	8,626,851	10,594,268	12,298,730	14,507,407	17,401,545	21,046,695
South Atlantic division ² :												
White.....	1,178,344	1,426,804	1,594,091	1,787,604	2,116,469	2,327,082	2,818,219	3,306,505	3,636,905	4,655,995	5,595,230	6,714,463
Colored.....	673,462	859,690	1,086,860	1,273,399	1,529,283	1,597,317	1,806,871	2,058,198	2,216,793	2,941,262	3,262,090	3,779,017
Total.....	1,851,806	2,286,494	2,674,891	3,061,003	3,645,752	3,925,299	4,679,090	5,364,703	5,853,610	7,597,107	8,857,920	10,443,480
North Central division ³ :												
White.....	.....	50,371	286,097	841,045	1,568,930	3,262,105	5,267,088	8,912,477	12,978,031	16,978,490	21,931,167	25,837,253
Colored.....	.....	635	7,072	18,200	41,543	89,347	135,607	184,239	273,086	385,621	431,112	495,751
Total.....	.....	51,006	293,169	859,395	1,610,473	3,351,542	5,403,595	9,096,716	12,981,111	17,364,111	22,362,279	26,333,004
South Central division ⁴ :												
White.....	93,046	276,761	597,447	988,896	1,429,494	1,980,770	2,812,195	3,739,745	4,230,304	5,966,670	7,493,642	9,530,888
Colored.....	10,322	58,646	187,699	309,273	632,062	1,044,000	1,491,327	2,038,913	2,294,106	3,012,701	3,479,251	4,137,099
Total.....	109,368	335,407	785,146	1,358,169	2,062,096	3,023,430	4,303,522	5,768,658	6,434,410	8,979,371	10,972,893	13,667,987
Western division ⁵ :												
White.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	177,577	614,497	984,130	1,755,845	3,000,532	4,061,095
Colored.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,241	4,479	6,380	11,852	27,081	30,254
Total.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	178,818	618,976	990,510	1,767,697	3,027,613	4,091,349
Persons on public ships in service of United States or stationed abroad.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	91,219
United States:												
White.....	3,172,006	4,306,446	5,862,073	7,866,797	10,537,378	14,195,805	19,553,068	27,001,401	33,678,362	43,574,900	55,152,210	66,890,199
Colored.....	757,208	1,002,037	1,377,868	1,771,056	2,328,642	2,873,648	3,638,868	4,441,830	4,880,009	6,380,793	7,470,040	8,863,535
Total.....	3,929,214	5,308,483	7,239,881	9,638,453	12,866,020	17,069,453	23,191,876	31,443,321	38,558,371	50,155,783	62,622,250	75,693,734
Grand total ⁶.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	76,303,387

¹ Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania.
² Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida.
³ Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas.
⁴ Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas.
⁵ Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, California.
⁶ Includes the population of Alaska, Hawaii, and Indian Territory.

SEX, RACE, AND NATIVITY

SEX, RACE, AND NATIVITY	POPULATION			PER CENT OF POPULATION		
	1900	1890	1880 ¹	1900	1890	1880
Total.....	75,994,575	62,947,714	50,155,783	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male.....	38,816,448	32,237,101	25,518,820	51.1	51.2	50.9
Female.....	37,178,127	30,710,613	24,636,963	48.9	48.8	49.1
White.....	66,809,196	55,101,258	43,402,970	87.9	87.5	86.6
Negro.....	8,833,994	7,488,676	6,580,793	11.6	11.9	13.1
Indian.....	237,196	248,253	66,407	0.3	0.4	0.1
Mongolian.....	114,189	109,527	105,613	0.2	0.2	0.2
Chinese.....	89,869	107,488	105,465	0.1	0.2	0.2
Japanese.....	24,326	2,039	148	(2)	(2)	(2)
Native.....	65,653,299	53,698,154	43,475,840	86.4	85.3	86.7
Foreign-born.....	10,341,276	9,249,560	6,679,943	13.6	14.7	13.3

¹ Figures do not include the population of Indian Territory or that on Indian reservations; specially enumerated in 1890, not enumerated in 1880.

² Less than one tenth of 1 per cent.

RACE AND NATIVITY OF PARENTS, 1900 AND 1890

RACE OR NATIVITY	Year	Total	POPULATION HAVING PARENTS			PER CENT HAVING PARENTS		
			Both native	Both foreign-born	One native-and one foreign-born	Both native	Both foreign-born	One native-and one foreign-born
Total.....	1900	75,994,575	49,965,636	20,919,887	5,109,052	65.8	27.5	6.7
	1890	62,947,714	42,271,655	(1)	(1)	67.2		
White.....	1900	66,809,196	40,958,216	20,775,887	5,075,093	61.3	31.1	7.6
	1890	55,101,258	34,581,615	17,011,781	3,507,862	62.7	30.9	6.4
Native.....	1900	50,595,379	40,949,362	10,632,280	5,013,737	72.3	18.8	8.9
	1890	45,979,391	34,475,716	8,085,019	3,418,656	75.0	17.6	7.4
Foreign-born.....	1900	10,213,817	8,854	10,143,607	61,356	0.1	99.3	0.6
	1890	9,121,867	105,899	8,926,762	89,206	1.1	97.9	1.0
Negro, Indian, and Mongolian.....	1900	9,185,379	9,007,420	144,000	33,959	98.0	1.6	0.4
	1890	7,846,456	7,690,040	(1)	(1)	98.0		

¹ Figures not available.

PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN
(Twelfth Census, vol. i., p. clxxi.)

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION						PER CENT OF INCREASE	
	1900 ¹	1890	1880	1870	1860	1850	1890 to 1900	1880 to 1890
Total.....	10,341,276	9,249,547	6,679,943	5,567,229	4,138,697	2,244,602	11.8	38.5
Austria.....	275,907	123,271	38,663	30,508	25,061	946	123.8	218.8
Bohemia.....	156,891	118,106	85,361	40,289			32.8	38.4
Canada (English) ²	784,741	678,442					15.7	36.8
Canada (French) ²	395,066	302,496					30.6	
China.....	81,534	106,688	104,468	63,042	35,565	758	23.6	2.1
Denmark.....	153,805	132,543	64,196	30,107	9,962	1,838	10.0	106.5
England.....	840,513	909,092	664,160	555,040	433,494	278,075	3.7	36.9
France.....	104,197	113,174	106,971	116,402	109,870	54,069	3.7	5.8
Germany.....	2,663,418	2,784,894	1,966,742	1,690,533	1,276,075	583,774	4.4	41.6
Holland.....	104,931	81,828	58,090	46,802	28,281	9,848	28.2	40.9
Hungary.....	145,714	62,435	11,526	3,737			133.4	441.7
Ireland.....	1,615,459	1,871,509	1,854,571	1,855,827	1,611,304	961,719	13.7	0.9
Italy.....	484,027	182,580	44,230	17,157	10,518	3,645	105.1	312.8
Mexico.....	103,393	77,853	68,399	42,435	27,466	13,317	32.8	13.8
Norway.....	336,388	322,605	181,729	114,240	43,995	12,078	4.3	77.6
Poland.....	383,407	147,440	48,557	14,436	7,298		160.0	203.6
Russia.....	423,726	182,644	35,722	4,644	3,160	1,414	3.0	411.3
Scotland.....	233,524	242,231	170,136	140,835	108,518	70,550	3.6	42.4
Sweden.....	572,014	478,041	104,337	97,332	18,625	3,559	19.7	140.0
Switzerland.....	115,593	104,009	88,021	75,153	53,327	13,358	11.1	17.4
Wales.....	93,586	100,079	83,302	74,533	45,763	29,868	3.6	20.1
Other countries.....	273,442	127,467	93,005	60,701	40,445	56,875	114.5	37.1

¹ The figures in the first column differ from those in the reference cited by the exclusion of the foreign-born in the military and naval service abroad.

² Includes Newfoundland.

³ Decrease.

SEX, RACE, AND NATIVITY, 1900

RACE	NATIVE		FOREIGN-BORN ¹		NATIVE	FOREIGN-BORN
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Per cent male	Per cent male
Total.....	33,186,258	32,467,041	5,630,190	4,711,086	50.5	54.4
White.....	28,686,450	27,908,929	5,515,285	4,698,532	50.7	54.0
Negro.....	4,374,718	4,438,940	11,829	8,507	49.6	58.2
Indian.....	118,277	116,706	1,207	1,006	50.3	54.5
Mongolian.....	6,813	2,466	101,869	3,041	73.4	97.1
Chinese.....	6,657	2,353	78,684	2,169	73.9	97.3
Japanese.....	156	113	23,185	872	58.0	96.4

SCHOOL AGE AND VOTING AGE¹(Compiled by the *World Almanac* from the Census of 1900)

STATES AND TERRITORIES	SCHOOL AGE, FIVE TO TWENTY YEARS			VOTING AGE ²					
	Total	Whites	Negroes ⁴	Total	Native-born	Foreign-born	Whites	Negroes ⁴	Illiterates
Alabama.....	733,222	394,152	338,980	413,862	405,598	8,264	232,294	181,471	139,649
Alaska.....	11,408	1,718	10	37,956	26,489	11,467	25,953	141	10,735
Arizona.....	38,868	28,371	365	44,081	30,306	13,775	34,911	1,084	10,533
Arkansas.....	529,375	380,815	148,534	313,836	305,464	8,372	226,597	87,157	62,615
California.....	420,081	405,868	3,225	544,087	318,817	225,270	489,545	3,711	33,508
Colorado.....	160,531	157,752	2,043	185,708	133,935	51,773	181,616	3,215	7,689
Connecticut.....	257,101	252,760	4,272	280,340	173,248	107,092	275,126	4,570	18,984
Delaware.....	59,635	48,782	10,849	54,018	47,202	6,816	45,592	8,374	7,538
District of Columbia.....	77,291	51,212	26,046	83,823	73,722	10,101	60,318	23,072	7,052
Florida.....	197,600	110,537	86,908	139,601	127,865	11,736	77,962	61,417	30,849
Georgia.....	885,725	457,958	427,741	500,752	493,740	7,012	277,496	223,073	158,247
Hawaii.....	33,774	23,827	79	79,607	13,064	66,543	19,576	93	27,363
Idaho.....	54,964	53,261	69	53,932	38,185	15,747	50,328	130	2,936
Illinois.....	1,589,915	1,565,606	24,238	1,401,456	932,574	468,882	1,370,209	29,762	67,481
Indiana.....	843,885	825,394	18,389	720,206	646,889	73,317	701,761	18,186	40,016
Indian Territory.....	159,125	121,420	14,882	97,361	94,361	3,000	77,865	9,146	15,482
Iowa.....	767,870	763,785	3,912	635,298	477,273	158,025	630,665	4,441	17,061
Kansas.....	527,560	507,611	18,878	413,786	346,761	67,025	398,552	14,095	14,214
Kentucky.....	798,027	693,455	104,512	543,996	518,772	25,224	469,206	74,728	102,528
Louisiana.....	538,267	276,563	261,453	325,943	299,772	26,171	177,878	147,348	122,638
Maine.....	199,153	198,519	369	217,663	178,931	38,732	216,856	445	13,952
Maryland.....	403,026	318,052	84,946	321,903	279,216	42,687	260,979	60,406	40,352
Massachusetts.....	778,110	769,710	7,996	843,465	495,734	347,731	830,049	10,456	53,694
Michigan.....	790,275	783,220	4,814	719,478	457,353	262,125	712,245	5,193	39,230
Minnesota.....	612,990	608,547	1,063	506,794	245,768	261,026	502,384	2,168	20,785
Mississippi.....	633,026	253,153	378,923	349,177	344,151	5,026	150,530	197,936	118,057
Missouri.....	1,105,024	1,049,414	55,767	856,684	743,659	113,025	809,797	46,418	60,327
Montana.....	65,871	61,032	289	101,931	58,237	43,694	94,873	711	5,900
Nebraska.....	380,384	383,229	1,781	301,091	209,961	91,130	297,817	2,298	7,388
Nevada.....	11,399	9,703	18	17,710	10,523	7,187	14,652	70	2,271
New Hampshire.....	110,895	110,708	172	130,987	96,099	34,888	130,648	230	10,295
New Jersey.....	572,923	553,230	19,585	555,068	357,447	198,161	532,750	21,474	38,305
New Mexico.....	69,712	64,137	401	55,067	47,482	7,585	50,804	775	15,585
New York.....	2,146,764	2,119,156	25,476	2,184,905	1,346,829	838,136	2,145,057	31,425	130,004
North Carolina.....	753,826	490,782	260,755	417,578	415,048	2,530	289,263	127,114	122,658
North Dakota.....	112,789	110,193	97	95,217	39,344	55,873	93,237	115	5,158
Ohio.....	1,338,345	1,308,510	29,804	1,212,223	985,969	226,254	1,180,599	31,235	58,698
Oklahoma.....	147,656	135,960	7,100	109,191	100,528	8,663	101,543	4,827	6,479
Oregon.....	132,887	129,875	201	144,446	101,923	42,523	131,261	560	6,978
Pennsylvania.....	2,031,171	1,986,430	43,394	1,817,239	1,330,099	487,140	1,763,482	51,668	139,982
Rhode Island.....	124,046	122,223	2,403	127,144	72,820	54,324	124,001	2,765	11,675
South Carolina.....	560,773	218,323	342,401	283,325	280,221	3,104	130,375	152,860	99,516
South Dakota.....	147,165	140,461	134	112,681	67,079	45,602	107,353	184	5,442
Tennessee.....	780,421	589,451	190,925	487,380	477,739	9,641	375,046	112,236	105,851
Texas.....	1,215,634	955,906	259,491	737,768	650,599	87,169	599,961	136,875	113,783
Utah.....	106,513	105,378	136	67,172	41,939	25,233	65,205	358	2,470
Vermont.....	98,614	98,357	255	108,356	87,465	20,891	108,027	289	8,544
Virginia.....	704,771	435,612	268,962	447,815	430,329	11,486	301,379	146,122	113,353
Washington.....	158,245	153,180	528	195,572	126,190	69,382	183,999	1,230	6,635
West Virginia.....	350,471	341,637	14,823	247,970	235,036	12,934	233,129	14,786	32,066
Wisconsin.....	730,685	726,950	661	570,715	313,188	257,527	567,213	1,006	31,136
Wyoming.....	27,500	26,607	215	37,898	26,563	11,335	36,262	481	1,036
Total ³	26,110,788	22,490,211	3,500,194	21,329,819	16,227,285	5,102,534	19,036,143	2,065,989	2,326,295

¹ School age, five to twenty, inclusive.² Twenty-one years and over.³ Including all persons in the military and naval service of the United States.⁴ Including all persons of negro descent.

The whole number of persons of school age—that is, from five to twenty years of age, inclusive—in 1900 is 26,110,788, of whom 21,573,492 are from five to seventeen years of age and 4,537,296 from eighteen to twenty years of age. These figures include, however, 217,523 persons of school age reported in Alaska, Hawaii, Indian Territory, and on Indian reservations. Eliminating the latter from the account there are: native born, 24,689,118; foreign-born, 1,204,147; native white (native parents), 14,775,476; native white (foreign parents), 6,371,221; foreign white, 1,193,443; colored, 3,553,125; persons of negro descent, 3,485,188; males, 12,972,994; females, 12,920,271.

The number of males of voting age is 21,329,819, of which there are: native-born, 16,227,285; foreign-born, 5,102,534; native white (native parents), 10,636,898; native white (foreign parents), 3,466,721; foreign white, 4,932,524; colored, 2,293,676; persons of negro descent, 2,065,589.

The ratio of population to males of voting age in the entire country is 3.6. This ratio varies, however, for the several elements of the population, the ratio of negro population to negro males of voting age being 4.3.

Area.—According to the census of 1900, the largest county in the U. S. is Custer County, Mont., which has 20,490 sq. m. The smallest is Bristol County, R. I., which has 25 sq. m.

GREAT BRITAIN

TOTAL POPULATION OF EACH DIVISION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AT EACH CENSUS, FROM 1801 TO 1901

CENSUS YEARS	Total for United Kingdom	England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland
1801.....		8,892,536	1,608,420	(¹)
1811.....		10,164,256	1,805,804	(¹)
1821.....	20,893,584	12,000,236	2,091,521	6,801,827
1831.....	24,028,584	13,896,797	2,364,386	7,767,401
1841.....	26,709,456	15,914,148	2,620,184	8,175,124
1851.....	27,368,736	17,927,609	2,888,742	6,552,385
1861.....	28,927,485	20,066,224	3,062,294	5,798,967
1871.....	31,484,661	22,712,266	3,360,018	5,412,377
1881.....	34,884,848	25,974,439	3,735,573	5,174,836
1891.....	37,732,922	29,002,525	4,025,647	4,704,750
1901.....	41,458,721	32,527,843	4,472,103	4,458,775

¹ The census of Ireland in 1821 is the first which was made on such a basis as to afford a comparison with those of subsequent decades.

The population was thus distributed at the census taken April 1, 1901:

DIVISIONS	Area in sq. m.	Density per sq. m.	Males	Females
England and Wales....	58,309	405.6	15,728,613	16,799,230
Scotland.....	29,785	150.	2,173,755	2,298,348
Ireland.....	32,583	137.	2,200,940	2,258,735
Isle of Man.....	227	248.9	25,496	29,256
Channel Islands.....	75	.....	45,080	50,538
Army, navy, and merchant seamen abroad.....	.....	.....	367,736	.....
Total.....	120,979	359.65	20,540,720	21,430,107

According to the *Statesman's Year Book*, the proportion per cent of the population living in the various divisions of the United Kingdom was as follows, from 1851 to 1901:

DIVISIONS	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
England.....	61.0	64.6	67.5	69.8	72.2	74.1
Wales.....	3.6	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8	4.1
Scotland.....	10.4	10.4	10.6	10.6	10.7	10.8
Ireland.....	23.7	19.8	17.0	14.6	12.5	10.7
Isle of Man.....	.2	.2	.2	.2	.1	.1
Channel Islands.....	.3	.3	.3	.3	.2	.2
Seamen abroad.....	.8	.9	.6	.7	.5	.....

For other countries, see each country.

PORT SUNLIGHT ESTATE: A village built by Lever Bros., near Birkenhead, England (1888); is considered by many one of the most attractive industrial villages in the world. (See *MODEL VILLAGES*.) It has about 3,000 inhabitants in 600 houses, on 140 acres, tastefully laid out, with park and gardens. Houses here can be had for 5s. per week. They are of antique, half-timbered design, and fitted with bath and other conveniences. There are in the village a church, two fine groups of schools of various kinds, a commodious public hall, inn, restaurant, gymnasium, elegant public bath, fountain, cooperative stores, free library, and tennis, bowling, and quoit grounds. There are dining halls for men and girls, the latter seating 1,500 girls. Food is sold at very low prices, the covering cost. The principle on which the village has been developed has been what Mr. W. H. Lever, the founder, calls "prosperity-sharing" rather than profit-sharing. By this he means that, instead of giving their employees a small share in their profits paid as money, which the workman often squanders or misuses, the firm regularly sets by each year a proportion of its profits to be invested for the good of all, and mainly in land, houses, and institutions. Rents are based on paying only for repairs and 1 per cent to create a sinking-fund. The total cost up to 1904 has been over £35,000. The actual cost to the firm in interest is some £10,000 a year, but they consider that it is well repaid in the improved quality of workers secured. The system seems to be a success, since it has grown to 140 acres besides the soap-works, from a beginning with fifty-six acres. The village has some four miles of roadway from forty to seventy feet wide and all tree-lined with borders of tufted garden. There is a park of twenty-five acres. Allotments of land can also be hired with the houses. Much freedom is given the tenants; they are given the right, e. g., to vote on the license question for the inn, and vote "yes," the women so voting, in order that the men would not go to the neighboring "pubs." The number of persons allowed in the cottages is limited to prevent overcrowding, and the cottages are limited to ten per acre, being built for the most part not singly but in groups. The average cost of house and land is £354. This would ordinarily mean a rent of at least 12s. per week, whereas the tenants only pay about half that.

PORTO RICO: A dependency of the United States, having been ceded by Spain, 1898. It is administered by a governor and an executive council of six officials and five natives appointed by the President of the U. S. There is also a legislative assembly of thirty-five members elected by popular vote limited by small property qualification and a low educational test.

Area, 3,435 sq. m. Population (1899), 953,261, estimated at 1,000,000 in 1905. (Whites, 589,426; mulattoes, 304,352; negroes, 59,390.) San Juan has 32,048; Ponce, 27,952. The whites are mainly of Spanish descent, tho with the infusion of much Carib or Indian and even negro blood. The percentage of whites is higher than in most of the West Indies.

Exports to the U. S. (1905-6), \$19,055,474, of which sugar was \$14,184,319; tobacco, \$3,557,477. Imports from the U. S., \$18,648,991, of which cottons were \$1,670,005. Exports to other countries, \$4,060,594. Imports, \$2,602,784. The trade was mainly with France. July 25, 1901, free trade with the U. S. was established.

The chief product of the island is coffee, to which 170,000 acres are devoted. To sugar, 62,000 acres are given; to tobacco, 14,000. Bananas, pineapples, and oranges are

grown. Salt-works are somewhat developed. Many minerals exist, but are scarcely worked at all. Porto Rico had (1906) 200 miles of railway, and 517 miles of telegraph in 1905, with 930 miles of wire.

Those having gainful occupations in 1899 were 33.1 per cent, or 316,365. This small percentage is mainly due to the large number of children under ten, tho 1,670 of these were at work, mainly in agriculture. Of the white females, 7.4 were engaged in gainful occupations, and of colored females, 13.7. Of the males in gainful occupations, 73 per cent were engaged in agriculture, fisheries, or mining; 10 per cent in domestic and personal service; 8 in trade and transportation; 7 in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. Seventy-six per cent of the total area is in farms, tho 52 per cent of these are only little patches of ground near a house. The prevailing rate of wages in the coffee district is thirty cents per day, measured by the price of provisions, a lower wage than before 1899. In tobacco the wage is forty cents, and in sugar fifty cents. Urban wages are considerably higher.

One cause of the low wages is the high birth-rate, partly due to low social conditions. The marital conditions are loose and transitory. For every 100 persons married there are at least fifty-three in loose unions. This condition is particularly present among the colored. Peonage is very common. A large part of the land is under absentee ownership, still largely Spanish. In the towns overcrowding in unfit buildings is a great evil, and rents are very high. Labor, tho nominally cheap, is so inefficient as really to be expensive. Sanitary conditions are very bad.

Education has been very low. In 1860 only 9 per cent of the whole population were literate; in 1899 it was 22.7 of those over ten years. Out of every 1,000 males over ten years of age 257 could read, and of every 1,000 women only 199. A large advance has been made. June 30, 1904, there were 1,113 common schools and 51 special. There were 139 American teachers (47 men), and 1,126 native. There were enrolled as pupils 47,089 whites and 16,467 colored. Of the total number, 26,162 were girls. The government set aside about \$2,000,000 as an especial fund for education, and \$700,000 a year is now spent, tho more is needed.

Sanitary reform was the first needed. Anemia, owing to bad conditions, caused some 30 per cent of the deaths. In 1899 76 per cent of the dwellings had no water-closet or privy of any kind. Dwellings and water sources were polluted. The government is rapidly changing this. Education, too, will increase efficiency, and better morals will do more. Trade-unions are in their beginning. The foregoing facts are mainly from a report by Dr. W. E. Weyl in the *U. S. Bulletin of Labor* for Nov., 1905. H. S. Bird, in the *Outlook* for Nov. 11, 1905, claims that Porto Rico now has less local autonomy than under Spain, and that therefore great dissatisfaction exists.

POST, LOUIS FREELAND: Editor of *The Public*, Chicago; born near Danville, N. J., in 1849; compositor 1864-66; a law student 1867-70 in New York City; in 1871-72 law clerk in South Carolina, where, in conjunction with Ben Pitman, he reported the famous Kuklux trials. After this returned to the practise of law in New York City. He was for a time assistant United States attorney. In 1883 was Greenback candidate for attorney-general. He was successively editor of

Truth, *The Leader*, Henry George's *Standard*, and took a prominent part in the Henry George campaign; temporary chairman of the Syracuse Convention of the United Labor Party; in 1887 he was candidate of that party for district attorney; 1893-95 lectured in the U. S. and Canada; editor of the *Cleveland Recorder* 1896-97; in 1898 he founded the paper he now edits. Member of the Chicago Board of Education 1906-7. He adopts the single-tax theory. In political economy a classicist, he considers Adam Smith to be the founder and Henry George the logical perfecter of the classical system. He is author of "The Single Tax," "Ethics of Democracy," and "Ethical Principles of Marriage and Divorce." Address: First National Bank Building, Chicago.

POSTAL PROGRESS LEAGUE, THE: Organized in Boston, Mass., 1902. Its aim is a world post-office, covering the world's business of public transportation and communication, and supported by a cost of the service system of rates, regardless of distance, regardless of the character of the matter transported, regardless of the volume of business, rates determined by the representatives of the rate-payers in a world congress.

It advocates as the immediate work of Congress a common one cent a pound on all mail matter, postal savings-banks, a postal currency, the postal insurance of all mail matter, the use of traveling auto post-offices, collecting and delivering mail matter from door to door in our cities, a rural service doing the whole transport business of the rural routes, etc. The league publishes a little paper, *Postal Progress*. Secretary, Jas. L. Cowles, 361 Broadway, New York.

POSTAL SERVICE. (See also SAVINGS-BANKS; TELEGRAPHS; TELEPHONE.)

The earliest postal service of the world was that of the trained runners or couriers who carried official and military messages between the cities of Greece and Rome.

At first they carried simply official messages. Gradually they came to carry private messages. All letters of the fifteenth and perhaps the fourteenth century in England evidently were carried by a system of messengers. The University of Paris organized a system of messengers in the

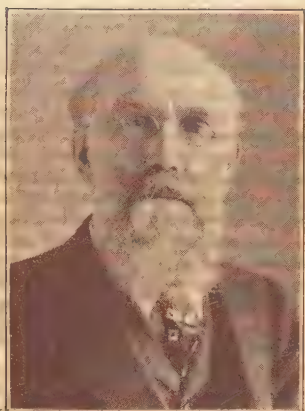
thirteenth century. Sir Brian Tuke, in 1533, is described as Master of the Messengers. In 1635 Thomas Witherings was authorized to run a post night and day between London and Edinburgh, "to go thither and back again in six days." Eight lines of post were established. The postage was 2d. for less than eighty miles, 8d. to any place in Scotland. In 1685 a penny post was established in London and suburbs. It was a private speculation, but, on succeeding, was annexed to the crown. In 1783 mail-coaches were substituted for boys on horseback. In 1837 Rowland Hill in England published a pamphlet, analyzing the postal system and showing £282,308 as the probable outgoings for receipt and delivery and £144,209 as the probable outgoings for transit. In other words, the expenditure which hinged upon the distance the letters had to be conveyed was £144,000, and that which had nothing to do with distance was £282,000. Applying to these figures the estimated number of letters and newspapers (126,000,000) passing through the office, there resulted a probable average cost of 1½ of a penny for each, of which 1½ was cost of transit and 1½ cost of receipt, delivery, etc. Taking into account, however, the much greater weight of newspaper and franked letters as compared with chargeable letters, the apparent average cost of transit became, by this estimate, but about 1½, or less than 1½ of a penny.

From this Hill argued that as it would take a ninefold weight to make the expense of transit amount to one farthing, he further inferred that, taxation apart, the charge ought to be precisely the same for every packet of moderate weight, without reference to the number of its enclosures.

Parliament was induced to appoint a committee, which sustained Mr. Hill. A bill was passed and Rowland Hill placed in charge. A penny was adopted as

History

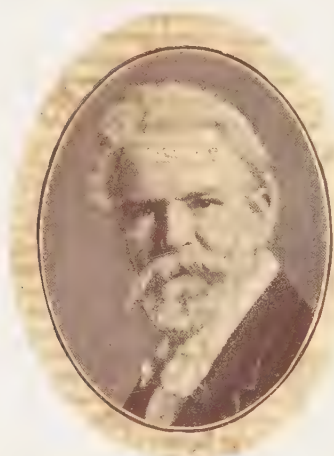
Cheap Postage



Rev. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D.
Education



EMIL DAVIES
Railway Nationalization



EDWIN MARKHAM, U.S.A.
"The Man with the Hoe"



UPTON SINCLAIR
Trusts

THE WORLD'S POSTAL SERVICE, 1905
(Compiled mainly from the "Statistique Générale du Service Postal," published by the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union, Bern, Switzerland, 1906. The numerous notes found in that summary have been omitted)

COUNTRY	Nam- ber of post- office employees	Letters and cards (domes- tic and for- eign mail) in- cluding regis- tered and official, sent	PACKAGES SENT		DOMESTIC MONEY AND POSTAL ORDERS SENT		FOREIGN MONEY OR- DERS SENT		Post- matter offices, etc., per 10,000 inhab- itants	Letters and postal cards sent, per 10,000 inhab- itants	Re- ceipts sent, per 10,000 inhab- itants	Ex- pendi- ture (in \$1,000)
			With value stated	No value stated	Number	Value	Number	Value				
Argentina.....	2,282	206,081,296	218,522,784	48,000	102,563	\$1,149,000	8,618	\$94,000	4.0	384,723	364,404	6,798
Australia.....	6,654	88,160,737	159,755,452	.....	281,665	5,584,000	136,128	1,598,000	16.4	340,458	604,224	.....
New Zealand.....	1,898	66,292,441	30,293,672	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21.3	340,378	744,859	.....
Austria, including Bosnia- Herzegovina.....	9,007	1,067,413,613	255,121,690	13,624,000	27,382,895	251,322,000	4,522,613	59,854,000	3.3	93,657	301,855	25,397
Hungary.....	2,259	318,815,338	52,754,428	3,417,000	16,630,261	103,648,000	3,722,940	45,251,000	2.6	26,233	158,536	11,821
Belgium.....	1,330	237,205,863	36,419,138	6,836,000	3,333,154	47,705,000	5,28,267	5,600,000	1.9	507,568	331,293	7,837
Brazil.....	2,871	36,782,000	28,638,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.0	19,984	25,668	.....
Bulgaria.....	2,035	20,040,388	11,977,534	208,000	251,312	4,270,000	80,570	1,217,000	5.1	29,795	49,852	710
Canada.....	10,679	331,792,500	50,820,000	95,000	1,278,413	23,410,000	645,717	8,939,000	16.9	78,913	515,266	.....
China.....	1,626	24,693,010	5,020,556	.....	.....	604,000	.....	.....	0.4	130	570	.....
Cuba.....	479	23,671,684	2,472,780	.....	110,831	3,418,000	49,173	826,000	3.1	15,751	159,775	.....
Denmark.....	1,332	101,863,382	107,567,789	3,959,000	2,774,948	20,403,000	206,894	2,180,000	5.2	419,719	356,357	4,365
Egypt.....	1,137	22,450,000	13,324,150	498,000	.....	13,072,000	.....	2,660,000	1.2	13,568	22,862	2,998
France.....	11,920	1,119,488,834	1,461,024,819	54,255,000	46,863,452	353,776,000	1,490,404	13,074,000	3.0	372,271	284,871	59,281
German Empire.....	47,525	2,730,625,402	3,263,325,080	29,437,000	13,687,000	2,537,923,000	3,475,022	33,233,000	7.9	451,492	539,571	116,190
Greece.....	597	10,347,037	14,261,206	.....	141,984	2,956,000	16,693	184,000	2.2	42,180	58,688	834
Haiti.....	31	553,887,150	2,148,000	447,000	16,537,768	91,423,000	133,119	1,936,000	5.5	2,349	18,817	11,267
India, British.....	16,033	69,141,057	359,587,384	10,661,000	16,024,755	224,885,000	264,632	2,899,000	2.6	172,186	166,135	14,734
Italy, including Entrea.....	8,917	583,367,500	871,077,817	3,904,000	12,069,968	64,400,000	10,255	165,000	1.0	41,795	181,550	13,834
Japan.....	4,650	200,334,624	64,752,789	9,435,000	1,110,362	44,181,000	32,105	801,000	1.8	57,169	47,577	3,037
Mexico.....	2,406	77,807,143	18,142,090	5,846,000	4,600,993	20,197,000	376,883	2,722,000	2.5	369,914	324,545	5,804
Netherlands.....	1,388	206,782,075	15,420,398	620,000	229,901	2,816,000	57,331	788,000	4.4	2,941	4,250	.....
Dutch East Indies.....	1,517	10,510,948	15,594,694	622,000	418,121	3,595,000	187,272	1,288,000	12.3	292,336	222,963	2,894
Norway.....	2,836	67,329,664	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.5	.....	.....	2,512
Paraguay.....	157	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Persia.....	106	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peru.....	369	69,141,057	553,887,150	2,148,000	447,000	16,537,768	133,119	1,936,000	5.5	2,349	18,817	11,267
Portugal.....	3,081	34,411,136	47,585,189	404,000	44,000	6,508,000	20,142	169,000	6.0	66,688	92,219	1,610
Rumania.....	3,278	36,849,216	49,833,680	1,283,000	67,800	6,129,000	317,526	2,589,000	5.1	56,866	76,964	1,140
Russia.....	13,994	486,042,945	716,124,511	4,431,000	16,182,000	497,216,000	61,699	1,193,000	9.9	34,471	50,789	47,914
Finland.....	1,441	23,142,552	21,242,712	7,861,374	12,390	97,000	20,767	213,000	5.0	80,918	74,275	.....
Servia.....	2,241	7,861,374	10,599,993	.....	264,637	4,039,000	33,780	387,000	4.6	29,224	39,071	.....
Siam.....	111	182,442,940	194,414,149	652,000	477,000	.....	.....	.....	2.2	.....	.....	.....
Spain.....	4,734	179,682,732	144,923,270	2,203,000	3,631,763	29,394,000	332,716	2,405,000	2.5	97,982	104,411	6,896
Sweden.....	3,620	194,452,977	214,402,137	23,482,000	2,165,000	143,023,000	1,244,613	9,265,000	6.9	341,602	275,520	6,582
Switzerland.....	3,042	4,620,400	22,656,260	.....	415,832	8,566,000	14,312	342,000	11.4	562,003	619,659	10,050
Turkey.....	2,373	1,023,100,000	3,359,100,000	93,130,000	1,326,000	348,911,000	695,964	9,604,000	6.6	1,853	9,088	.....
United Kingdom.....	3,711	6,465,850,000	6,465,850,000	58,401,353	58,401,353	444,516,000	3,036,508	63,048,000	2.5	236,719	777,209	99,851
British Colonies, n. e. s.....	65,600	4,774,700,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.5	567,403	708,372	139,092
United States.....	476	14,894,658	5,227,538	23,000	10,468	1,294,000	3,308	51,000	7.8	143,218	50,205	.....
Philippine Islands.....	79	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Porto Rico.....	762	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Uruguay.....	214	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Venezuela.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
World ¹	279,683	13,720,454,867	20,603,823,919	.....	519,084,120	5,451,584,000	22,511,031	279,534,000	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Including some minor countries not here tabulated.

the uniform rate for every inland letter not above half an ounce. Facilities for prepayment were afforded by the introduction of postage-stamps, and double postage was levied on letters not prepaid.

As far back as 1792 a money-order office had been established as a medium for sailors and soldiers to transmit their savings, and its benefit had afterward been extended to the general public; but the commission charged had been so high that it was only employed to a very limited extent. The immediate result of the changes introduced in 1840 was an enormous increase in the amount of correspondence, arising in part from the cessation of the illicit traffic in letters, which had so largely prevailed before; but for some years there was a deficit in the post-office revenue.

With the development of the railway system came the carriage of letters by train, adding to the expenses of the post-office, but gradually the gross revenue of the post-office increased, and the net revenue after 1863. Many reforms were introduced: (1) The establishment of postal savings-banks (1861); (2) the transfer to the State of the telegraphic service (1870); (3) the introduction of postal cards (1870); and (4) the establishment (1883) of a parcel post.

The French postal system was founded by Louis XI. (1464). In 1627 France originated a postal money-transmission system. Mazarin's edict of Dec. 3, 1643, shows that France at that date had a parcel post as well as a letter post.

The German postal system also began early. In Strasburg a messenger code existed as early as 1443. A postal service was organized at Nuremberg in 1570.

The Prussian system began with the establishment, in 1646, of a government post from Cleves to Memel. By the treaty of postal union with Austria (1849) the germ was virtually set of the International Postal Union.

The first postal service established in any portion of what is now the United States was probably made by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1639.

In 1672 the government of the Colony of New York established a "post to goe monthly from New York to Boston"; and notice was given to "those that bee disposed to send letters, to bring them to the secretary's office, where in a lockt box they shall bee preserved till the messenger calls for them, all persons paying the post before the bagg bee sealed up."

In 1692 the English Government put the colonial postal service in charge of a deputy postmaster-general, and in 1710 the first organized system for the transmission of the mails in the colonies was created.

In 1753 Benjamin Franklin, who had been postmaster at Philadelphia, was made Postmaster-General. A penny post was established at Philadelphia; in 1756 the first stage, probably, in the colonies began to carry the mails between Philadelphia and New York.

The United States In 1758 newspapers, which previously had been carried in the mails free, were charged with postage. Other reforms and improvements were begun, so that in

1774, the last of Franklin's administration under the crown, the net revenue of the postal service was over £3,000. In 1775 he was appointed, by the Second Continental Congress, "Postmaster-General of the United Colonies."

In 1792 an act was passed to establish a general post-office.

So insignificant was this department that in 1790 Samuel Osgood, in a letter to Alexander Hamilton, gravely discuss the question whether the Postmaster-General should not be required to occupy the room at the seat of government where the mails were received and dispatched, in order that he might personally superintend the work.

But the service rapidly grew. In 1834 railroads were first used. In 1851 letters not over one half ounce, prepaid, could be sent 3,000 miles for three cents. In 1855 the registry system was authorized; in 1863 the free-delivery system; in 1864 the money-order system; in 1885 the special delivery. Other reforms have been the introduction of railway post-offices, street postal cars; the system of delivery, postal cards and return cards, etc., etc.

In 1874 a Universal Postal Union was formed, mainly owing to the efforts of Dr. von Stephan, of Germany, tho it had been proposed to the various countries by the U. S. in 1862.

POSTAL REFORMS

It will be noted that in the foregoing the U. S., Mexico, and Argentina are the only countries

in the world, of which information is published, which have a deficiency in their postal departments. Every European country makes a profit from its post-offices. In 1906 the postal revenue of Great Britain was £17,064,023, and the expenditures £11,795,109, leaving a net profit of £5,268,914, counterbalanced by a deficit of £754,707, in the telegraphic service, giving a total net profit of some \$22,000,000. Germany had in 1905 a net profit of some \$15,000,000; Russia, \$15,000,000, and France, \$14,000,000. For the U. S. deficit of \$10,542,941 (1906)

there are three main reasons:

Revenues and United States Deficit 1. The chief reason is undoubtedly the extent to which the U. S. railroads are allowed to overcharge the government for carrying mail matter. According to the analysis of postal expenditures of different countries by the International Bureau, Russia pays for postal transportation (by land and sea) only one sixteenth of her postal expenditures; Germany pays for transportation less than one tenth; Great Britain and France pay less than one ninth, but the U. S. pays out over one third of her expenditures for transportation. Says Prof. Frank Parsons:

While railways in other countries carry the mails for nothing or at cost, our government has to pay much higher rates than private shippers. For hauling mails the railways receive from the government from two to four times as much as they get from the express companies for equal haulage.

According to the estimate of Prof. Henry C. Adams of Michigan University, the statistician of the U. S. Interstate Commerce Commission, the average payment to the railways for carrying the mails is twelve cents and a half per ton-mile ("Report of Congressional Commission on Railway Mail Pay," 1900, part ii, p. 253). Professor Adams is a high authority and his calculation was carefully made, route by route; but there is reason to believe that his result is too low; not because of error on his part, but because of incorrect data as to the weight of mails on which his estimate was based. The railroads were on trial at the time and many millions were at stake; and, at the special weighing in 1899, during the investigation leading to the twelve-cents-and-a-half estimate, the figures for the annual mail weight were multiplied by three almost, and the annual increase rose at a bound to eighteen times its previous size. The estimates of the Post-Office Department from 1890 down, indicate for the railway mail pay an actual rate of twenty-six to thirty-six cents per ton-mile instead of twelve cents and a half. But even if we take the Adams estimate, the resulting comparisons are sufficiently astonishing.

The express companies carry magazines and newspapers 500 miles and more at a cent a pound and the railways get less than a half a cent a pound, or two cents a ton-mile. That is not all. Any general express agent will tell you that the company will shade the rate for a large shipper. For example, the *Cosmopolitan* is carried from New York to Boston, 219 miles, for eighteen cents a hundred, or less than a fifth of a cent a pound. This is at the rate of 1.6 cents per ton-mile for the express company and three quarters of a cent a ton-mile for the railways; a rate about one sixteenth of the average mail rate and one ninth of the lowest mail rate on the lines where the volume of mail is greatest. The railways charge the government about three cents a pound for hauling second-class matter, according to Professor Adams, and eight cents according to Postmaster-General Wilson, but haul the same stuff for the express companies for less than a tenth of a cent a pound. And if the railways had any serious objection to such rates they would hardly have permitted them to continue all these years, but would have provided against them in their contracts with the express companies.

A further count in the indictment against the railways in respect to the mails is that there is good reason to believe they do not really carry the weight of mail for which they are paid. The weighing of the mails occurs only once in four years. The roads have notice beforehand and are strongly tempted to inflate the estimate. To accomplish this they "pad" the mails during the weighing time by sending back and forth large masses of books and papers, getting their friends in Congress to frank large quantities of printed matter, etc., and it does not seem to do much good to expose the fraud and secure a new weighing, for the railways find some new way to obtain the result. For instance, where a flagrant case of "padding" was discovered and exposed and a reweighing ordered, the padding was accomplished a second time by having many thousands of newspapers mailed during the

weighing period, to addresses furnished and paid for by the railroad company.

In addition to the regular mail rates the government pays an extra charge for postal cars averaging \$6,250 a year per car, altho the cost of construction of cars is but \$2,500 to \$5,000 each. For two thirty-foot apartments in two combination cars, each carrying one ton of mail, the railways get no car rental; nothing but the mail weight rates; but for a sixty-foot postal car with an average load of two tons of mail, heated and lighted like the compartments, and with the same fixtures as the aforesaid compartments plus a water-tank, the roads receive \$6,250 a year special car rent in addition to full rates for the weight of mail carried. This means \$5,368,000 a year for the rental of cars worth about \$4,000,000.

Robbery of the Government by the Railroads

A return in a single year of more than the whole capital invested is a pretty good rate of profit.

2. Another reason for the deficit in the U. S. postal service is the comparatively cheap carriage of second-class matter. This is the reason usually given in the reports of our Postmaster-Generals, who are afraid to give the main reason—the robbery of the government by the railroads, and it is, therefore, the reason ordinarily held out before the people. Congress, in 1905, at the recommendation of the Post-Office Department, appointed a commission upon the matter, and reforms have been introduced and efforts are being made to amend the laws, so as to rule out much more advertising matter, now improperly carried at newspaper rates. But the question is really of minor importance (or would be if the railways did not overcharge for carrying such mail). Witness the comparative prices for carrying mail in the U. S. and in Europe. The educational advantage, especially to the rural population, of cheap carriage of papers and even of advertising matter is incalculable. As the Postmaster-General says (Report, 1906, p. 6):

While it would be a gratifying circumstance if the Post-Office Department were self-sustaining, I am less concerned about the deficit than about efficiency of administration. The public demand for postal facilities is constantly growing. If the installation of the rural service had depended upon the existence of a surplus in the postal revenues under the existing system of accounting, that service could not have been given. The same considerations apply to a number of other branches. The financial returns from certain branches are so interwoven with and dependent upon others that there is much force in the contention that it is unreasonable to charge any one of them with the responsibility for the deficit.

3. Another somewhat similar reason for the deficit is the extent to which the post-office is saddled with expenses in carrying matter free for other departments of the government. Not only do government officials frank all kinds of material through the mails, but departments like that of Agriculture send matter by the wholesale. The Postmaster-General (Report, 1906, p. 272) estimates that if the post-office charged for this service, the revenues would be increased by approximately \$20,000,000 (about twice the actual deficit.) When Mr. Wanamaker was Postmaster-General, he said (1893):

Bundles of wire 6 feet high and 6 feet around, bags of seeds, supplies for the army, tons of documents packed in wooden cases that sometimes require three men to handle them, millions of blanks of the Census Office, are piled into the post-offices. . . . The reason for it is, that the Post-Office Department is compelled to carry anything sent under a penalty frank, and finally, franks are used by all the departments and their agents for the purpose of carrying everything they choose to send.

4. Finally, another main cause for the deficit is the failure of the post-office to enter domains of public service which are entered by all the main

postal systems of the world except that of the U. S., and which in most cases are immensely remunerative, tho done at low cost. We refer to postal savings-banks, postal telegraph and telephone service, and the postal parcels post. The reason why the U. S. post-office does not enter these domains is that, while the immense majority of the people desire that it should do so, and petitions to this effect have been signed by hundreds of thousands of voters, including most prominent public officials and some Postmaster-Generals themselves, the interests of private corporations carrying on banking, telegraph, telephone, and express have successfully lobbied in Congress to prevent or pigeonhole any bills looking in this direction. (See CORRUPTION, p. 322.)

Postmaster-General John Wanamaker in reply to a question about the parcels post said:

It is true that parcels could be carried at about one twelfth their present cost by the Post-Office Department, but you do not seem to be aware that there are four insuperable obstacles to the carrying of parcels by the U. S. Post-Office Department. The first of these is the Adams Express Company; the second is the American Express Company; the third the Wells-Fargo Express Company; and fourth, the United States Express Company.

PARCELS POST

What a large amount of business is carried on by the parcels post of almost all the great countries of the world, except in the U. S., is seen in the table on p. 929. The following table shows the comparative prices:

DOMESTIC POSTAGE ON PARCELS OF GENERAL MERCHANDISE

	Austria	France	Germany	Great Britain	British Empire	United States (fourth class)
7 pounds.	.12	.12	.12	.18	.48	\$1.12 ¹
11 pounds.	.12	.16	.12	.24	.72	1.76 ²
22 pounds.	.24 ¹	.25	.24 ¹	.48 ¹	...	...

¹ In two packages.

² In three packages.

This was not always the case. Says *Postal Progress* (organ of the Postal Progress League, q. v.), to which we are indebted for these facts:

The U. S. parcels post of 1874, with its uniform rate of eight cents a pound, weight-limit four pounds, preceded the international parcels post of Europe and the domestic post of France by six years; that of Great Britain by nine years.

The tax now levied by Congress on the public for the postal transport of general merchandise is 100 per cent higher than the Post-Office Department deems advisable or necessary; 100 per cent higher than the old rate of 1874; 100 per cent higher than the sample parcels rate of the Universal Postal Union, and 25 per cent higher than our foreign parcels rate.

Our parcels post of 1874, the best, in 1907 is the worst of any of the great nations. Our general merchandise tax, in 1874, eight cents a pound, is now sixteen cents a pound.

The parcels post could be made of incalculable service, especially to rural communities, and bring in a large revenue to the government, as it does in other countries.

THE INTERNATIONAL PARCELS POST

The international parcels post of Europe was established in 1880, but the U. S. has not entered into it. A few especial postal conventions have

been made by the U. S. with a few countries at high rates, but international commerce and correspondence with the U. S. is heavily handicapped in this respect as compared with other countries. U. S. consuls and citizens residing abroad or having correspondents abroad have repeatedly complained of this. It is estimated that hundreds of millions of dollars of commerce are lost to the U. S. by its inability to send samples and produce at cheap rates to foreign countries (on account of the pressure of foreign countries, it is cheaper to send fourth-class matter abroad than at home). It was estimated by Consul Ayme in 1903 that the U. S. lost \$2,000,000 in orders from the West Indies alone by the lack of a cheap parcels post. The following table compares the parcels dispatched in the international mails by the U. S. and some of the progressive nations of Europe:

	Number of parcels	Value
United States, 1906.....	264,438	Not stated
Germany, 1904.....	11,675,385	over \$23,000,000
Austria, 1904.....	10,659,300	" 68,000,000
France, 1904.....	5,300,541	" 20,000,000
Switzerland, 1904.....	1,694,200	" 18,500,000
Great Britain, 1905-6.....	2,315,204	" 18,000,000

The rates of the International Parcels Post compared with the U. S. general rate for foreign packages of eleven cents per pound is (as quoted in *Postal Progress*):

On parcels up to 11 pounds, for each country passed in territorial transit, 10 cents.

For maritime transit:

Distances up to 500 nautical miles, 10 cents; over 500 up to 1,000 nautical miles, 15 cents; over 1,000 up to 3,000 nautical miles, 20 cents; over 3,000 up to 6,000 nautical miles, 40 cents; over 6,000 nautical miles, 60 cents.

A surtax of 5 cents pays for customs formalities and delivery. A tax of 10 cents carries the parcel to its address by special messenger.

Any country of the union may fix the value limit of parcels handled in its international service, but in no case can it be less than \$100. In most cases the value is unlimited. The regular rates insure unregistered parcels up to \$5. Payment of a registration fee of 5 cents insures the registered parcel up to \$10, and an additional fee of 2 cents per \$60, for adjacent countries, 5 cents in other cases, insures the parcel up to its full value. The tax for collection on delivery cannot be over 4 cents per \$4, 1 per cent of the value collected.

Parcels over 3½ feet in any direction are subjected to an extra charge of 50 per cent.

This service now covers 33 countries of the Universal Postal Union, and includes a population of fully 500,000,000 people; but not the U. S. of America.

Of all progressive nations, too, the U. S. alone refuses to insure merchandise postal parcels.

The failure of the U. S. to enter the International Parcels Post has enabled the American express companies even to get exorbitant terms from foreign governments for delivering their parcel post matter in the U. S., so that to send a parcel to the U. S. from foreign countries a large price must be paid, a small portion of which goes to the foreign government for getting it to America and a large portion to some American express company for delivering it in America. One sees why the express companies have been interested in preventing the U. S. from entering the International Parcels Post. *Postal Progress* gives the following figures and comments as to the arrangement between the British Government and American express companies:

Post Express Rates, Great Britain.—To New York—3 lbs., 24c.; 7 lbs., 48c.; 11 lbs., 72c. To interior points—3 lbs., 50c.; 7 lbs., 75c.; 11 lbs., \$1.

American Parcels to Great Britain.—From New York—3 lbs., 49c.; 7 lbs., 55c.; 11 lbs., 70c. From interior points—3 lbs., 40c. + 25c., 35c., 40c., 45c.; 7 lbs., 55c. + 25c., 30c., 40c., 45c., 55c., 65c., 70c., 75c. (according to distance); 11 lbs., 70c. — 25c., 35c., 40c., 50c., 60c., 75c., 80c., 85c., \$1, \$1.10.

Plus similar charges for similar distances on every other express line over which the parcel passes, plus such other additional charges as the express company may levy for transport beyond its regular offices, plus or minus such discriminations as may be given in favor of prominent persons, merchants, manufacturers, or fruit-growers, whose influence, financial or political, may be sufficient to obtain special concessions.

Fees for Customs Formalities.—Postal fees—5c. Express post fees—48c.

Insurance.—Parcels post convention—10c., \$60; 30c., \$120; 55c., \$600. Express post arrangement—12c., \$60; 60c., \$120; \$1.20, \$600.

The express tax for customs formalities is nearly ten times the usual postal tax for a similar service. The express risk is from 20 to 100 per cent higher than the usual postal risk.

The British Government was forced into this post-express arrangement, because for a long time our government refused to make any parcels post arrangement with Great Britain, and even now limits the reciprocal service to 4-pound 6-ounce parcels at 12 cents per pound. Note the express discriminations in favor of New York City, as against the rest of the country: 25 cents more on a parcel to interior points than to New York. Note also that on these British postal parcels the American Express Company charges but 25 cents for transportation, on parcels 3 to 11 pounds from New York to any interior point, while it charges four or five times as much in many cases on domestic parcels carried to the same point.

REFORMS ACTUALLY IN PROGRESS

What makes it the more evident that it is only the lobbying of the private interests of the railroads and the express companies which prevents the Post-Office Department from entering these progressive fields is that in matters apart from those conflicting with the railroads and companies, the U. S. post-office is both efficient and progressive—far more so, indeed, than private interests. Its efficiency is seen in the following from the report of the Postmaster General (1906, p. 6):

The efficiency of the service has been in many respects remarkable, as witness the record of the registry service for the half-century of its existence, showing a percentage of loss from all causes—including burglary, theft, and fire—for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1904, of only three one thousandths of 1 per cent. Some private business enterprises may in certain directions yield better financial returns, but they cannot show a higher standard of integrity nor more faithful performance of duty.

Repeatedly when the Western Telegraph Company fails to be able to deliver a telegram, it is able to deliver it through the post-office. The post-office is also more progressive than the Western Union Telegraph Company. The post-office is continually introducing improvements—the free-delivery system, money-order system, special delivery, railway post-offices, steamship post-offices, electric street postal cars, rural delivery, return postals, pneumatic tubes. These are but the larger reforms introduced by the post-office. What has the Western Union to show compared with this? It must be remembered, too, that the U. S. post-office carries a letter across the continent and to the smallest hamlet for two cents. The Western Union Telegraph Company, for a service actually costing less, charges often \$2 (for a telegram of anything like the length of a brief letter) or twenty-five cents for the shortest dispatch, the shortest distance outside of city limits. To most small hamlets the telegraph company gives no service. For the large cities and the large services like the newspapers and the pool-rooms, the telegraph companies (see GAMBLING) give a fairly adequate service. But the post-office is cheap, effective, and progressive for everybody (except

where private transportation interests have prevented it). It has far more offices, is open longer hours, pays its employees better, and serves the public in every way far better than the Western Union Telegraph Company. The aim of the post-office is public service; the aim of the private monopoly is private dividends. In international postal reform, also, progress is being made even by the U. S. The Universal Postal Congress which met in Rome (Italy), April, 1906, made the following changes, to go into effect Oct. 1, 1907:

(1) Reduction of the international letter rate of postage; (2) reduction of the rates to be paid to one country for transporting by its services the mails of another country in transit to a country beyond; (3) postal cards may bear a message on the left half of the front as well as upon the back; (4) an indemnity of 50 francs (\$10) must be paid for the loss of a registered article; (5) the postal administration of any country may sell to a person applying therefor a coupon in exchange for which upon its presentation at a post-office in another country the person presenting it shall receive a postage-stamp of the value of 25 centimes (5 cents), thus enabling a person in one country to furnish his correspondent in another country with a postage-stamp with which to prepay postage upon his reply letter; (6) postage-stamps perforated to show initials or other marks must be recognized as valid; (7) private postal cards need not bear the title "post card" or "postal card"; (8) correspondence of prisoners of war is free of postage in international mails, and (9) by reason of its insular possessions the U. S. is granted two votes in future postal congresses, instead of one as heretofore.

WHAT MIGHT BE

Postal Progress advocates an international rate of 2 cents per ounce on letters and 1 cent for 2 ounces on foreign general merchandise, with postal notes as universal bills of exchange, a perfect world's money.

For the nation, the post-office, it believes, should take charge of all transportation. It gives the following plan:

(1) The national government, under its constitutional power over post-roads, to take control of the entire business of public transportation, and to guarantee to the holders of transport securities a return on their investments equal to the average annual return of the past ten years, a similar return on their cost to be guaranteed on roads recently built. (This will insure absolute safety to the investments of savings-banks and similar associations. It will insure more than a square deal to railway speculators.)

(2) The maintenance, extension, and operation of the consolidated system to be under the control and management of an extended postal department, including the engineering corps of the army and navy; all postal employees to be enlisted as men are now enlisted in the army and navy. The government engineers entrusted with the building and maintenance of the Panama Canal may be safely entrusted with the care of all our public highways. To prevent waste, the post-road policy of the national government should be the same as the highway policy of the different states, viz.: Any community, town, county, or state, asking for an extension of post-roads, should pay some share of the cost. Local roads may, perhaps, be left to local control, as local roads are now left to the care of the smaller communities within the different states. But the whole business must be under the general jurisdiction of the national government.

(3) As to funds, U. S. 2 per cent thirty-year bonds are worth 105. The nation will find no difficulty in raising money to build and maintain its own roads. It is a most wasteful policy to pay the Harrimans and the Hills 8 or 10 per cent, or more, for money to build the highways of the people, when the people themselves are glad to furnish the national government with funds at less than 2 per cent. Every additional mile of post-road, moreover, will raise the public credit, for to its own value will be added the increased value of the district which it serves.

(4) Make the very lowest less than car-load rate on merchandise the uniform rate for the station-to-station service, adding thereto the lowest possible rate for collection and delivery, to the end that we may have a universal door-to-door rate within the entire public service.

A door-to-door rate of 1 cent a pound or less on small merchandise parcels, 25 cents on 100-pound parcels, may be found quite practicable, once our public transport service is brought under the post-office. On products usually trans-

ported in ton lots—coal, brick, ore, etc.—a rate of 40 or 50 cents per ton, station to station, with corresponding rates for collection and delivery, may suffice to meet the situation. "There should be no wholesale rates as against retail rates, no more so than in buying postage-stamps."—Hon. L. S. Coffin, *Late Railroad Commissioner of Iowa*.

Passenger fares: Local traffic with frequent stops, five cents per trip. Express traffic, stops every fifteen or twenty miles, twenty-five cents per trip. Through traffic on fast trains, stops once in forty or fifty miles, \$1 per trip, with reasonable charges for transport between the home and the station.

The possibilities as to low transport rates under a well-ordinated system of transportation are altogether beyond imagination. It is estimated that a saving of fully \$50,000,000 a year could be made in the transport service of the city of New York alone, if the entire business were in the hands of one well-equipped organization, run in the public interest. Vice-president Buckland, of the N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R., is quoted as saying that \$15,000,000 a year could be saved to the people within his railroad province under a door-to-door freight transport service undertaken by the railroad in connection with the trolley lines.

POVERTY (see also **PAUPERISM** AND **POOR RELIEF**; **POOR-LAWS** (English)): We consider in this article: (1) the facts and statistics of poverty; (2) the social effects; (3) the causes; (4) methods of relief.

I. Facts and Statistics

Statistics of poverty do not and probably cannot exist in any exact form, first, because there is no exact standard of poverty, and secondly, because in no country are there any official or generally complete returns as to the whole number of the poor. In most countries there are statistics as to the number receiving public relief, and to a less extent as to those in receipt of private charity, but even this is not complete, while there are undoubtedly in all countries at least some who must be called poor, since they are without the means to adequately support family life, who, for one reason or another, never receive any aid, while in all countries the number of those out of work at least a portion of the time, and therefore out of the means of subsistence, is by no means small. How many poor, therefore, there are in any country, no man knows. We have but estimates and approximations.

The estimates usually given vary with the meaning given to the word "poor." Some mean by it those in receipt of public relief; but these are "paupers." Others mean by it those in receipt of any kind of public or private relief; but "dependents" is a better term for this class. Others mean by it those in need of such relief; whether they receive it or not, a more philosophical use, but practically limiting the word to the class in *permanent* need of relief—the class unable to support itself, or at least not supporting itself—and do not include in the number the temporarily unemployed or unfortunate. Others mean by the word any who for any reason, for any appreciable period, are not in receipt of enough income to maintain life and renew it, on the plane of bare existence on the present social plane. In Charles Booth's investigations as to life and labor in London, he found it necessary to adopt a standard for the measure of poverty and he defined the poor as "those living in a state of struggle to obtain the necessities of life"; the *very* poor being "those who live in a state of chronic want." He divides the *very* poor into the lowest class of occasional laborers, loafers, or semicriminals and those with only casual earnings. The poor he divides into those with intermittent earnings and those with small irregular earnings. He says that "it is clear that in studying the problems of poverty, we have

to deal not alone with those who claim public relief as paupers, or who claim private charity as beggars, but with the great army from which these classes are constantly recruited, the army of those who live at or under the line of poverty—a great army living at a deprest rate of life, and tending to reduce the vitality of the whole population.

THE UNITED STATES

The number of paupers in almshouses in the U. S. in 1903, as reported by the census, was 81,764. (See PAUPERISM.) But this is only one class of the poor in any country.

Professor Bushnell, in Professor Henderson's "Modern Methods of Charity," says that "the total number of public and private abnormal dependents in the U. S. must not be far from 3,000,000, or one twenty-fifth of the total population of the country at an annual expense of nearly \$200,000,000, or one tenth of the total wage income of all the manufacturing establishments of the country."

THE NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS, DELINQUENTS, AND DEFECTIVES RECEIVING PUBLIC AID OR SUPPORTED BY PRIVATE CHARITIES, ESTIMATED BY PROF. C. J. BUSHNELL, FROM STATE REPORTS, IN PROFESSOR HENDERSON'S "MODERN METHODS OF CHARITY," pp. 385-390.

STATE	Number	Per cent of population	Annual expense	Expense per family
Massachusetts..	415,730	14.	\$12,121,696	23.51
Connecticut....	100,000	11.	4,000,000	28.
New York.....	160,000	2.	25,000,000	18.00
Pennsylvania...	110,000	1.7	26,000,000	20.00
Ohio.....	100,000	2.4	5,034,886	12.00
Michigan.....	100,000	4.	849,125	.....
Wisconsin.....	15,000	0.7	1,000,000	3-4.00
California.....	.....	.....	2,667,000	10.00
Total.....	1,000,730	4.	\$75,672,707	.....

In comparing these figures with those of other states it must be remembered that they are for those receiving public aid or reported by private charities. Many more received unreported charity. The high percentages for Massachusetts and Connecticut are therefore partly due to a more complete registration of private charities and more largely, probably, to the fact that in the East dependents are more generally placed in institutions, than in the West, where institutions have not been equally developed. Many Eastern and far Western cities give no outdoor relief. Higher percentages, therefore, may not always mean more paupers, but better care for them.

This number of 3,000,000 receiving reported aid is the same number estimated in 1890 by Charles D. Kellogg, then secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society, and by Prof. R. T. Ely (*North American Review*, April, 1891). But these figures are only of those receiving known aid. It by no means includes all the poor according to Mr. Booth's definition. Using the word in that sense, Mr. Robert T. Hunter estimates the total number of the poor in the U. S. at 10,000,000. (See special article, POVERTY IN THE U. S.) Of New York State, the wealthiest, he says: "In 1899 18 per cent of the people in New York State received public or private charity. In 1903 14 per cent of the families of Manhattan were evicted. Every year about 10 per cent of those who die in Manhattan have pauper burial."

GREAT BRITAIN

The number receiving public relief in Great Britain (besides those receiving private charity or not receiving relief) is 1,142,357.

Says a Fabian tract (1906):

We clog our public poor relief with irksome and degrading conditions, so that the honest poor often die lingering deaths rather than accept it. Mr. Charles Booth states that "as regards entering the workhouse, it is the one point on which no difference of opinion exists among the poor. The aversion to the 'house' is absolutely universal, and almost any suffering and privation will be endured by people rather than go into it" ("The Aged Poor in England and Wales"). Yet the paupers in actual receipt of public relief on one day number more than a million:

	Number	Cost
England and Wales, Jan. 1, 1905....	932,267	£13,369,494
Scotland, Jan. 15, 1904.....	106,850	1,302,061
Ireland, Jan. 7, 1905.....	103,240	1,033,168
	1,142,357	£15,704,723

(Report of Local Government Board, England and Wales, Cd—2,661; Report of Local Government Board, Scotland, Cd—2,514; Report of Local Government Board, Ireland, Cd—2,655.)

But these are by no means all the poor. The Fabian tract gives the following statements from authorities:

Nine hundred and thirty-nine out of every 1,000 persons (about half of whom are adults) die without property worth speaking of, and 961 out of every 1,000 without furniture, investments, or effects worth £300 (Mulhall, Dictionary of Statistics, from Probate Duty Returns, p. 279).

From returns obtained from 8,121 private and government works, employing 862,365 persons, it appears that the average annual wage per head amounted to only £48. These returns include the police and other public servants, but do not take any account of agricultural and general laborers (Annual Report of Labor Department, Board of Trade, 1893-1894, C—7,565).

B. S. Rowntree estimated that the average income from all sources of the 11,560 working-class families in York in 1899 was 32s. 8½d. per week, or £85 a year. But 1,465 families, comprising 7,230 persons, that is, 15.46 per cent of the wage-earning class and 9.91 per cent of the population of York, were living in "primary poverty," that is, on less than enough to provide the minimum of food, clothing, and shelter. And, in addition, 13,072 persons, or 17.93 per cent of the population, were living in "secondary poverty," that is, on earnings which would be sufficient if spent with rigid economy and perfect wisdom, but were insufficient because in part misspent on drink and betting or through ignorant housekeeping. "The wages paid for unskilled labor in York are insufficient to provide food, shelter, and clothing adequate to maintain a family of moderate size in a state of bare physical efficiency." No less than 52 per cent of "primary" poverty was due to low wages alone ("Poverty," 2d ed., pp. 83, 120, 133).

Of the great permanent army of the "unemployed," no reliable statistics can be obtained. From returns rendered to the Labor Department of the Board of Trade by trade-unions, it appears that in the seven years, 1896-1902, the mean percentage of members unemployed was 3.3 (Annual Report of Labor Department, Board of Trade, 1901-2, Cd—1,755). The average number of persons in London whose home is the "common lodging-house" is over 30,000; over 1,100 are every night found in the "casual wards."

As regards the 4,000,000 persons in the metropolis, Mr. Charles Booth tells us that 37.610, or 0.9 per cent, are in the lowest class (occasional laborers, loafers, and semicriminals); 316,834, or 7.5 per cent, in the next (casual labor, hand-to-mouth existence, chronic want); 938,293, or 22.3 per cent, form "the poor" (including alike those whose earnings are small, because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, though regular, is ill paid). These classes, on or below the "poverty line" of earnings not exceeding a guinea a week per family, number together 1,292,737, or 30.7 per cent of the whole population. To these must be added 99,830 inmates of work-houses, hospitals, prisons, industrial schools, etc., making altogether nearly 1,400,000 persons in this one city alone whose condition even the most optimistic social student can hardly deem satisfactory ("Labor and Life of the People," edited by Charles Booth, 1891, vol. ii., pp. 20-21).

The ultimate fate of these victims it is not easy adequately to realize. In London alone, in 1902, no less than 34 persons, of whom 24 were fifty years old and upward, were certified by the verdicts of coroners' juries to have died of starvation, or accelerated by privation (H.C.—279). Actual starvation is, however, returned as the cause of death in but a few cases annually; and it is well known that many thousands of deaths

London's Poverty

are directly due to long-continued underfeeding and exposure. Young children especially suffer.

In England and Wales, in 1904, 90,776 deaths were registered as having taken place in workhouses, infirmaries, hospitals, and asylums, or 16.51 per cent of the total deaths; the proportion during the ten years immediately preceding having averaged 14.25 per cent. Of these, 48,884 occurred in workhouses, 32,141 in hospitals, and 9,751 in lunatic asylums.

In London, in 1904, one person in every three died in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum. Out of 75,558 deaths, 31,513 being under twenty years of age, 13,845 were in workhouses, 10,806 in hospitals, and 504 in lunatic asylums, or, altogether, 25,155 in public institutions (Registrar-General's Report, 1904, Cd—2,617).

It is worth notice that a large number of those compelled in their old age to resort to the workhouse have made ineffectual efforts at thrifty provision for their declining years. In 1890-91, out of 175,852 inmates of workhouses (one third being children, and another third women), no fewer than 14,808 have been members of benefit societies. In 4,593 cases the society had broken up, usually from insolvency (House of Commons Return, 1891, Nos. 366 and 130—B). It is probable that one in every three London adults will be driven into these refuges to die, and the proportion in the case of the "manual-labor class" must of course be still larger. And the number of persons who die while in receipt of outdoor relief is not included in this calculation. As in 1902-3 the mean number of outdoor paupers in the metropolis was 44,899 (Cd—1,700), and the average death-rate in London was 18.7 per 1,000, it may be assumed that upward of 1,000 persons died while in receipt of outdoor relief—often from its being insufficient.

For other countries, see those countries.

II. The Effects of Poverty

We quote upon this point from a classic statement, written by Mr. Ira Steward, the father of the eight-hour philosophy, and published in the "Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of Labor" (1873). He says:

Poverty is the great fact with which the labor movement deals. The problems that now most disturb and perplex mankind will be solved when the masses are no longer poor. Poverty makes the poor poorer, and independence impossible. It corrupts judges, ministers, legislators, and statesmen. It decides marriages, shortens human life, hinders education, and embarrasses progress in every direction. It gives rise, directly and indirectly, to more anxiety, suffering, and crime than all other causes combined. Poverty crams cities, and their tenement-houses, with people whose conduct and votes endanger the republic. The dangerous classes are always poor. There is a closer relation between poverty and slavery than the average abolitionist ever recognized. . . . The anti-slavery idea was that every man had the right to go and come at his will. The labor movement asks how much this abstract right is worth, without the power to exercise it. . . . The laborer instinctively feels that something of slavery still remains, or that something of freedom is yet to come, and he is not much interested in the anti-slavery theory of liberty. He wants a fact, which the labor movement undertakes to supply.

But has not the middle class its poverty—a poverty that should excite the most anxiety, and the most searching inquiry? They are a large majority of the people, and their poverty is generally carefully concealed. . . . The middle classes have the strongest motives for never making any parade or public complaint of their poverty. To advertise oneself destitute, is to be without credit. . . . Poverty that publishes or argues one's incapacity closes many a door to more profitable or advantageous situations or promotions. The more expensive and superior style of living adopted by the middle classes must, therefore, be considered in the light of an investment, made from the soundest considerations of expediency. . . . Very few among them are saving money; many of them are in debt; and all they can earn for years is, in many cases, mortgaged, to pay such debt—"debt that increases the load of the future, with the burden which the present cannot bear." . . . The poverty of the great middle classes consists in the fact that they have only barely enough to cover up their poverty, and that they are within a few days of want, if through sickness or other misfortune employment suddenly stops. . . .

But the most alarming fact concerning the poverty of the native middle classes in this commonwealth is that, for two or three decades past, marriages and births have so far decreased among them that we are nearly or quite justified in saying that they are now dying faster than their children are being born; and that it is to foreign sources (and to Americans born in other states), and to the lower class of native-born, we must credit the present increase in our census returns. . . . With the mass of intelligent people, early or late marriages, and few or no children, is largely a question of poverty and wealth. . . .

Poverty, however, falls most crushingly on woman. In all countries, and in all ages, among the lower and middle classes, she has worked harder, and for less pay, than men. A woman who has no resources for a living except from the labor of her own hands is tolerably sure to become in time, either the poor man's slave, or the rich man's plaything; to marry for a home, or do worse. To make prostitution unnecessary is a part of the problem of social science; but prostitution means getting a living. The science that will solve this problem will easily dispose of war, intemperance, financial convulsions, and a dozen other evils that now disturb the peace of the race. Poverty is the mainspring of selfishness, for it is the destitution of the mass of mankind that prevents them from thinking and doing for others; As Mill says, "all their thoughts are required for themselves." . . . The two classes most peculiarly open to the temptation of intemperance are the very poor and the very rich young men. . . . The steps of some young men turn finally to the light, warm, welcome saloon, not from force of appetite, for they have never yet drunk enough to create the craving for stimulating beverages, nor because it is fashionable, for their wages are not sufficient to lift them up to that level; but because they are without homes, and are starving for society.

The sons of the wealthy have homes, and all that money can bring for their entertainment. But in many cases they have nothing whatever to do. They are corrupted by idleness, and it is their extreme wealth that makes their hours of idleness possible. . . . The most terrible of all stagnations is idleness. It means moral and social rotteness, and intemperance is only a single manifestation of it. . . . No one is fully educated until the discipline of hard labor has been added to the culture of books, travel, and good society, and, on the other hand, no one is educated who has had no chance to learn anything but to work hard and steadily, and to "know his place." . . . The law of "supply and demand," so often quoted as regulating wages and prices, means nothing, more nor less, than the great fact of the poverty of the poor, and the power and comparative independence of the wealthy. . . . Starving men will always bid for wages at starvation prices. . . . The law of supply and demand is said to regulate the price of commodities, but the "demand" is limited by the great fact of the poverty of the mass of consumers. . . . "A glut in the market" has never yet meant anything more than that millions of people are too poor to pay for the food, clothes, houses, books, and opportunities that are waiting for customers. . . .

It is poverty that compels one man to borrow of another, and the price paid for the use of the money loaned is what we call interest—so that interest on money is poverty again. . . . It is the enormous profits made directly upon the labor of the wage classes, and indirectly through the results of their labor, that, first, keeps them poor, and, second, furnishes the capital that is finally loaned back to them again. . . .

It is clear that the large fortunes accumulated by the wealthy can only be defended upon the theory that their services are actually worth the compensation they receive. Are their services worth the price charged? . . . If it is fair to ask hands how much they could do without brains, it is just as fair to ask brains how long they could live without hands. The alternative presented to mankind, in case the services of managers were withdrawn, is a reduced rate of production, which means poverty. But, on the other hand, the alternative presented to those who manage labor, in case the so-called brainless workers were withdrawn, is death, or hard work with their own hands, for fields were never tilled, nor houses reared, nor garments made, nor food cooked, without manual labor. . . . The capital of the capitalist is not simply the wealth he has somehow acquired, tho this is, indeed, a very important part of his capital. The other part, without which the first would be worthless, and to which the political economist seldom, or never, refers, but to which we now call special attention, is the great and terrible fact of the poverty of the masses. It is their poverty, destitution, and consequent dependence, that compel them, every day of their lives, to make the best terms possible with those who hold in their possession the surplus wealth of the world. . . .

The Cause of Intemperance

Poverty Causes Low Wages

III. Causes of Poverty

These are of necessity so numerous and complex, that sociologists to-day no longer attempt to analyze them or even state them, and much less venture opinion as to how far different causes contribute to the result. The most that can be done, scientifically, is to say that such and

such causes tend to produce poverty, and that some causes seem to be more potential than others. Life as it affects poverty is seen to-day to be too complex for statistical or any form of exact analysis.

Perhaps the nearest approach to a scientific tabulation and valuation of different causes is the one made in 1894 by Prof. A. G. Warner, and published in his "American Charities." He has collected and tabulated the results of investigations into the causes of thousands of actual cases of poverty in the U. S., England, and Germany. His table includes practically all the findings, as to actual cases of poverty, made in a scientific way by trained investigators; and embodies the results of investigations by the charity organization societies of Baltimore, Buffalo, and New York City, the associated charities of Boston and Cincinnati, the studies of Charles Booth in Stepney and St. Pancras parishes in London, the statements of Böhmert ("Armenwesen in 76 Deutschen Städten") for seventy-six German cities, published in 1886. It will be seen that here, if anywhere, we have a scientific analysis of the facts of the case, as collected by persons without particular bias.

We quote on p. 937 only his percentages. The conclusions and especially the averages of the table, however, should not be used without reading the explanations that follow it.

Of this table Professor Warner says (pp. 36, 37);

The first duty of one presenting such a table as this is to indicate clearly what it does not show. It deals, as already indicated, only with the exciting causes of poverty; and yet this fact is not kept clearly in mind, even by careful workers. Mr. Booth, for instance, includes "pauper association and heredity" in this list of causes; and the American societies include "nature and location of abode." Both of these are by their nature predisposing causes, rather than immediate or exciting causes; and it is confusing to mix the two. Secondly, many of the persons whose cases are here tabulated

Explanation of Table

have been, as Mr. Booth says, the football of all the causes in the list. Under such circumstances to pick out one cause, and call it the most important, is a purely arbitrary proceeding. Any one of the causes might have been inadequate to produce pauperism, had not others cooperated with it. A man is drunk and breaks his leg; is the cause "accident" or "drink?" When this question was submitted to a group of charity organization workers, it was very promptly answered by two of them; but their answers were different. A man has been shiftless all his life, and is now old; is the cause of poverty shiftlessness or old age? A man is out of work because he is lazy and inefficient. One has to know him quite well before they can be sure that laziness is the cause. Perhaps there is hardly a single case in the whole 7,000 where destitution has resulted from a single cause. . . .

The impossibility of giving an accurate statistical description of the facts is still clearer when we try to separate the causes indicating misconduct from those indicating misfortune. Back of disease may be either misconduct or misfortune. The imprisonment of the breadwinner indicates misconduct on his part, but may only indicate misfortune on the part of wife and children. The same is true in the case of abandoned children and neglect by relatives. This particular classification is made in deference to popular inquiry only. In the writer's opinion its chief value consists in showing how little it is worth.

But after all possible allowance has been made for the "personal equation" of the investigator, and for all the inevitable inconclusiveness of the figures, there is a residuum of information to be got from the tables. They give, as well as such statistics can, the conclusions reached by those who are studying pauperism at first hand. If the figures furnished by all the investigators were added together into one great total, and this only were put before him, the author would indeed hesitate to base any conclusions whatever upon it. But when it is found that different investigators, at different times, in different places, reach conclusions which, while varying in many and often inexplicable ways, are yet in agreement as regards certain important facts, we can but think that the figures to some extent reflect actual conditions.

It will be seen from this table that the chief single cause of poverty, as here studied, is sick-

ness or death in the families of the poor. Lack of work stands second, altho, if the averages as to lack of work, insufficient work, and poorly paid work be added together, as well they might be, they form the supreme cause of poverty. Drink stands third, tho only one half as great a cause as unemployment. Says Professor Warner (pp. 60 and 65):

Probably nothing in the tables of the causes of poverty, as ascertained by cold counting, will more surprise the average reader than the fact that intemperance is held to be the chief cause in only from one fifteenth to one fifth of the cases, and that where an attempt is made to learn in how many cases it had a contributory influence, its presence cannot be traced at all in more than 28.1 per cent of the cases. (See INTemperance.) Professor Warner sums up the case by saying: "The general conclusion regarding drink as a cause of poverty is sufficiently well formulated by Mr. Booth. 'Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand in apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness and old age; but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met.'"

It will also be seen from the table that causes indicating misconduct average only 21.3 per cent, while causes indicating misfortune average 74.4, or over three times as much. Four per cent of the cases are not classified; but the causes indicated as unclassified belong to causes indicating misfortune much more than misconduct, at least as far as the individual studied is concerned. How far poverty is the result of other people's misconduct or hereditary misconduct is not here shown. But as for the persons immediately concerned, misfortune is shown to be nearly four times as much the cause of poverty as their misconduct.

This seems to be the most careful analysis of the causes of poverty yet made; but not all will accept its conclusions. Certain schools of thought are apt to find the especial evil they attack the main cause of poverty. (See SINGLE TAX; TEMPERANCE; MALTHUSIANISM.)

Mr. Robert Treat Paine, in an address read at the International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy, at Chicago, in 1893, said:

Has not the new charity organization movement too long been content to aim at a system to relieve or even uplift judiciously single cases without asking if there are not prolific causes permanently at work to create want, vice, crime, disease, and death; and whether these causes may not be wholly or in large degree eradicated? If such causes of pauperism exist, how vain to waste our energies on single cases of relief, when society should rather aim at removing the prolific sources of all the woe.

The four great causes of pauperism and of degraded city life have long seemed to me to be these: 1. Foul homes. 2. Intoxicating drink. 3. Neglect of child life. 4. Indiscriminate almsgiving.

Mr. Charles Booth counts up twenty-three principal causes of pauperism ("Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age," p. 9):

"Crime, vice, drink, laziness, pauper association, heredity, mental disease, temper, incapacity, early marriage, large family, extravagance, lack of work, trade misfortune, restlessness, no relations, death of husband, desertion, death of father or mother, sickness, accident, ill luck, old age." He says, "that, as causes, old age stands first, sickness next, and then comes drink" (p. 148).

Among 1,610 cases, however, of the poor and very poor in London, he shows 4 per cent due to "loafing," 14 to drink, 27 to illness, large families, or other misfortunes, 55 to "questions of employment" ("Labor and Life of the People,"

CAUSES OF POVERTY
(See explanation preceding)

REPORT FROM—		CAUSES OF POVERTY INDICATING MISCONDUCT					LACK OF NORMAL SUPPORT				MATTERS OF EMPLOYMENT				MATTERS OF PERSONAL CAPACITY					Total	Per cent	Not classified ¹		
		Number of Cases	Drink	Inefficiency and shiftlessness	Crime, immorality, and dishonesty	Roaming disposition	Total	Imprisonment of breadwinner	Orphans and abandoned	Neglect by relatives	No male support	Lack of employment	Insufficient employment	Poorly paid employment	Unhealthy or dangerous employment	Ignorance of English	Accident	Sickness or death in family	Physical defect				Insanity	Old age
			Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent				Per cent	Per cent
Baltimore:	690	9.0	14.0	.7	1.4	25.1	.....	.4	2.0	4.0	13.0	8.0	6.0	.4	.4	4.0	19.5	5.0	.6	5.0	68.3	6.7		
1890-91.....	695	7.1	12.0	1.0	1.4	21.5	.4	1.4	1.4	5.0	12.0	9.1	4.0	.3	.....	4.0	21.0	7.1	1.0	7.1	73.8	4.7		
1891-92.....																								
Boston:	991	19.2	7.6	1.5	.6	28.9	1.6	.5	.8	7.2	14.1	6.0	.5	.7	.7	3.6	23.2	2.5	.7	3.8	65.7	5.4		
1890-91.....	1,092	21.9	6.9	1.4	1.1	31.4	1.7	1.0	1.0	4.8	14.3	5.0	1.3	.1	.9	2.3	24.9	2.3	.6	4.4	64.7	3.9		
1891-92.....																								
Buffalo:	6,021	11.6	7.3	.....	.....	18.9	1.8	.....	.....	6.6	31.1	.....	7.5	.....	.....	3.5	21.1	8.7	.8	.....	81.1	.....		
1878-87.....																								
1888-89.....	497	8.9	3.6	.....	.....	12.5	2.2	3.6	.....	14.9	27.2	.....	8.7	.....	.....	4.6	22.7	6.6	.6	.....	87.5	.....		
1889-90.....	576	4.9	5.7	.....	.....	10.6	.....	.....	.....	13.4	32.5	.....	6.6	.....	.....	5.0	23.8	5.2	.5	.....	89.4	.....		
1890-91.....	500	5.7	1.8	.....	.....	7.5	1.9	.....	.....	19.4	26.8	.....	7.0	.....	.....	5.5	20.2	5.0	.7	.....	92.5	.....		
1891-92.....	581	8.1	3.4	.3	.2	12.0	1.9	.....	.....	15.0	21.9	5.7	.3	.....	.2	4.5	29.5	1.0	1.8	3.6	85.4	2.6		
Cincinnati:	2,174	13.3	13.3	.7	5.2	32.5	.3	.5	1.1	7.1	9.7	2.5	.9	.2	1.1	2.3	15.5	1.7	.6	3.0	46.4	21.1		
1890-91.....	2,670	9.2	12.5	3.0	5.4	30.1	1.2	1.0	.5	7.1	11.3	11.9	7.5	.8	.6	2.3	14.6	3.2	.7	3.1	66.4	3.4		
1891-92.....																								
New York:	1,412	10.7	7.2	1.4	3.3	22.6	.6	.1	.5	7.2	29.0	6.1	2.5	.....	.4	3.3	18.5	2.7	.7	3.3	74.9	2.5		
1891.....																								
London:	634	12.6	7.1	2.5	.....	22.1	.....	.....	.....	4.6	4.4	.....	.....	.....	.....	4.7	26.7	.....	1.7	32.8	74.9	3.0		
(Stepney).....	736	21.9	13.4	6.9	.....	42.2	.....	.....	.....	2.8	2.2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.6	20.7	.....	4.3	23.4	54.0	1.8		
(St. Pancras).....																								
76 German cities.....	95,845	1.3	.....	.....	1.4	2.7	1.7	5.6	.6	2.5	12.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.1	45.8	2.4	3.4	15.8	91.4	5.9		
Average ²	11	8.26	1.94	.....	2.2	21.3	1.5	1.4	1.0	8.0	17.4	6.7	4.4	.4	.6	3.5	23.6	4.1	1.2	9.6	74.4	5.5		

¹ Including large family, nature of abode, pauper associates, and heredity.² These averages are of unequal value, depending upon the number of cases they are averaged from. A glance at the columns will show how many cases each average represents. Totals and averages for drunkenness and unemployment are among the most complete.

vol. i., p. 147). A large part of this lack of employment may be among the old.

Mr. J. G. Godard, in his "Poverty, Its Genesis and Exodus," argues that waste of wealth, poverty itself, are prominent causes of poverty, but that the main cause is unequal distribution. He argues that men must be poor, either because there is not enough produced for all, because some of it is wasted, or because some get too much. He shows for England that, relatively the number of the poor is somewhat less to-day than it was, the annual wealth produced is nearly double what it was three generations ago, and "never in the whole history of England, excepting during the disastrous period at the beginning of the century, has the absolute number of the very poor been so great as it is now" (J. A. Hobson's "Problems of Poverty," p. 26, 1891). Is there then, he asks, not enough produced? He shows that the total annual income of the United Kingdom in round numbers may be placed at £1,350,000,000 (Mr. Giffin, in his "Essays on Finance," vol. ii., pp. 460-472, estimating it in 1886 at £1,270,000,000). Dividing this by the population of the census returns for 1891 (37,740,283), he gets £35 per annum (\$175) for each individual, or £175 (\$875) for each family of five. He says, "Insufficient production of wealth may then be regarded as an actual cause of poverty, but one of minor influence." A more important cause of poverty he considers to be the waste of wealth. He quotes Professor Marshall as saying ("Principles of Economics," vol. i., p. 731), "Perhaps £100,000,000 annually are spent even by the working classes, and £400,000,000 by the rest of the population of England, in ways that do little or nothing toward making life nobler or truly happier." This means a waste of over one third of the whole. Poverty itself, he shows, causes much poverty. It checks profitable production; it causes large amounts of waste; leads to unequal distribution, compelling the

Unequal Distribution

poor to work for low wages. But, above all, he considers unjust distribution the main cause of poverty. He says (giving authorities for his conclusion), "One thirty-eighth of the population possess on the average £5,000 per head, and thirty thirty-eighths of population possess on the average £6 per head. Inequality of distribution can scarcely be carried much further." Of the annual income he says: "Thirty million weekly wage-earners obtain £500,000,000 only; the remaining 8,000,000 persons thus receiving £850,000,000. This means that the average annual income of the one class is less than £17 per head, and the average annual income is more than £106 per head." (For other statements on this point and for authorities, and for similar facts as to the U.S., see WEALTH.)

IV. Methods of Relief

For what is being done in various countries *directly* to relieve poverty, see article PAUPERISM AND POOR RELIEF. For what is being done *indirectly*, but perhaps quite as effectively, see the various measures, CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY; OLD-AGE PENSIONS; LABOR COLONIES; GARDEN CITIES; HOUSING QUESTION; UNEMPLOYMENT; PAWN-SHOPS; TEMPERANCE; SETTLEMENT; INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES; TRADE-UNIONS; SINGLE TAX; SOCIALISM, etc. We consider in this section simply the principal general methods or varieties of relief which have been proposed.

Mr. Charles Booth (q. v.), who perhaps has studied the facts of modern city poverty as carefully as any other one man, divides the residents of the poorer sections of London into eight classes and then states his principal method of relief. His classification and proposals are as follows:

(A) The lowest class of occasional laborers, loafers, and semicriminals; (B) the very poor, with casual earnings; (C) those of intermittent earnings; (D) of small regular earnings; (E) those of regular standard earnings, above the line of poverty; (F) the higher classes of laborers; (G) the lower middle class; (H) the upper middle class. Class A he thinks could be "harried out of existence" ("Life and Labor of the People," vol. i., p. 169). Class B he thinks presents the main problem. It is *de trop*. The competition of B drags down C and D, and that of C and D hangs heavily upon E. We gain nothing from B. All that B does could be done by C and D in their now idle hours. . . . To bring Class B under State regulation would be to control the springs of pauperism. Hence he would put them under State control. He says: "These people should be allowed to live as families in industrial groups, planted wherever land and building material

were cheap, being well housed, well fed, and well warmed; and taught, trained, and employed from morning to night on work indoors and out, for themselves or on government account; in the building of their own dwellings, in the cultivation of the land, in the making of furniture. . . . There would be no competition with the outside world. . . . What is the poor-law system? It is a limited form of socialism—a socialistic community (aided from outside) living in the midst of an individualist nation. My idea is to make the dual system, socialism in the arms of individualism, under which we already live, more efficient by extending somewhat the sphere of the former, and making the division of function more distinct. Our individualism fails because our socialism is incomplete. In taking charge of the lives of the incapable, State socialism finds its proper work, and by doing it completely would relieve us of a serious danger."

Views of Charles Booth

More recently Mr. Booth, in his "Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age," finding pauperism largely a problem of the aged (see above), has proposed a vast scheme for pensioning all aged persons. (See OLD-AGE PENSIONS.)

The Rev. Samuel Barnett, of St. Jude's, White-chapel, London, warden of Toynbee Hall, is even more radical. He says ("Practicable Socialism," revised edition, pp. 101-107):

Individuals have given their money and their time, their failure is notorious, and societies have been formed to direct their efforts. The failure of these societies is not equally notorious, but few thinkers retain the hope that societies will reform society and make the conditions of living such that people will be able to grow in wisdom and in stature to the full height of their manhood. If it were a sight to make men and angels weep, to see one rich man struggling with the poverty of a street, making himself poor only to make others discontented paupers, it is as sad a sight to see societies hopelessly beaten and hardened into machines with no reach beyond their grasp. The deadness of these societies or their ill-directed efforts have roused, in the shape of charity organization workers, a most striking missionary enterprise. The history of the movement as a mission has yet to be written; the names of its martyrs stand in the list of the "unknown good," but the most earnest members of a charity organization society cannot hope that organized almsgiving will be powerful so to alter conditions as to make the life of the poor a life worth living. Societies which absorb much wealth, and which relieve their subscribers of their responsibility, are failing; it remains only to adopt the principle of the education act, of the poor-law, and of other socialistic legislation, and call on society to do what societies fail to do.

Views of Canon Barnett

There is much which may be urged in favor of such a course. It is only society, or to use the title by which society expresses itself in towns, it is only town councils which can cover all the ground and see that each locality gets equal treatment. . . . The first need is better dwellings. . . . Insanitary conditions and high rents are the points to which consideration must be directed. . . . Wise town councils, conscious of the mission they have inherited, could destroy every court and crowded alley, and put in their places healthy dwellings; they could make water so cheap, and bathing places so common, that cleanliness should no longer be a hard virtue; they could open playgrounds and take away from a city the reproach of its gutter children; they could provide gardens, libraries, and conversation rooms; they could open picture-galleries and concerts; they could light and clean the streets of the poor quarters; they could give medicine to heal the sick, money to the old and poor, a training for the neglected, and a home for the friendless. The first practical work is to rouse the town councils to the sense of their powers; to make them feel that their reason of being is not political but social, that their duty is not to protect the pockets of the rich, but to save the people. . . . If it be urged that when town councils do for social reform all which can be done, the condition will still be unsatisfactory, I agree; . . . no social reform will be adequate which does not touch social relations, bind classes by friendship, and pass through the medium of friendship the spirit which inspires righteousness and devotion. If therefore the first practical work of reformers be to rouse town councils, their second is to associate volunteers who will work with the official bodies. . . . As a rule it may be laid down that the voluntary work is most effective which is in connection with official work. . . . Teetotal advocates will preach in vain that drunkenness is the root of all evil, and that a nation of abstainers will be either a healthy, a happy, or a thoughtful nation. Thrift will be seen to be powerless to do more than to create a smug and transient respectability. . . . The nationalization of luxury must be the object of social reformers.

Mr. Robert Treat Paine, of Boston, Mass., president of the Associated Charities of that city

since 1878, in the address above quoted, opposes Mr. Booth's plan, but is almost equally radical. He says:

The problem of poor relief in great cities has got to be restated in ampler terms. The diseases of society are more aggravated, the dangers are graver, the need of radical remedies is more absolute than the new charity has yet fully and fairly faced. . . .

**Robert
Treat Paine**

When the poor sink below their poverty into pauperism, and pauperism becomes hopeless and degraded and brutal; when powerful and prolific causes are at work to swell the rising tide—the day has gone when it is enough to go on dealing with details. . . .

Pauperism is assuming a new and more terrible type in the largest cities, where paupers have lived so long in this condition that they know nothing better. . . . Strong drink is almost the sole solace of their dull routine. . . .

Crimes of violence, crimes of lust, crimes against property not only prevail, but cease to shock, where the general level of life has lapsed into a new phase of barbarism.

What hope for boys and girls growing up in such atmosphere of sin, in overcrowded cities from which playgrounds have been excluded by rising rents; playgrounds for the innocent outpouring of the boys' animal spirits which will have some vent, if not in hockey and football, then in breaking into empty buildings, stealing lead pipes, and stoning dispensary doctors or police with even-handed delight. . . .

With population rents rise so that the average man—that is, the mass of the people—is forced to live in utterly unfit homes, fearfully overcrowded; hence, low vitality of body and soul, diseased morals, and diseased bodies. . . .

Repression alone is a failure. . . . In some cities all these evils are aggregated into great masses.

Merely to deal, no matter how wisely, with single cases of distress or crime, as they arise, is infinitely insufficient. . . .

In the largest cities, where conditions are worse and the evils of pauperism, grown chronic and contagious, are blended with habits of drunkenness and other vice, breaking out into crimes against the law, pauperism cannot wisely be considered alone, but the problem of how to uplift the general level of life must be studied as one whole problem, especially as to the causes of the evils. . . .

The methods of dealing with pauperism hitherto applied are impotent against this swelling tide of brutal, degraded pauperism. . . .

"Who does not know," says Prof. H. C. Adams, "that much of our so-called philanthropy tends to perpetuate those conditions which seem to make philanthropy necessary?" Prof. W. G. Tucker, in his Phi Beta oration at Harvard, June, 1897, compels us to seek more radical cure, by more radical measures, when he says: "The philanthropy which is content to relieve the sufferer from wrong social conditions, postpones the philanthropy which is determined at any cost to right those conditions." . . .

Pauperism, vice, and crime are common factors of the inseparable and tremendous problem how to uplift the general conditions of life among the poor.

Mr. Paine then states what he believes to be the causes of poverty (see above) and then says:

Which of the two causes dragging down the conditions of life among the masses, foul homes or intoxicating drink, is more potent, I do not know. Each leads surely to the other.

Everywhere the conviction gains ground that it is impossible to elevate the conditions of the lower class of working people above the condition of their homes.

Boards of health probably have power in all cities to vacate dwellings unfit for human habitation. All that is needed is aroused public interest to learn the unspeakable horrors of the homes of the wretched poor to-day, and then to insist on a higher standard of habitability.

Boards of health will follow the public command and the public conscience. . . .

Three agencies directly deal with the task of fitly housing the people:

1. Philanthropic agencies which aim to improve the condition both of tenants and of the tenements they occupy.

2. Economic agencies providing decent homes, often in model buildings.

3. Municipal agencies aiming to abolish the worst evils and to destroy foul homes.

High above each and all of these three agencies in its influence and promise of grand results I place the rising ambition of working men themselves to own their own homes. . . .

If this laudable ambition is lacking among the lowest class, so also do both of the powerful agencies at work to provide model homes, whether by philanthropic or invested capital of which I have just spoken, shoot over their heads.

The agency which must be invoked to rescue the very poor, whether virtuous and struggling or degraded and indifferent, is the municipal power to destroy utterly unfit abodes of habitation. . . . (See TENEMENT PROBLEM.)

Intoxicating drink is the second great cause of pauperism, crime, and many other wretched conditions of degraded life.

The temperance reform makes perceptible headway, altho the most powerful passions of mankind oppose its progress. . . .

My object here is to propose and stimulate an alliance of these two forces, the friends of temperance and all the other forces working to improve the conditions of the poor. Such an alliance will strengthen both and lead each party to see the broader scope of their task. (See TEMPERANCE.)

The third prolific cause of pauperism is found in the conditions of neglect or maltreatment of child-life in great cities. The Hon. A. S. Hewitt, in his address at the opening of the United Charities Building of New York (*Charities Review*, April, 1893, p. 304), says: "In this city a large number of children of both sexes live in an atmosphere of poverty and vice, and even crime, which educates them to be paupers and criminals instead of training them to become honest workmen and good citizens. And for this result, which is generally no fault of their own, they are punished, and, along with them, the industrious class of the community is also punished by taxation for the support of poorhouses, hospitals, and criminals. Gangs of young men, not yet twenty-one years of age, are to be found in many parts of the city who, not having been permitted to learn trades, or having been denied the opportunity to follow some useful occupation, have grown up in idleness, and expend their animal energies in excesses which make them a terror to the neighborhood and a trial to the police, the only barrier between them and crime. In time most of them necessarily become criminals, and they are very sure to breed criminals." (See DEPENDENT CHILDREN.)

Indiscriminate almsgiving is the fourth and a most potent cause of pauperism. . . .

Three reforms of the abuses of outdoor relief should receive universal sanction, and will effect in very large measure the end which all parties desire: dealing with the unworthy, those out of work, and the inefficient.

First. To the unworthy, rigid prohibition of all relief, public or private, so that, abandoning all hope of it, they shall seek their own support. This includes the lazy, idle, shiftless, extravagant, or vicious paupers, as also in most cases those with relatives or friends.

Second. The provision for men or women out of work demands most serious study of ablest economists and statesmen. (See UNEMPLOYMENT.)

Third. The third and grand reform aims to recreate the inefficient, always in great cities a numerous class, into self-support by skill and cheer, and to save them from gratuitous relief as deadly poison. . . . One of the best standards to-day to test the progress of constructive Christian charity of the various towns and cities of our own or any country, is to see what practical measures have been devised to convert the inefficient into an efficient worker. (See INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.)

More recently Mr. Edward T. Devine, general secretary of the New York Associated Charities and president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, in his address before the conference, May, 1906, made the following significant statement:

If I have rightly conceived the dominant idea of the modern philanthropy it is embodied in a determination to seek out and to strike effectively at those organized forces of evil, at those particular causes of dependence and intolerable living conditions which are beyond the control of the individuals whom they injure and whom they too often destroy.

Other tasks for other ages. This be the glory of ours, that the social causes of dependence shall be destroyed. . . .

No doubt there are individual as well as social causes of dependence. No doubt the poor, like the rich, have their faults and weaknesses, the consequences of which recoil upon themselves. But since such faults and follies, such weaknesses and sins, are peculiar to no one class, since they are quite as abundant among those who give as among those who receive aid, may we not profitably turn to this other group of evils, evils from which the poor suffer grievously but against which they cannot effectively protect themselves?

I ask your attention to the common element in alcoholism as encouraged by the Liquor Trust; the cigarette evil as fostered by the Tobacco Trust; broken health and exhausted resources directly due to poisonous and fraudulent proprietary medicines; other injuries of a similar kind for which manufacturers and sellers of adulterated foods are responsible; the manufacture of sweated goods, with a sharing of the profit between dealer and consumer; the destruction of the health and the sacrifice of the lives of little children in cotton-factories, coal-mines, glass-factories, and tenement-house industries, for the sake of their employers' profits, altho in some instances also for their parents' greed; the sending of messenger boys of tender years to brothels and hotels, to their grave moral injury, that the difference between

**Edward
T. Devine**

their wages and the wages of men may go to swell the dividends of a great corporation; the abduction of innocent country girls at hotels and railway stations as a systematic industry, not merely to gratify the evil passions of individuals but also in order that the owners of houses in which prostitution is carried on may receive larger rents, and the renter more substantial profits; the payment of less than a living wage to girls in stores and factories, with sickening indifference to the methods by which the remainder is secured; the organized gambling schemes at race-track and in pool-room which hold their own in the empire state by open and shameless bribe to the county fairs; the erection and management of dwellings which are dark, unsanitary, and indecent, because they are among the gilt-edged investments, yielding not 5 or 6 but 10 and 25 per cent on the capital risked by the speculative builder, but yielding also a goodly harvest of tuberculosis and other disease; yellow journalism avowedly pandering in the one class of journals to a feverish love for excitement, and in the other, usually sold at a higher price, to a morbid desire for salacious literature and suggestive advertisements, but both, as always, for pecuniary profit.

It is a long list, but it is by no means complete. Are not these, and other forces of a like kind, really responsible for the continual accession to the numbers of those who with their children come at last to require our help? And is there not a common element in all these agencies of the evil one, widely as they differ from one another and divergent as their origins and their natural history may seem to be? The love of money is their common root. And this root of these evils, and, as a higher authority has declared, of all evil, is not, at least so far as these evils are concerned, an abstraction, an impersonal devil. On the contrary, it is embodied capital appearing at legislative hearings, or quite as often in the legislature itself, pleading against reform the rights of property, the sacredness of vested interests, the burdensome cost of each measure for the public good, raising the dust of argument to conceal the heavy cost of inaction and neglect.

The plea is made in the name of the rights of property, in the name of legitimate business, but it is a false plea and no legitimate business stands upon so frail a foundation. There

Commercial- ism the Cause of Much Poverty

are broad-minded, warm-hearted, hard-headed business men to give the lie to the false plea in every branch of industry. The reason why there is need in our day as never before for organized, concerted action against these serried forces of evil, is that there is already organized aggressive action on the other side. It is the financial interest threatened in any reform which makes reform difficult or impossible. Housing reform might still be difficult even if there were

not a strong pecuniary interest at stake in the building and renting of unreformed tenements. But it would be easier than it is. Child labor would come to an end in a twelve-month if there were not money to be made in the exploitation of child labor. The gigantic fraud of proprietary medicines would have been exposed and ended long since except for the advertising contracts and for that part of the \$700,000,000 annual sale which is illegitimate, for the cocaine manufacturers admit that at least 20 per cent of their output is illegitimately used. The Pure Food Bill would have passed the Senate ten years earlier at least if the interests which are involved in the manufacture and sale of impure or dishonestly named foods had not appeared year after year in opposition to the health boards and the reformers.

The Consumers' League would have more success in its efforts if the love of a bargain ingrained in the purchaser were not reinforced by the margin of profit which remains in sweat-shop products even after their price is fixed at a comparatively low level. The task of the temperance reformers would be enormously simplified if they had only to persuade the intemperate to mend their ways and to convince the young that abstinence is better for them than indulgence. I do not underestimate the difficulty of even this positive and necessary work. But what we now have to do in addition, and what we are thus far succeeding very indifferently in doing, is to fight and overcome a powerful organized financial interest, which is behind the saloon, and which is responsible, if there is such a thing as the moral law, for a very large proportion of the alcoholics in our hospitals for the insane, of the "drunk-and-disorderlies" in our jails and prisons, of the non-support cases with which our charitable societies deal, of the dependent children whose parents are finally adjudged to be unfit guardians.

I have yet to find the reform movement or the philanthropic undertaking which does not at some point or other see its efforts thwarted by some organized opposition which has its root in pecuniary profit—unholy, obviously illegal profit, or, it may be, quite as often outwardly respectable profit, sanctioned by law, and sharing, it may be, with church and philanthropy, but none the less at bottom antisocial, injurious to health or morals, worthy to be outlawed as soon as its evil nature is understood.

In this warfare against the active pernicious forces of evil in our modern communities the first need is for information. We are all culpably, incredibly ignorant of the very things which it would be most to our advantage and most to our

credit to know. I deliberately charge the temperance reformers in this conference, and there are not so many here as there should be, with complete ignorance as to the reasons for the existence of inebriates.

I charge the managers and officers of institutions for the care of children with ignorance of the causes which have led to the orphanage or the neglect of their wards. Are they on our hands because of essential vices and weaknesses of their parents, or because they were the victims of needless accidents, preventable disease, or industrial exploitation? I have yet to find the report of an asylum or reformatory that deals intelligently and fearlessly with these questions. And yet what questions more pertinent than these can be conceived?

Ignorance of Reform Workers

I charge the hospitals—directors, superintendents, and physicians alike—with equal indifference or neglect. If things are taken down in the patients' statements on admission to be filed away in the office, if they are guessed at by wise physicians, or told to the nurses in the confidences of convalescence, which being blazoned abroad would furnish food for scandal, they are at least not tabulated and set forth in order by the hospitals so that we may shape legislation and social policies upon them. What we get instead is an appeal for funds to build and equip new wards, or at most a technical classification of diseases of which the economic and social significance is not at all understood.

Most of all I am constrained to charge my brethren in the charity organization movement itself, which stands preeminently for analysis of causes and thorough investigation, with not having at all appreciated the importance of the environmental causes of distress, with having fixed their attention far too much upon personal weaknesses and accidents and having too little sought for the evils which might yield to social treatment and for the antisocial action of other men for which our cases are paying the penalty.

We have long recognized that the process of pauperization requires a conjunction of moral weakness in the recipient with unwise alms on the part of the donor. Is it not time to recognize that practically all the other forms of degeneracy and dependence require at some stage or other a conjunction of some inherited or acquired weakness in the individual and an overt temptation or an unfavorable condition external to him which would ordinarily not be presented at all if it were not to the advantage, apparently, of another party to the transaction? The most profitable task of modern philanthropy is to find this other party and to deal by radical methods with him.

REFERENCES: Charles Booth (1889-1902), *Labor and Life of the People*; A. G. Warner's *American Charities* (1894); General Booth's *In Darkest England*; Mackay's *The English Poor* (1889); Mr. S. A. Barnett's *Practicable Socialism*; R. T. Paine's *Pauperism in Great Cities* (1893); J. A. Hobson's *Problems of Poverty* (4th ed., 1899); Jane Addams, *Philanthropy and Social Progress* (1894); B. Bosanquet, *Rich and Poor* (1899); W. Chance, *Our Treatment of the Poor* (1899); Edward T. Devine, *The Practice of Charity* (1904); idem, *Principles of Relief* (1904); C. R. Henderson, *Modern Methods of Charity* (1904); Robert Hunter, *Poverty* (1904); C. S. Loch, *Methods of Social Advance* (1904); B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty, A Study of Town Life* (1902.)

POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES (see also article **POVERTY**): After studying with great care all the statistics and sources of information known to me upon the subject, I have come to the conclusion, as stated in my book on "Poverty," that there are no fewer than 10,000,000 persons in actual poverty in the United States. This does not mean that there is this number in distress; it does mean that at least this number is much of the time underfed, poorly clothed, and improperly housed. The estimate is conservative, and an inquiry, properly conducted, would very likely show a much larger number of persons in poverty.

I base this statement upon my own observation in various cities in this country, upon the figures of the U. S. Census for 1900 concerning unemployment, upon the reports of the State Boards of Charity, the *Bulletin of Statistics* Department of the city of Boston for 1903 the records of the Municipal Court of New York concerning the number of evictions, and the report of the Department of Corrections, concerning the number of pauper burials in New York City. The report of the New York State Board of Charities indicates that 29 per cent of

the people of New York in the year 1897, and 24 per cent in 1899, found it necessary to apply for relief. While these figures cover the relief given by many private organizations, they do not include a great deal of relief given by many small clubs, circles, churches, committees, and trade-unions. But, nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that such a large number of people in New York State were in actual distress.

Excluding half the number of persons relieved by the dispensaries, in order to make some arbitrary allowance for duplications, even then the number of persons relieved would indicate that the pauperism of New York State is enormous. In actual figures, as reduced, persons in distress in 1897 numbered 1,387,348, or about 19 per cent of the people of New York; and in 1899 they numbered 1,322,891, or about 18 per cent. Leaving out all dispensary aid, the number in distress for 1898 and 1899 is about 12 per cent of the population of the state. The Boston figures show that in the year 1903 over 136,000 persons, or about 20 per cent of the total population, were aided by the public authorities alone. Taking all of these figures, and making some allowance for duplications, the results would be as follows: 1897, 19 per cent of the people of New York State in distress; 1899, 18 per cent of the people of New York State in distress; 1903, 20 per cent of the people of Boston in distress; 1903, 14 per cent of the families in Manhattan evicted. Every year about 10 per cent of those who die in Manhattan have pauper burials. In addition to these facts, the United Hebrew Charities, in their report for 1901, declared that from 75,000 to 100,000 members of the New York Jewish community were unable to supply themselves with the immediate necessities of life, and for this reason were dependent in some way upon the public purse. The U. S. Census for 1900 would indicate that not fewer than 100,000 persons in New York were unemployed from four to six months during that year. On the basis of all these figures, a conservative estimate of the distress would be that 14 per cent of the people in the State of New York are in distress. Studies in a small town in Indiana made about twelve years ago indicate that a similar percentage were in distress there; a study made in Chicago four or five years ago led me almost to the same conclusion. These figures, however, indicate only the amount of distress, while the number of people in poverty would be very much greater. Those in poverty may not find it necessary to rely upon public assistance, but their manner of living is such as to prevent them from getting sufficient of necessities of life to enable them to maintain a state of physical efficiency.

Evidence

My experience in Illinois, Indiana, and New York would lead me to believe that this could be fairly estimated at 20 per cent of the people, and applying this only to the largest industrial states, where it may be assumed the percentage of persons in distress is about the same as in the states inquired into, we may safely conclude that 6,600,000 persons in the states of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan are in poverty. Taking half of this percentage and applying it to other states, many of which have important industrial communities, as, for instance, Wisconsin, Colorado, California, Rhode Island, etc., and the conclusion is that not fewer

than 10,000,000 persons in the U. S. are in poverty. It is impossible in a short statement such as this to go into other estimates which would indicate a similar amount of poverty, and I am unable to state fully many reasons for believing that the percentages above used are conservative; but these figures, I believe, may be of use in conveying some idea as to the extent of poverty in the country. They are, of course, only estimates, and should not be used too positively or without certain reservations.

These additional facts are important: over 2,000,000 working men in the year 1900 were unemployed from four to six months during the year; about 500,000 male immigrants arrive yearly and seek work in the very districts where unemployment is greatest. Nearly half of the families in the country are propertyless; over 1,700,000 little children are forced to become wage-earners when they should still be in school; about 5,000,000 women find it necessary to work, and about 2,000,000 are employed in mills, factories, etc.; probably not fewer than 1,000,000 workers are injured or killed while doing their work; and about 10,000,000 of the persons now living will, if the present ratio is kept up, die of the preventable disease, tuberculosis.

It is to be regretted that our statistical data are too inadequate to permit us to be positive in our statements concerning the extent of poverty. It is to be hoped that these estimates may arouse the proper government officials to make careful inquiries into the facts. No one would be more pleased than I if they prove to be an overestimate, but all information which is now available leads me to believe that the extent of poverty is greater than this estimate would indicate.

ROBERT HUNTER.

POWDERLY, TERENCE VINCENT: Formerly General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, now chief of Division of Information in Bureau of Immigration, Washington, D. C.; born, Carbon-dale, Pa., 1849; he attended common school six years; became a wage-earner at thirteen; was railroad switchman, car repairer, and brakeman. At seventeen he was apprenticed to the machinist trade, and became journeyman at twenty. In 1869 he removed to Scranton, Pa.; here he joined a branch of the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Union, soon becoming its president. He joined the Knights of Labor in 1874; held various offices in local and district assemblies; in 1879 was elected General Worthy Foreman, and the same year General Master Workman, which position he held for fourteen years, resigning in 1893 rather than serve with a board of officers whose policy he did not believe to be in harmony with the aims and objects of the order. He maintained that the education of the masses in all things—economic and political—stood paramount to the needs of a class. Against his protest, organization on trade lines was effected in the Knights of Labor. Conflicting elements struggled for the mastery within the order. He was charged with ordering strikes on and off for personal gain when in fact he never ordered a strike on or off, did not even receive the salary voted him, and was obliged to part with his home. Poor in pocket, rich in experience, he insisted upon his resignation being accepted. In 1878 he was elected Mayor of Scranton, on a Labor ticket, and served three terms of two years each, 1884 declining renomination. In 1888 he was

solicited to accept the Democratic nomination for Congress, but declined because he was not a Democrat or in favor of free trade. In 1891 he was nominated for delegate at large by the Republican State Convention of Pennsylvania and elected by the largest vote given any candidate on either ticket. In 1894 he was admitted to the bar of Lackawanna County, Pa., in 1897 to the bar of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and in 1901 to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1894 he identified himself with the Republican Party and stumped for General Hastings for governor. In 1896 he stumped several states for McKinley and Hobart. In 1897 he was appointed Commissioner-General of Immigration by President McKinley, serving until 1902. In 1900 he stumped several Western and Southern states for McKinley and Roosevelt. In 1906 he was appointed by Department of Commerce and Labor to inquire into causes of emigration from Europe, and in 1907 appointed Chief of Division of Information in Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization at Washington. Author: "Thirty Years of Labor"; "History of Labor Day"; "The Army of the Discontented"; numerous magazine articles. Address: 502 Quincy Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORMS, THE: The Presbyterian Church is committed to the cause of social reforms, first of all, by the principles on which such reforms rest. They were first most clearly enunciated and sharply defined by John Calvin. Mr. Froude says of him:

There was no reformer in Europe so resolute to tear out and destroy what seemed to be false, and so resolute to establish what was true in its principles and make truth to its last fiber the rule of practical life. These characteristics of the stern leader were so wonderfully impress on his followers that they wrought for the good of man and from the highest motives. Mr. Froude says again: "The Calvinists abhorred, as no other body of men has ever abhorred, mendacity, all impurity, all moral wrong of every kind as they could recognize it. Whatever exists at this moment in England or Scotland of the fear of evil is the remnant of the convictions branded by the Calvinists into the people's hearts."

Green, in his "History of the English People," recognizes truly the genius of the new life of Europe and of the Reformation, when he says: "A vast and consecrated democracy, it stood in contrast with the whole social and political framework of the European nations. Grave as we count the faults of Calvinism, alien as its temper may be in many ways from the temper of the modern world, it is in Calvinism that the modern world strikes its roots, for it was Calvinism that first revealed the worth and dignity of man. Called of God and heir of heaven, the trader at his counter and the digger of the field suddenly rose into equality with the noble and the king." The idea of the Reformation which is traceable to Calvin has often been regarded as largely theological in its character, and as dealing with speculative rather than practical truths. This is not true. The Reformation was not more of a theological than of a social and public reform. It was an endeavor to deliver people from their ignorance and sin, first by giving them right views of the truth and then adjusting their relations with one another. Consequently the main ideas distinctly traceable to Geneva and John Calvin have secured our modern civilization. Democratic government, free institutions, free

schools, and popular education—these are the great pillars on which our social reforms rest. The struggle for these constituted the great battles in Holland, France, England, and later in the United States. It required a revolution in all of these countries to establish these institutions, and our own revolution was nothing, as Bancroft has said, "but the application of the principles of the Reformation to our civil government." The history of the Presbyterian Church has been a history of the struggle for the rights of man. It was a body of Presbyterians who wrote the Mecklenberg Declaration—the pen stroke that in 1775 separated one county in North Carolina from the British Crown, and which first asserted the principle that Americans are, and of right ought to be, free and independent. Dr. John Witherspoon was not more eminent as a theologian than as a patriot. The synod of New York and Philadelphia was the first religious body to favor open resistance to England. Many of the Presbyterian ministers were actually engaged in civil service for their country. The blood of the Covenanter fought in the battles of the Revolution. The things at stake in these battles are the things at the bottom of all social reform. There is no progress of man without constitutional government, popular education, and deference to the rights of the people.

The Presbyterian Church, then, by reason of her principles, and of her history in illustrating and defending them, should be actively committed to every phase of social reform. Her protests against every evil have been constant and emphatic. Take, for example, the temperance reform; in this the Presbyterian Church has been unwavering in her testimony. Even as far back as 1854 the General Assembly took the following action:

Resolved, That the General Assembly continue to view with deep interest the progress of the temperance reformation, most intimately connected with the vital interests of men for time and eternity, and that they do especially hail its new phase through the action of several state legislatures, by which the tariff in intoxicating liquors as a beverage is entirely prohibited. They commend this new system of legislation to the attention and support of all ministers and churches connected with this body for its blessed results already experienced, and as able, if universally adopted, to do much to seal up the great fountains of drunkenness, pauperism, and crime, and relieve humanity of one of its most demoralizing and distressing evils.

The Presbyterian Church was the first of the denominations to officially establish a Department of Church and Labor, in connection with its Home Mission Board. This department was established in 1903. Its general object is to interpret the Church to working men, to interpret working men to the Church, and to interpret employer and employee to each other, through education, inspiration, mediation, evangelism, and Twentieth-century methods of Christian work.

Department of Church and Labor

It is the aim of the department to make it the best informed office in the world on the subjects which it is studying.

So that both the Church and labor may see each other with clearer vision, the plan of the exchange of fraternal delegates between ministers' associations and central labor-unions has been adopted. Working together, the ministers' association and the central labor-union are bringing about many municipal reforms. Indeed, united, there are few things in this direction which they

may not accomplish in the cause of good citizenship, independent of partizan politics. Especially in those matters which involve moral issues—such as the saloon, gambling, the social evil, Sunday work, child labor, sanitary conditions in tenement-houses and factories, and everything else that influences the moral life of the community—may these organizations cooperate. In operation in about one hundred cities, the plan is spreading from town to town, until it is hoped that it will become effective in the 600 cities of our country that support central labor unions and ministers' associations. The practical result of this plan has been that there is a more cordial relationship between working men and the Church, first, because the minister has a broader conception of what the labor movement stands for, and, second, because the labor leader has come to know something of the mission of the Church.

A press bureau furnishing over 300 labor papers of the United States and Canada with original articles which present the view-point of the Church with reference to the labor question, and discussing the workingman's relation to the Church, is part of the work of the department. In this way it has been speaking weekly to nearly three million trade-unionists and their families, thus making an audience of at least 10,000,000.

In 1905 the Presbyterian General Assembly passed the following resolution:

Appreciating the increasing importance of the industrial problem, and realizing that the labor question is fundamentally a moral and a religious question, and that it will never be settled upon any other basis, we recommend that the Presbyterian Home Mission committees appoint subcommittees for the purpose of making a systematic study of the entire problem in their respective localities. These committees shall cooperate with the newly organized Working Men's Department of the Board of Home Missions, thus establishing, in connection with the organized Presbyterianism of every city in America, a board of experts, who may be able to inform the churches with respect to the aims of organized labor, and to inform the working men concerning the mission of the Church. These committees shall also assist in the already successfully inaugurated plan of securing for the churches fraternal relationships with working men in their organizations; become responsible for the distribution of the literature issued by the board both for the membership of the Church and for the great mass of working men outside of the Church, and to push aggressively whatever methods may bring about a more cordial relationship between the Church and labor.

In accordance with this resolution the department has in practically every large city of the U. S. special committees which represent it in the study of local problems.

Conferences are also arranged for employers and employees for the discussion of industrial problems.

The pastors of the 11,000 Presbyterian churches in the U. S. are requested by the department each year to discuss some phase of the labor question on the Sunday preceding Labor Day. It believes that just as Memorial Day and the several "birthdays" show our appreciation of those who rendered patriotic service, and just as the Church's "holy days" do honor to those who have served mankind spiritually, so "Labor Sunday" should be observed by the churches in honor of the millions of toilers who daily serve mankind in the humbler places of life. This plan has the hearty indorsement of the leading central labor bodies of the country and of practically the entire labor press.

The following resolution, adopted by the American Federation of Labor, will indicate

how this movement has been received by the highest court of organized working men.

Whereas, The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. of America, at its last national convention, officially established a Department of Church and Labor for the express purpose of making a systematic study of the labor problem; and

Whereas, It is part of the plan of the department to appoint in every industrial center special committees that may become experts in their knowledge of every phase of the labor movement, so that they may inform the churches with respect to the aims of organized labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, indorse this new and significant movement in the Presbyterian Church, and we further recommend that central labor bodies cooperate with this department and with its subcommittees in every way that may be consistent, in order that the Church and the public at large may have a more intelligent conception of the conditions and aspirations of the toilers.

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor recommends that all affiliated state and central bodies exchange fraternal delegates with the various state and city ministerial associations, wherever practicable, thus insuring a better understanding on the part of the Church and clergy of the aims and objects of the labor-union movement of America.

In the matter of the antislavery reform the Presbyterian Church encountered peculiar difficulty because she was strong in the slaveholding states and the antislavery agitation divided the Church. But at a time when other churches had taken no strong general action upon this subject—namely, as early as 1818—the General Assembly took the following action:

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, having taken into consideration the subject of slavery, think proper to make known their sentiments upon it to the churches and people under their care. We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, as utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves, and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principle of the gospel of Christ, which enjoins that "all whatsoever you would men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." Slavery creates a paradox in the moral system: it exhibits rational, accountable, and immortal beings in such circumstances as to scarcely leave them the power of moral action. It exhibits them as dependent on the will of others whether they shall receive religious instruction; whether they shall know and worship the true God; whether they shall enjoy the ordinances of the Gospel; whether they shall perform the duties and endearments of husbands and wives, parents and children, neighbors and friends; whether they shall preserve their chastity and purity or regard the dictates of justice and humanity. Such are some of the consequences of slavery—consequences not imaginary, but which connect themselves with its very existence. The evils to which the slave is ever exposed often take place in fact, and in their very worst degree and form; and where all of them do not take place—as we rejoice to say, in many instances, through the influence of the principles of humanity and religion on the minds of the masters, they do not—still, the slave is deprived of his natural right and degraded as a human being, and exposed to the danger of passing into the hands of a master who may inflict upon him all the hardships and injuries which inhumanity and avarice may suggest.

The Presbyterian Church has since been practically active in temperance reform. Its Temperance Committee is operating through five field secretaries, and three branch offices in as many leading cities. Its literature on this subject is extensive and it is widely distributed.

In the various lines of moral reform, both in society and in the State, the Presbyterian Church is probably doing her full share. She is striving to apply the highest power of her principles to the deepest needs of man. The ethical possibilities of Christianity are about to be proven as never before. And in this forward movement Presbyterian ministers and laymen have been, as they should be, conspicuous. They had been false to the historic glory of Presbyterians if they had not stood valiantly against every form of oppression and of unrighteousness.

CHARLES L. THOMPSON and CHARLES STEZLE,

PRESIDENCY: (In political science) the name given to the elective head of a republic. For the constitutional functions of the presidency in the United States, see CONSTITUTION. For the method of electing presidents in the U. S., see ELECTORAL COLLEGE. For the results of elections, see PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. We consider in this article various conceptions of the presidency and criticisms and proposed reforms. The conception of the presidency in the U. S. Constitution is that the executive (the president with his cabinet) should be one of the three coordinate branches of the government. As a matter of fact a president of the U. S. is given great power—many think too much. In France and Switzerland his power is little more than nominal. The executive power in France is really held by the prime minister and his cabinet. France has been called a parliamentary republic. In Switzerland the president (see below) is simply the presiding member of the Federal Council, whose duty is to represent the Council. In the U. S. his power is anything but nominal. Professor James says that the President of the U. S. is not even really responsible to the people. He says ("Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," May, 1896):

"The term 'responsible,' in political science and in constitutional discussions, has come to have a definite technical meaning which makes it improper to use it in describing the relations of the officials in the U. S. to the people.

Looking for a moment at the president alone, there is no sense in which the term "responsible" is used in the discussions of political science in which the president can be fairly said to be responsible to the people at all. He is elected for a period of four years and during that period is as completely and absolutely out of the reach of law and legal process, in his official capacity as president, as even the crowned heads of Europe. It is true that if the president desires to be reelected, he may shape his policy with reference to the impression it will produce upon the voters of the country, or, at least, upon the politicians; but, so the German Emperor, if he desires to secure the passage of a bill through the German legislature, will act in such a way as, in his opinion, will contribute to that end; but he is not for that reason responsible, in any political sense, to the people. Even if the president might be said, in a certain sense, to be responsible in his first term—that is, so far as he may be affected by the desire to influence public sentiment in favor of securing a second term—certainly this cannot be said of his conduct during his second term with reference to a third. He knows full well that no conduct of his would be likely to secure a third term in the present temper and with the present political traditions of the people of the U. S.

No power is given to individual citizens, or to the citizens taken collectively, or to the states individually, or to the states taken together, to control or supervise in any way the acts of the president. He is, so far as any of these elements in our political system are concerned, absolutely irresponsible. Nor can he be reached by any process of the court, and he is, therefore, in this sense, as truly above the courts and free from responsibility to them as any king in Europe. Indeed one may say that in a certain sense the crowned heads of Europe are more immediately responsible to some power outside of themselves than is the president.

Of certain bond issues of Mr. Cleveland's administration, the *Detroit Tribune* said:

Until Cleveland proved by trial what a president could do, few persons, doubtless, were aware that money could be borrowed upon the public credit, for the payment of the ordinary expenses of the government, without consultation of the legislature of the people. It would appear incredible that an intelligent and watchful nation should let its government get into such shape as that the matter of public expenditure was not controlled by the parliamentary assembly. It was incredible until the object-lessons compelled belief. . . . By the existing law the executive is given a legal way of getting money without asking the people for it. If that is not a dangerous situation, it will be hard to find dangerous situations.

As to President Roosevelt, many, even of his own party, have felt that he has pushed the presidential power almost to the limits of national danger, showing, it is said, that under the con-

stitution a strong president can practically, if not formally, commit the country to treaties with foreign powers, involve the nation in war, employ the army, decide far-reaching policies, and take measures involving large expenditures of public moneys, almost of his own personal volition. Yet, in practise, these evils have not developed. Mr. James Bryce ("The American Commonwealth," 1st ed., chap. vii.) says:

Altho the president has been, not that independent good citizen whom the framers of the constitution contemplated, but, at least during the last sixty years, a party man, seldom much above the average in character or abilities, the office has attained the main objects for which it was created. Such mistakes as have been made in foreign policy, or in the conduct of the administrative departments, have been rarely owing to the constitution of the office or to the errors of its holder.

Nevertheless he tells us that this must not make us overlook certain defects incidental to the American presidency. He says:

In a country where there is no hereditary throne nor hereditary aristocracy, an office raised far above all other offices offers too great a stimulus to ambition. This glittering prize, always dangling before the eyes of prominent statesmen, has a power stronger than any dignity under a European crown to lure them (as it lured Clay and Webster) from the path of straightforward consistency. One who aims at the presidency—and all prominent politicians do aim at it—has the strongest possible motives to avoid making enemies. Now a great statesman ought to be prepared to make enemies. It is one thing to try to be popular—an unpopular man will be uninfluential—it is another to seek popularity by courting every section of your party. This is the temptation of presidential aspirants.

A second defect is that the presidential election, occurring once in four years, throws the country for several months into a state of turmoil, for which there may be no occasion. Perhaps there are no serious party issues to be decided, perhaps the best thing would be that the existing administration should pursue the even tenor of its way. The constitution, however, requires an election to be held, so the whole costly and complicated machinery of agitation is put in motion; and if issues do not exist, they have to be created.

Again, these regularly recurring elections produce a discontinuity of policy. Even when the new president belongs to the same party as his predecessor, he usually nominates a new cabinet, having to reward his special supporters. . . .

Fourthly, The fact that he is reelectable once, but (practically) only once, operates unfavorably on the president.

He is tempted to play for a renomination by so pandering to active sections of his own party, or so using his patronage to conciliate influential politicians, as to make them put him forward at the next election. On the other hand, if he is in his second term of office, he has no longer much motive to regard the interests of the nation, because he sees that his own political death is near. . . .

Fifthly, An outgoing president is a weak president. During the four months of his stay in office after his successor has been chosen, he declines, except in cases of extreme necessity, to take any new departure, to embark on any executive policy which cannot be completed before he quits office. This is, of course, even more decidedly the case if his successor belongs to the opposite party.

Lastly, The result of an election may be doubtful, not from equality of votes, for this is provided against, but from a dispute as to the validity of votes given in or reported from the states. This difficulty arose between Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tilden, disclosing the existence of a set of cases for which the constitution had not provided. It will not recur in quite the same form, for provision has now been made by statute for dealing with disputed returns. But cases may arise in which the returns from a state of its electoral votes will, because notoriously obtained by fraud or force, fail to be recognized as valid by the party whose candidate they prejudice. No presidential election passes without charges of this kind, and these charges are not always unfounded. Should manifest unfairness coincide with popular excitement over a really important issue, the self-control of the people, which in 1877, when no such issue was involved, restrained the party passions of their leaders, may prove unequal to the strain of such a crisis.

Another evil which Mr. Bryce refers to in another chapter has been recently much minimized by civil service reform (q. v.), but is yet a very great though perhaps to some extent a necessary evil—the presidential appointing power.

It is probably necessary that a president responsible to an extent for the whole federal administration should appoint his own cabinet and heads of departments, subject to the approval of the Senate, as required by the constitution; but it is not necessary that these offices should be looked upon as

the natural rewards for party service, and that from the day of his election till long after his inauguration the time of a president should be almost wholly occupied by considering rival claims for office. Yet this is the almost inevitable result under the present constitution, which gives the president so much power. Says Mr. Bryce (*idem*, chap. vi.):

"Artemus Ward's description of Abraham Lincoln swept along from room to room in the White House by a rising tide of office-seekers is hardly an exaggeration. From the 4th of March, when Mr. Garfield came into power, till he was shot in the July following, he was engaged almost incessantly in questions of patronage. Yet the president's individual judgment has little scope. He must reckon with the Senate; he must requite the supporters of the men to whom he owes his election; he must so distribute places all over the country as to keep the local wire-pullers in good humor, and generally strengthen the party by 'doing something' for those who have worked or will work for it. Altho the minor posts are practically left to the nomination of the senators or congressmen from the state or district, conflicting claims give infinite trouble, and the more lucrative offices are numerous enough to make the task of selection laborious as well as thankless and disagreeable. . . . No one has more to gain from a thorough scheme of civil service reform than the president. The present system makes a wire-puller of him. It throws work on him unworthy of a fine intellect, and for which a man of fine intellect may be ill-qualified. On the other hand the president's patronage is, in the hands of a skilful intriguer, an engine of far-spreading potency. By it he can oblige a vast number of persons, can bind their interests to his own, can fill important places with the men of his choice. Such authority as he has over the party in Congress, and therefore over the course of legislation; such influence as he exerts on his party in the several states, and therefore over the selection of candidates for Congress, is due to his patronage. Unhappily, the more his patronage is used for these purposes, the more it is apt to be diverted from the aim of providing the country with the best officials."

Appointing Evil

Very many also criticize the methods of electing the president in the U. S. (See ELECTORAL COLLEGE.) In France the president is elected by the two houses of the legislature sitting together as a "National Assembly." In the Swiss republic the executive power is not lodged with one man, but in a federal council (Bundesrath), elected for a term of three years by an assembly of the two houses of legislature sitting together. This assembly also elects the president and vice-president of the Bundesrath, but the president is given little more power than his colleagues, and can only serve one term. Rotation in the office is rigidly carried out. In Brazil, Peru, and Bolivia the president is elected by direct vote of the people. In Mexico, Chile, and the Argentine Republic it is by indirect vote.

As to reforms affecting the presidency, discussions in the U. S. have turned mainly upon the method of electing presidents, their length of term, and their appointing power. Concerning the method of electing presidents it is proposed that the president be elected by direct vote of the people. This would give every man a chance to express his wish, not compelling him to vote for nominees of a party. It is claimed that it would put the president in closer touch with the people, and make him more independent of party machines; that it would lessen the opportunity for corruption. On the other hand it is argued that, as there would have to be concert of action to elect a candidate, there would be practically no more freedom of personal choice than now, while secret and corrupt concerted action would have more chance. As to the objection that the present electoral system often elects a candidate who has not received the popular majority, it is answered that a popular majority might often be a sectional majority and not represent the whole country any more truly. It is, therefore, secondly, suggested that the president be elected by the national legislature, as in France.

Very many favor lengthening the term of office from four to six years, making the elections less frequent, and then forbidding a second term.

Mr. George T. Curtis (*Century*, vol. vii., p. 124) proposed having the Electoral Commission meet as an electoral chamber, competent to judge of the qualifications and returns of its own members, and then allowing this body to elect the president as responsible men, not as the mere automata of parties.

Mr. Albert Stickney ("A True Republic," chap. ix.) would make changes in the power to be given the office, and make the president responsible to the legislature, who should have direct power of removing him, without a hearing, if they think public interests demand it, by a two-thirds vote of both houses sitting as one body. He asks if any one ever heard of such a thing as insuring efficient work from a man who could not be removed instantly, so soon as, for any reason, he failed to do his work well. He would give the president the sole appointing and removing power for all heads of departments and no more. Each department head should be solely responsible for his department, each subordinate head being responsible for those under him; the president, finally, being responsible to the legislature. This system would take from the chief executive any voice in the appointment or removal of the great number of subordinate officials which he now has. It would free him to appoint his department heads without a two-thirds vote of the Senate. For any misconduct or failure he could himself be removed. If not removed, he could hold the office for life.

Some radicals believe in the abolition of the presidency. Says a memorial address to Congress:

1. The presidency is a copy of royalty: it is an essentially unrepudican institution; for it exalts an individual into ruling power over all the rest of the population, bringing them into a relation of subjection toward him, and accustoming them to monarchical ideas.

2. It is thoroughly antidemocratic in nature; for it does not only ignore the direct authority of the popular will, but opposes an independent and autocratic front to the representative thereof—the legislature.

3. It maintains the false, illogical, disorganizing theory—born in monarchy, and principally denying democracy—of the "partition of powers." In the democratic polity, all powers are derived from the people, and are no more capable of partition from and against each other than are the people. . . .

4. It is a constantly menacing, constantly growing cause of danger to the republic—whose eventual ruin it must inevitably occasion.

5. If it do not cause such ruin by direct, violent subversion, it must effect the same through corruption; for the presidential office is the source, the constantly growing source, of universal corruption. . . .

To avoid these dangers, the undersigned suggest that Congress propose an amendment to the constitution, abolishing the presidency, and transferring the executive functions to an administrative commission or congressional ministry, to be chosen by Congress from their own body, or from among other competent citizens; and to be supervised and instructed during the adjournment of Congress by a standing committee, who are to be in permanent session during that time, and who are to be authorized to call extra sessions of Congress when needed.

REFERENCES: James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*; Albert Stickney, *A True Republic*; E. Stanwood, *History of the Presidency* (1901); articles: *North American*, vol. cxi., p. 94; *Forum*, March, 1901; *Arena*, Nov., 1902; *Harper's Weekly*, June 13, 1903; *Nation*, July 26, 1906.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: The following tables of the results of presidential elections are from the *World Almanac* of 1907.

There is, properly speaking, no popular vote for president and vice-president; the people vote for electors, and those chosen in each state meet

of Virginia, John Henry, of Maryland, and S. Johnson, of North Carolina, all Federalists, 2 votes each; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 1 vote. John Adams was chosen president and Thomas Jefferson vice-president.

vice-president, 1800. The U. S. having been amended, the electors at this election voted for a president and a vice-president, instead of for two candidates for president. The result was as follows: For president, Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 162; Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 14. For vice-president, George Clinton, Republican, 162; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 14. Jefferson was chosen president and Clinton vice-president.

son was chosen president and Clinton vice-president.
1812. For president, James Madison, Republican, 128; De Witt Clinton, of New York, Federalist, 89. For vice-president, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, 131; Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, Federalist, 86. Vacancy, 1. Madison was chosen president and Gerry vice-president.

1816. For president, James Monroe, of Virginia, Republican, 83; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 34. For vice-president, Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, Republican, 183; John Eager Howard, of Maryland, Federalist, 22; James Ross, of Pennsylvania, 5; John Marshall, of Virginia, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, 3. Vacancies, 4. Monroe was chosen president and Tompkins vice-president.

was chosen president and Daniel D. Tompkins vice-president.
1820: For president, James Monroe, 1 vote each. Vacancies, 3. Republican, 231; John Q. Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 1. For vice-president, Daniel D. Tompkins, Republican, 218; Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, 8; Daniel Rodney, of Delaware, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, 1 vote each. Vacancies, 3. James Monroe was chosen president and Daniel D. Tompkins vice-president.

1789. Previous to 1804, each elector voted for two candidates for president. The one who received the largest number of votes was declared president, and the one who received the next largest number of votes was declared vice-president. The first electoral votes for the first President of the United States were: George Washington, 69; John Adams, of Massachusetts, 34; John Jay, of New York, 9; R. H. Harrison, of Maryland, 6; John Rutledge, of South Carolina, 6; John Hancock, of Massachusetts, 4; George Clinton, of New York, 3; Samuel Huntington, of Connecticut, 2; John Milton, of Georgia, 2; James Armstrong, of Georgia; Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, and Edward Telfair, of Georgia, 1 vote each. Vacancies (votes not cast), 4. George Washington was chosen president and John Adams vice-president.

1792. George Washington, Federalist, received 132 votes; John Adams, Federalist, 77; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 50; Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Republican, 4; Aaron Burr, of New York, Republican, 1 vote. Vacancies, 3. George Washington was chosen president and John Adams vice-president.

1796. John Adams, Federalist, 71; Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 68; Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 59; Aaron Burr, of New York, Republican, 30; Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 15; Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, Independent, 11; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 7; John Jay, of New York, Federalist, 5; James Iredell, of North Carolina, Federalist, 3; George Washington,

Year of election	Candidates for president	States	Political party	Popular vote	Plurality	Electoral vote	Candidates for vice-president	States	Political party	Electoral vote
1824.	Andrew Jackson..... John Q. Adams*..... Henry Clay..... Wm. H. Crawford.....	Tenn. Mass. Ky. Ga.	Rep..... Rep..... Rep..... Rep.....	155,872 105,321 46,587 44,282	50,551	199 37 41	John C. Calhoun*..... Nathan Sanford..... Nathaniel Macon..... Andrew Jackson..... M. Van Buren..... Henry Clay.....	S. C. N. Y. N. C. Tenn. N. Y. Ky.	Rep..... Rep..... Rep..... Rep..... Rep..... Rep.....	182 30 24 13 9 2
1828.	Andrew Jackson*..... John Q. Adams.....	Tenn. Mass.	Dem. Nat. R.	647,231 509,097	138,134	178 83	John C. Calhoun*..... Richard Rush..... William Smith.....	S. C. Pa. S. C.	Dem. Nat. R. Dem.	171 7 8
1832.	Andrew Jackson*..... Henry Clay..... John Floyd..... William Wirt.....	Tenn. Ky. Ga. Md.	Dem..... Nat. R. Ind. Anti-M. }	687,502 530,189 33,108	157,313	219 49 11 7	M. Van Buren*..... John Sergeant..... Henry Lee..... Amos Elmaker..... Wm. Wilkins.....	N. Y. Pa. Mass. Pa. Pa.	Dem..... Nat. R. Ind. Anti-M. Dem.	189 49 11 7 30
1836.	Martin Van Buren*..... W. H. Harrison..... Hugh L. White..... Daniel Webster..... Willie P. Mangum.....	N. Y. O. Tenn. Mass. N. C.	Dem..... Whig..... Whig..... Whig..... Whig.....	761,549 736,656	24,893	170 73 26 14 11	R. M. Johnson*..... Francis Granger..... John Tyler..... William Smith.....	Ky. N. Y. Va. Ala.	Dem..... Whig..... Whig..... Dem.	147 77 47 23
1840.	W. H. Harrison*..... Martin Van Buren..... James G. Birney.....	O. N. Y. N. Y.	Whig..... Dem..... Lib.	1,275,017 1,128,702 70,509	146,315	234 60 11	John Tyler*..... R. M. Johnson..... L. W. Tazewell..... James K. Polk..... Thomas Earle.....	Va. Ky. Va. Tenn. Pa.	Whig..... Dem..... Dem..... Dem..... Lib.	234 48 11 1 1
1844.	James K. Polk*..... Henry Clay..... James G. Birney.....	Tenn. Ky. N. Y.	Dem..... Whig..... Lib.	1,337,243 1,299,008 62,300	38,175	170 105 10	George M. Dallas*..... T. Frelinghuysen..... Thomas Morris.....	Pa. N. J. O.	Dem..... Whig..... Lib.	170 105 10
1848.	Zachary Taylor*..... Lewis Cass..... Martin Van Buren.....	La. Mich. N. Y.	Whig..... Dem..... F. Soil.	1,360,101 1,220,544 291,263	139,557	163 127 12	Millard Fillmore*..... William O. Butler..... Charles F. Adams.....	N. Y. Ky. Mass.	Whig..... Dem..... F. Soil.	163 127 12

* See footnotes on opposite page.

ELECTORAL AND POPULAR VOTES—Continued

Year of election	Candidates for president	States	Political party	Popular vote	Plurality	Electoral vote	Candidates for vice-president	States	Political party	Electoral vote
1852..	Franklin Pierce*.....	N. H.	Dem....	1,601,474	220,896	254	William R. King*.....	Ala....	Dem....	254
	Winfield Scott.....	N. J.	Whig....	1,380,576		42	William A. Graham.....	N. C....	Whig....	42
	John P. Hale.....	N. H.	F. D. ⁹ ...	156,149			George W. Julian.....	Ind....	F. D....	
	Daniel Webster ¹¹	Mass.	Whig....	1,670						
1856..	James Buchanan*.....	Pa....	Dem....	1,838,169	496,905	174	J. C. Breckinridge*.....	Ky....	Dem....	174
	John C. Fremont.....	Cal....	Rep....	1,341,264		114	William L. Dayton.....	N. J....	Rep....	114
	Millard Fillmore.....	N. Y....	Amer....	874,538		8	A. J. Donelson.....	Tenn....	Amer....	8
1860..	Abraham Lincoln*.....	Ill....	Rep....	1,866,352	491,195	180	Hannibal Hamlin*.....	Me....	Rep....	180
	Stephen A. Douglas.....	Ill....	Dem....	1,375,157		12	H. V. Johnson.....	Ga....	Dem....	12
	J. C. Breckinridge.....	Ky....	Dem....	845,763		72	Joseph Lane.....	Ore....	Dem....	72
	John Bell.....	Tenn....	Union....	589,581		39	Edward Everett.....	Mass....	Union....	39
1864..	Abraham Lincoln*.....	Ill....	Rep....	2,216,067	407,342	5212	Andrew Johnson*.....	Tenn....	Rep....	212
	George B. McClellan.....	N. J....	Dem....	1,808,725		21	George H. Pendleton.....	O....	Dem....	21
1868..	Ulysses S. Grant*.....	Ill....	Rep....	3,015,071	305,456	6214	Schuyler Colfax*.....	Ind....	Rep....	214
	Horatio Seymour.....	N. Y....	Dem....	2,709,015		80	F. P. Blair, Jr.....	Mo....	Dem....	80
1872..	Ulysses S. Grant*.....	Ill....	Rep....	3,597,070	762,991	286	Henry Wilson*.....	Mass....	Rep....	286
	Horace Greeley.....	N. Y....	D. & L....	2,834,079		(7)	B. Gratz Brown.....	Mo....	D. & L....	47
	Charles O'Connor.....	N. Y....	Dem....	29,408			John Q. Adams.....	Mass....	Dem....	
	James Black.....	Pa....	Temp....	5,608			John Russell.....	Mich....	Temp....	
	Thomas A. Hendricks.....	Ind....	Dem....			42	George W. Julian.....	Ind....	Lib....	5
	B. Gratz Brown.....	Mo....	Dem....			18	A. H. Colquitt.....	Ga....	Dem....	5
	Charles J. Jenkins.....	Ga....	Dem....			2	John M. Palmer.....	Ill....	Dem....	3
	David Davis.....	Ill....	Ind....			1	T. E. Bramlette.....	Ky....	Dem....	3
							W. S. Groesbeck.....	O....	Dem....	1
							Willis B. Machen.....	Ky....	Dem....	1
							N. P. Banks.....	Mass....	Lib....	1
1876..	Samuel J. Tilden.....	N. Y....	Dem....	4,284,885	250,935	184	T. A. Hendricks.....	Ind....	Dem....	184
	Rutherford B. Hayes*.....	O....	Rep....	4,033,950		8185	William A. Wheeler*.....	N. Y....	Rep....	185
	Peter Cooper.....	N. Y....	Greenb....	81,740			Samuel F. Cary.....	O....	Greenb....	
	Green Clay Smith.....	Ky....	Pro....	9,522			Gideon T. Stewart.....	O....	Pro....	
	James B. Walker.....	Ill....	Amer....	2,636			D. Kirkpatrick.....	N. Y....	Amer....	
1880..	James A. Garfield*.....	O....	Rep....	4,449,053	7,018	214	Chester A. Arthur*.....	N. Y....	Rep....	214
	W. S. Hancock.....	Pa....	Dem....	4,444,035		155	William H. English.....	Ind....	Dem....	155
	James B. Weaver.....	Iowa....	Greenb....	307,300			B. J. Chambers.....	Tex....	Greenb....	
	Neal Dow.....	Me....	Pro....	10,305			H. A. Thompson.....	O....	Pro....	
	John W. Phelps.....	Vt....	Amer....	707			S. C. Pomeroy.....	Kan....	Amer....	
1884..	Grover Cleveland*.....	N. Y....	Dem....	4,911,017	62,683	219	T. A. Hendricks*.....	Ind....	Dem....	219
	James G. Blaine.....	Me....	Rep....	4,848,334		182	John A. Logan.....	Ill....	Rep....	182
	John P. St. John.....	Kan....	Pro....	151,809			William Daniel.....	Md....	Pro....	
	Benjamin F. Butler.....	Mass....	Greenb....	133,825			A. M. West.....	Miss....	Greenb....	
	P. D. Wiggington.....	Cal....	Amer....							
1888..	Grover Cleveland.....	N. Y....	Dem....	5,538,233	98,017	168	Allen G. Thurman.....	O....	Dem....	168
	Benjamin Harrison*.....	Ind....	Rep....	5,440,210		233	Levi P. Morton*.....	N. Y....	Rep....	233
	Clinton B. Fisk.....	N. J....	Pro....	249,007			John A. Brooks.....	Mo....	Pro....	
	Alson J. Streeter.....	Ill....	U. L....	148,105			C. E. Cunningham.....	Ark....	U. L....	
	R. H. Cowdry.....	Ill....	U'd L....	2,808			W. H. T. Wakefield.....	Kan....	U'd L....	
	James L. Curtis.....	N. Y....	Amer....	1,591			James B. Stevenson.....	Tenn....	Amer....	
1892..	Grover Cleveland*.....	N. Y....	Dem....	5,556,918	380,810	277	Adlai E. Stevenson*.....	Ill....	Dem....	277
	Benjamin Harrison.....	Ind....	Rep....	5,176,108		145	Whitelaw Reid.....	N. Y....	Rep....	145
	James B. Weaver.....	Ia....	Peop....	1,041,028		22	James G. Field.....	Va....	Peop....	22
	John Bidwell.....	Cal....	Pro....	264,133			James B. Cranfill.....	Tex....	Pro....	
	Simon Wing.....	Mass....	Soc. L....	21,164			Charles H. Matchett.....	N. Y....	Soc. L....	
1896..	William McKinley*.....	O....	Rep....	7,104,779	601,854	271	Garret A. Hobart*.....	N. J....	Rep....	271
	William J. Bryan.....	Neb....	Dem....			176	Arthur Sewall.....	Me....	Dem....	149
	William J. Bryan.....	Neb....	Peop....	6,502,925			Thomas E. Watson.....	Ga....	Peop....	27
	Joshua Levering.....	Md....	Pro....	132,007			Hale Johnson.....	Ill....	Pro....	
	John M. Palmer.....	Ill....	N. Dem....	133,148			Simon B. Buckner.....	Ky....	N. Dem....	
	Charles H. Matchett.....	N. Y....	Soc. L....	36,274			Matthew Maguire.....	N. J....	Soc. L....	
	Charles E. Bentley.....	Neb....	Nat. ¹⁰ ...	13,969			James H. Southgate.....	N. C....	Nat. ¹⁰ ...	
1900..	William McKinley*.....	O....	Rep....	7,207,923	849,790	292	Theodore Roosevelt*.....	N. Y....	Rep....	292
	William J. Bryan.....	Neb....	Dem. P....	6,358,135		155	Adlai E. Stevenson.....	Ill....	Dem. P....	155
	John G. Woolley.....	Ill....	Pro....	208,914			Henry B. Metcalf.....	O....	Pro....	
	Wharton Barker.....	Pa....	M. P. ¹² ...	50,373			Ignatius Donnelly.....	Minn....	M. P. ¹² ...	
	Eugene V. Debs.....	Ind....	Soc. D....	87,814			Job Harriman.....	Cal....	Soc. D....	
	Jos. F. Malloney.....	Mass....	Soc. L....	39,739			Valentine Rimmel.....	Pa....	Soc. L....	
	J. F. R. Leonard.....	Ia....	U. C. ¹³ ...	1,059			John G. Woolley.....	Ill....	U. C. ¹³ ...	
	Seth H. Ellis.....	O....	U. R. ¹⁴ ...	5,698			Samuel T. Nicholson.....	Pa....	U. R. ¹⁴ ...	
1904..	Theodore Roosevelt*.....	N. Y....	Rep....	7,623,486	2,545,515	336	Charles W. Fairbanks*.....	Ind....	Rep....	336
	Alton B. Parker.....	N. Y....	Dem....	5,077,971		140	Henry G. Davis.....	W. Va....	Dem....	140
	Eugene V. Debs.....	Ind....	Soc....	402,283			Benjamin Hanford.....	N. Y....	Soc....	
	Silas C. Swallow.....	Pa....	Pro....	258,536			George W. Carroll.....	Tex....	Pro....	
	Thomas E. Watson.....	Ga....	Peop....	117,183			Thomas H. Tibbles.....	Neb....	Peop....	
	Charles H. Corrigan.....	N. Y....	Soc. L....	31,249			William W. Cox.....	Ill....	Soc. L....	

* The candidates starred were elected. ¹ The first Republican Party is claimed by the present Democratic Party as its progenitor. ² No candidate having a majority of the electoral vote, the House of Representatives elected Adams. ³ Candidate of the Anti-Masonic Party. ⁴ There being no choice, the Senate elected Johnson. ⁵ Eleven Southern States, being within the belligerent territory, did not vote. ⁶ Three Southern states disfranchised. ⁷ Horace Greeley died after election, and Democratic electors scattered their votes. ⁸ There being a dispute over the electoral vote of Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, and South Carolina, they were referred by Congress to an electoral commission composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats, which, by a strict party vote, awarded 185 electoral votes to Hayes and 184 to Tilden. ⁹ Free Democrats. ¹⁰ Free Silver Prohibition Party. ¹¹ In Massachusetts. There was also a Native American ticket in that state which received 184 votes. ¹² Middle of the Road or Anti-Fusion People's Party. ¹³ United Christian Party. ¹⁴ Union Reform Party.

For popular and electoral vote by states in 1900 and 1904 see following tables.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1880-1900

STATES	1900					1896		1892		1888		1884		1880	
	POPULAR VOTE					ELECTORAL VOTE		ELECTORAL VOTE		ELECTORAL VOTE		ELECTORAL VOTE		ELECTORAL VOTE	
	Bryan, Dem.	McKinley, Rep.	Woolley, Pro.	Debs, Soc.	Maloney, Soc. L.	Barker, M.R. Pop.	Pluralities	Bryan, Dem.	McKinley, Rep.	Cleveland, Dem.	Harrison, Dem.	Cleveland, Dem.	Blaine, Rep.	Hancock, Dem.	Garfield, Rep.
Alabama.....	97,131	55,512	2,762	.....	.....	4,178	B	11	11	11	10	10	10	10	.....
Arkansas.....	81,144	44,800	584	.....	.....	972	B	8	8	8	7	7	7	6	.....
California.....	124,985	164,755	5,924	7,554	.....	39,770	McK	1	8	8	8	8	8	5	1
Colorado.....	122,733	93,072	3,790	654	790	387	B	4	0	0	0	0	3	3	3
Connecticut.....	73,927	101,567	1,617	1,029	898	.....	McK	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0
Delaware.....	18,858	22,529	538	57	.....	.....	McK	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	28,007	7,314	1,039	601	.....	1,070	B	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	.....
Georgia.....	81,700	35,035	1,396	.....	.....	4,584	B	13	13	13	12	12	11	11	.....
Idaho.....	29,414	56,997	857	.....	.....	2,216	B	3	24	24	22	22	22	22	21
Illinois.....	503,061	597,085	17,623	9,687	1,373	1,141	McK	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Indiana.....	309,584	330,063	13,718	2,374	603	1,438	McK	10	13	13	13	13	13	11	11
Iowa.....	209,179	307,785	9,479	2,778	259	613	McK	10	12	12	9	9	9	9	5
Kansas.....	102,061	185,955	3,065	1,005	.....	23,354	McK	1	17	17	10	10	10	12	.....
Kentucky.....	235,103	227,128	3,780	640	390	1,801	B	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	7
Louisiana.....	53,071	14,233	2,585	.....	.....	39,438	McK	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	.....
Maine.....	36,822	65,435	2,585	898	.....	28,613	McK	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	.....
Maryland.....	122,271	136,212	4,582	908	391	13,941	McK	15	15	15	14	14	14	14	13
Massachusetts.....	150,997	238,806	6,202	9,007	2,199	81,809	McK	14	14	14	13	13	13	11	11
Michigan.....	211,085	316,269	11,859	2,826	903	74,584	McK	9	9	9	7	7	7	7	5
Minnesota.....	112,091	190,461	8,555	3,065	1,329	77,506	McK	9	9	9	9	9	9	8	.....
Mississippi.....	51,766	5,753	.....	.....	.....	45,953	B	17	17	17	10	10	10	15	.....
Missouri.....	351,922	314,092	5,965	6,139	1,294	4,244	B	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	3
Montana.....	37,146	25,373	298	703	.....	11,773	McK	8	8	8	3	3	3	3	.....
Nebraska.....	114,013	121,835	3,055	823	.....	7,822	McK	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	5
Nevada.....	6,347	3,849	.....	.....	.....	19,314	McK	3	4	4	9	9	9	9	.....
New Hampshire.....	35,489	54,803	1,270	790	.....	56,899	McK	10	10	10	36	36	36	36	35
New Jersey.....	164,868	221,707	7,183	4,609	2,074	669	McK	11	11	11	11	11	11	10	.....
New York.....	678,386	881,992	22,043	12,869	12,622	143,666	McK	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	.....
North Carolina.....	157,752	133,081	1,066	.....	.....	24,671	B	11	11	11	11	11	11	10	.....
North Dakota.....	20,519	35,891	731	518	.....	110	McK	3	3	3	23	23	23	23	22
Ohio.....	474,882	543,918	10,203	4,847	1,688	251	McK	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	22
Oregon.....	33,385	46,526	2,536	1,466	.....	203	McK	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3
Pennsylvania.....	424,232	712,665	27,908	4,831	2,936	638	McK	32	32	32	30	30	30	29	29
Rhode Island.....	19,312	33,784	1,529	.....	.....	13,972	McK	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
South Carolina.....	47,236	3,579	.....	.....	.....	43,057	B	9	9	9	9	9	9	7	.....
South Dakota.....	39,544	54,530	1,532	176	.....	339	McK	4	4	4	12	12	12	12	.....
Tennessee.....	144,751	121,194	3,900	410	.....	23,557	B	15	15	15	13	13	13	8	.....
Texas.....	267,337	121,173	2,644	1,841	166	20,976	McK	12	12	12	13	13	13	13	.....
Utah.....	45,006	47,139	209	720	.....	2,133	McK	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	5
Vermont.....	12,849	42,568	368	.....	.....	367	McK	12	12	12	12	12	12	11	.....
Virginia.....	146,080	115,865	2,150	.....	.....	30,215	B	4	4	4	12	12	12	11	.....
Washington.....	44,833	57,456	2,103	2,006	866	12,623	McK	4	6	6	6	6	6	5	.....
West Virginia.....	98,807	119,829	1,692	2,068	.....	274	McK	12	12	12	11	11	11	10	.....
Wisconsin.....	159,285	265,866	10,124	574	7,065	106,581	McK	3	3	3	11	11	11	11	10
Wyoming.....	10,164	14,482	.....	.....	.....	4,318	McK	3	3	3	108	108	108	155	214
Total.....	6,358,133	7,207,923	208,914	87,814	39,739	50,373	.....	176	271	277	145	22	219	152	214
Plurality.....	.....	799,790	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

The total vote of the U. R. party for 1900 was 5,698, and of the U. C. party 1,059.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1904

STATES AND TERRITORIES	POPULAR VOTE							ELECTORAL VOTE	
	Parker, Dem.	Roosevelt, Rep.	Debs, Soc.	Swal- low, Pro.	Corri- gan, Soc. L.	Watson, Pop.	Plurality	Parker, Dem.	Roose- velt, Rep.
Alabama.....	79,857	22,472	853	612	839	5,051	57,385	D	11
Arkansas.....	64,434	40,800	1,810	983	2,318	2,318	17,574	D	9
California.....	89,404	205,226	29,535	7,380			115,822	R	10
Colorado.....	100,105	134,687	4,304	3,438	335	824	34,582	R	5
Connecticut.....	72,909	111,089	4,543	1,500	575	494	38,180	R	7
Delaware.....	19,360	23,714	140	607		46	4,354	R	3
Florida.....	27,046	8,314	2,337			1,605	18,732	D	5
Georgia.....	88,331	25,335	197	845		23,490	62,996	D	13
Idaho.....	18,480	47,783	4,949	1,013		353	29,303	R	3
Illinois.....	327,606	632,645	69,225	34,770	4,698	6,725	305,039	R	27
Indiana.....	274,345	368,289	12,013	23,490	1,598	2,444	93,944	R	15
Iowa.....	149,141	307,907	14,847	11,601		2,207	158,766	R	13
Kansas.....	84,800	210,893	15,494	7,245		6,150	126,093	R	10
Kentucky.....	217,170	205,277	3,602	6,609	596	2,511	11,893	D	13
Louisiana.....	47,708	5,205	995				42,503	D	9
Maine.....	27,638	64,438	2,103	1,510		338	36,800	R	6
Maryland.....	109,446	109,497	2,247	3,034			51	R	7
Massachusetts.....	165,746	257,822	13,004	4,279	2,359	1,294	92,076	R	16
Michigan.....	134,151	361,866	8,941	13,308	1,012	1,159	227,715	R	14
Minnesota.....	68,631	214,978	6,376	5,003		2,004	146,347	D	11
Mississippi.....	53,376	3,189	393			1,425	50,187	R	10
Missouri.....	296,312	321,449	13,009	7,191	1,674	4,226	25,137	R	18
Montana.....	21,773	34,932	5,070	335	208		13,159	R	3
Nebraska.....	51,876	138,558	7,412	6,338		20,518	86,682	R	8
Nevada.....	3,982	6,867	925			344	2,885	R	3
New Hampshire.....	33,992	54,177	1,090	749		81	20,185	R	4
New Jersey.....	164,506	245,104	9,587	6,845	2,680	3,705	80,598	R	12
New York.....	683,981	859,533	36,883	20,877	9,127	7,459	175,552	R	39
North Carolina.....	124,121	82,442	124	361		819	41,679	D	12
North Dakota.....	14,273	52,595	2,005	1,137		165	38,322	R	4
Ohio.....	344,674	600,095	36,260	19,339	2,633	1,392	255,421	R	23
Oregon.....	17,551	60,455	7,619	3,806		753	42,904	R	4
Pennsylvania.....	335,430	840,949	21,863	33,717		2,211	505,519	R	34
Rhode Island.....	24,839	41,605	956	768	488		16,766	R	4
South Carolina.....	54,035	72,254	22			1	52,381	D	9
South Dakota.....	21,909	72,083	3,138	2,965		1,840	50,114	R	4
Tennessee.....	131,053	105,369	1,354	1,889		2,491	26,284	D	12
Texas.....	107,200	51,242	2,791	4,292	421	8,062	115,958	D	18
Utah.....	33,413	62,444	5,767				29,031	R	3
Vermont.....	9,777	40,459	859	792			30,682	R	4
Virginia.....	80,648	49,880	218	1,383	56	359	32,768	D	12
Washington.....	28,015	100,698					72,683	R	5
West Virginia.....	100,850	132,608	1,572	4,413		337	31,758	R	7
Wisconsin.....	124,107	280,164	28,220	9,770	223	530	156,057	R	13
Wyoming.....	8,904	20,467	1,077	207			11,563	R	3
Total.....	5,098,225	7,621,985	386,955	254,923	29,222	117,257		140	336

Popular vote, Roosevelt over Parker.....	2,523,753
Popular vote, Roosevelt over all.....	1,735,406
Electoral vote, Roosevelt over Parker.....	197
Total popular vote, all candidates.....	13,508,568
Total popular vote, including scattering votes.....	13,523,510

PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN, THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE: Established in London in May, 1884, and became incorporated by royal charter as a national society. Patrons, the king and queen, and a long list of notables. President, the Duke of Abercorn. Object: that no child in the United Kingdom shall live an unendurable life. This object is sought by (1) warnings; (2) enforcement of laws; (3) promotion of any new law that may be necessary. We quote from an earlier report of the director:

If the reader will conceive of a procession of 1,179,916 children passing before him, child after child, he may gain some adequate sense of the wrong and the suffering the society has been working among since it began in 1889. First come 943,910 sufferers from neglect and starvation, miserable with living irritations and fifth, ragged, well-nigh naked. Following these come 128,252 children who suffered violence from all sorts of weapons in the hands of the reckless, vengeful ones who owned them. . . . Then come 69,621 little things who were exposed to suffering to draw the lazy and cruel charity of the street for the benefit of their elders. . . . After these 24,527 pitiable girl victims of immorality. . . . And then 18,167 little slaves of improper, hurtful, and dangerous employments. . . . toilers with burdens too heavy, and

sufferers by various other cruel wrongs. . . . And last of all come 4,561 funerals of little ones, where the society obtained its information of their childish wrongs too late to save them, and had therefore nothing that it could do save to bring the cruel parents to their appropriate punishment at the hands of justice. The procession is 558 miles long and takes nine days to accomplish its painful "march past."

There is one third of the kingdom where its agencies are not yet established. Organ, *The Child's Guardian*. The League of Pity is the children's section of the society. Its object is to interest happy children in the welfare of the unhappy, and to do as much for the latter as possible. Director, R. J. Parr, Leicester Square, London.

PRICE, HON. THOMAS: Premier, Commissioner of Public Works, and Minister of Education of South Australia since July, 1905; previously leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party from 1901; born 1852. Clerk of works in the government employ at Islington locomotive shops; worked at his trade as stone-cutter on Parliament buildings. He has sat in House of Assembly since

1893. Secretary of Masons and Bricklayers' Society in 1891 and Labor Party in 1901. Prominent temperance leader. Address: Hawthorne, Lower Mitcham, near Adelaide, South Australia.

PRICES: The following table as to the prices of the leading classes of necessary articles of daily consumption at primary markets is from the United States Statistical Abstract for 1907:

PRICES IN THE UNITED STATES
[Index Number, from *Dun's Review*]

DATE	Bread- stuffs	Meats	Dairy and garden	Other food	Clothing	Metals	Miscella- neous	Total
July 1—	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>
1860.....	20.530	8.973	12.662	8.894	22.439	25.851	15.842	115.701
1861.....	15.749	7.485	10.813	7.653	21.147	22.500	16.573	101.920
1862.....	18.057	7.150	13.406	10.987	28.413	23.207	17.290	118.510
1863.....	26.154	10.115	13.530	16.359	45.679	37.079	24.654	173.180
1864.....	45.616	15.685	20.053	27.303	73.485	59.192	31.653	278.987
1865.....	25.404	16.112	18.049	21.057	49.307	38.956	25.551	194.436
1866.....	31.471	17.153	23.472	20.821	45.377	41.762	27.922	207.978
1867.....	30.537	14.278	18.418	20.167	38.169	35.426	25.529	188.524
1868.....	38.416	13.210	23.614	19.720	35.694	27.385	24.786	182.825
1869.....	29.116	13.181	18.121	16.347	35.309	28.355	24.201	164.630
1870.....	25.322	14.161	16.112	13.308	31.480	26.612	21.786	148.781
1871.....	24.809	12.177	20.799	13.823	30.624	27.371	21.907	151.510
1872.....	22.171	11.055	16.019	14.845	32.427	32.643	21.319	150.479
1873.....	20.460	10.114	15.629	13.625	29.411	32.298	21.552	143.089
1874.....	25.657	11.560	19.142	13.678	27.260	25.254	19.582	143.133
1875.....	24.848	13.287	19.918	14.418	25.318	23.515	18.398	134.702
1876.....	18.777	10.726	15.912	12.914	21.747	20.452	15.951	116.479
1877.....	21.812	10.036	11.790	13.321	21.850	15.578	15.160	109.547
1878.....	15.672	8.181	10.608	11.346	19.836	15.789	14.836	96.268
1879.....	17.054	8.239	10.253	9.884	20.420	15.149	16.826	97.285
1880.....	17.461	9.230	12.594	11.539	21.984	18.708	17.139	108.655
1881.....	20.369	11.381	11.311	11.663	20.982	19.295	16.900	111.901
1882.....	25.494	13.740	14.685	11.627	21.202	19.832	16.650	123.230
1883.....	19.018	11.210	12.250	10.726	20.209	18.071	15.764	107.248
1884.....	17.871	11.172	11.369	9.323	19.014	16.272	14.685	99.706
1885.....	16.370	9.205	10.872	8.712	17.740	14.132	13.666	90.697
1886.....	15.311	8.906	10.241	8.570	18.063	14.466	13.669	89.226
1887.....	15.156	8.667	11.188	9.252	18.174	16.035	15.153	93.624
1888.....	16.984	9.416	11.849	9.917	17.447	15.366	14.155	95.134
1889.....	14.351	8.244	9.695	10.912	17.107	14.782	14.600	89.691
1890.....	14.867	8.036	10.711	9.749	17.264	15.506	15.416	91.549
1891.....	19.782	9.217	12.455	9.339	16.501	15.107	13.691	96.092
1892.....	17.426	8.700	10.403	8.733	15.648	14.827	14.252	90.105
1893.....	14.963	10.135	11.710	9.188	15.871	14.030	14.716	90.613
1894.....	15.115	9.389	10.394	8.478	13.860	12.015	14.041	83.292
1895.....	14.765	8.622	9.874	8.689	15.315	11.021	13.233	81.519
1896.....	10.504	7.058	7.872	8.529	13.602	13.232	13.520	74.317
1897—Jan. 1.....	11.729	7.327	10.456	8.170	12.407	13.014	12.309	75.502
July 1 (low).....	10.587	7.529	8.714	7.887	13.808	11.642	12.288	72.455
1898—Jan. 1.....	13.511	7.336	12.371	8.312	14.654	11.572	12.184	79.940
July 1.....	12.783	7.094	9.437	8.826	14.063	11.843	12.522	77.768
1899—Jan. 1.....	13.816	7.520	11.458	9.096	14.150	11.843	12.540	80.423
July 1.....	13.483	7.988	10.974	9.157	15.021	11.635	12.969	85.227
1900—Jan. 1.....	13.254	7.258	13.702	9.200	17.484	18.085	16.312	95.295
July 1.....	14.898	8.906	10.901	9.482	16.324	14.834	16.070	91.415
1901—Jan. 1.....	14.486	8.407	15.556	9.504	16.024	15.810	15.881	95.668
July 1.....	14.904	9.430	11.030	9.086	15.098	15.344	16.617	91.509
1902—Jan. 1.....	20.002	9.670	15.248	8.952	15.547	15.375	16.793	101.587
July 1.....	20.534	11.628	12.557	8.748	15.533	16.084	16.826	101.910
1903—Jan. 1.....	17.104	9.522	14.613	9.418	15.938	17.185	16.578	100.356
July 1.....	17.473	9.269	13.083	9.186	17.136	16.544	16.795	99.456
1904—Jan. 1.....	17.102	8.138	15.287	9.653	17.116	15.887	16.759	100.142
July 1.....	18.244	9.033	10.648	10.406	16.514	15.428	16.919	97.192
1905—Jan. 1.....	18.278	7.950	13.948	10.699	16.319	16.188	16.936	100.318
July 1.....	18.831	8.614	9.982	9.922	17.986	15.916	17.061	98.312
1906—Jan. 1.....	16.554	8.426	14.399	9.822	19.313	17.141	18.809	104.464
July 1.....	17.923	9.677	12.590	9.645	19.177	16.649	19.555	105.216
1907—Jan. 1.....	16.079	9.350	14.965	9.700	19.637	18.087	19.386	107.264

The course of prices of commodities is shown and in each case the price is multiplied by the annual per capita consumption, which precludes any one commodity having more than its proper weight in the aggregate. Breadstuffs include many quotations of wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, beans, and pease; meats include live hogs, beef, sheep, and many provisions, lard, tallow, etc.; dairy and garden products embrace eggs, vegetables, fruits, milk, butter, cheese, etc.; other

food includes fish, liquors, condiments, sugar, rice, tobacco, etc.; clothing covers the raw material of each industry, and many quotations of woolen, cotton, silk, and rubber goods, as well as hides, leather, boots, and shoes; metals include various quotations of pig iron and partially manufactured and finished products, as well as the minor metals, tin, lead, copper, etc., and coal and petroleum; miscellaneous includes many grades

of hard and soft lumber, laths, brick, lime, glass, turpentine, hemp, linseed oil, paints, fertilizers, and drugs. The third decimal is given for accuracy of comparison.

GREAT BRITAIN

Basing his conclusions on the "Report on Wholesale and Retail Prices of the Board of Trade for 1903," Mr. A. L. Bowley ("National

Progress and Wealth and Trade," p. 25) comes to the following conclusions:

If we make up a budget of the goods most usually purchased by the working classes, and compare the prices at which they were bought year by year for the last twenty years, we find that such a budget, costing £1 in the period 1898-1902, would have cost 19s. 6d. in 1893-95, 20s. 6d. in 1888-92, and 21s. 6d. in 1883-87. In other words, during the last twenty years the purchasing power of money has increased about 8 per cent, or (what is the same thing) prices have fallen about 8 per cent. Thus, while the apparent increase of wages

Trade," pp. 35-42) gives the following table and statements. He says:

There are unfortunately very few cases where we have any direct information as to total production; and the indirect evidence given by the use of raw materials does not enable us to distinguish the output for the home from that for the foreign market. The table below gives the accessible information as to such production.

Of so-called raw materials, the output of coal and pig iron has increased considerably, that of other metals fallen fast. Among agricultural produce wheat has fallen; and other cereals, hay, and roots have fluctuated year by year without any permanent change of level. The quantity of fish landed

HOME PRODUCTION

	QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGES				
	1883-87	1888-92	1893-97	1898-1902	
Coal: retained for home use.....	137	150	155	176	Million tons.
Coal: exported.....	23	29	33	43	Million tons.
Produced from British ores:					
Copper.....	22	9	5	5	Hundred tons.
Lead.....	398	337	292	222	Hundred tons.
Tin.....	94	93	66	44	Hundred tons.
Zinc.....	96	92	76	88	Hundred tons.
Wool: estimated home clip.....	130	135	135	135	Million lbs.
Pig-iron ¹ : retained for home use.....	6.5	6.7	7.0	7.6	Million tons.
Pig-iron ² : exported.....	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.1	Million tons.
Sea fish for home and exports.....		12	14	16	Million cwts.
Grown in the United Kingdom:					
Wheat.....	80 ²	72	53	62	Million bushels.
Barley.....	77 ²	77	74	72	Million bushels.
Oats.....	160 ²	165	172	170	Million bushels.
Hay ³	12.6 ²	14.0	12.5	13.8	Million tons.
Potatoes.....	6.5 ²	5.7	5.7	6.9	Million tons.
Turnips, etc.....	34 ²	38	36	35	Million tons.
Ships built for British owners ⁴	453	634	518	752	Thousand tons' burden.
Ships built for foreigners.....	72	137	138	188	Thousand tons' burden.
Weight of goods and minerals conveyed by railways.....	265	241	340	414	Million tons.

¹ Produced from British or foreign ores.

² Average for 1884-87.

³ Average for 1885-87.

⁴ Excluding ships built for the Royal Navy.

was about 30 per cent in that period, the real increase, when we allow for the fall in price, is found to be about 40 per cent.

In the above estimates are included the prices of bread (fall 10 per cent), meat (fall 10 to 20 per cent), sugar (fall 30 per cent), tea (fall 20 per cent), oil (fall 20 per cent), coal (rise 20 to 30 per cent), beer and tobacco (unchanged), and some clothing materials: in all over forty articles.

There are omitted, on the one hand, the innumerable small and rapidly cheapening articles of modern manufacture (e. g., cheap household requisites), and furniture, bicycles, traveling, newspapers, and other miscellaneous goods, which account for a considerable part of the normal expenses of those households where the income is above the bare minimum: in this group the fall of price must have been considerable. On the other hand is omitted rent (including rates), which is generally supposed to have risen in towns. . . .

Taking all these things into consideration, it may be reasonably admitted that the value of £1 in the hands of a workingman has at any rate not fallen in the last twenty years; while the evidence on the whole is in favor of the rise of nearly 10 per cent.

Of other countries Mr. Bowley says (*idem*, p. 78):

No reliable comparison can as yet be made with former years, though data are accumulating. In 1902 wheat was about the same price in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Belgium, dearer in Germany, and yet dearer in France. Beef is stated to have been about the same price in England, France, and Germany, and cheaper in Belgium and at New York. For sugar England was much the cheapest and France the dearest of these countries.

The figures we have for Germany ("Fiscal Blue Book," pp. 223-226) show that the course of prices in the last fifteen years has been similar there and in England. A comparison with twenty years ago shows a greater fall in England than in Germany. The German figures come from Essen only. The figures given on p. 227 (*ibid.*) are of wholesale prices, and show great fluctuations.

Concerning production in the United Kingdom A. C. Bowley ("National Progress in Wealth and

on our shores has increased steadily. The tonnage of ships built for the home mercantile navy or for foreigners was 23 per cent more in the years 1893-1902 than in the previous decade.

The conveyance of goods to their destination or to the sea is an essential part of their production, and therefore the weight handled by railways is given in the table.

It is obvious that no general conclusions can be drawn from such incomplete statistics. Practically the only industries of which we know the output are mining, agriculture, and shipping. The only means, then, that we have at present of judging our productive power is by the consumption of raw materials. . . .

When we compare the years 1898-1902 with 1883-87, we find that we have used in manufacture 15 per cent more cotton, 40 per cent more wool, 18 per cent more iron, 60 per cent more lead, 80 per cent more zinc, 85 per cent more leather, 60 per cent more imported wood and timber, 28 per cent more coal, the same amount of tin, but 25 per cent less silk, in the latter period than in the former; meanwhile the population has grown 14 per cent.

To obtain these figures the home production and foreign importations of the raw materials have been added together, the exportation subtracted, and the remainder taken as used at home. There is some doubt about the exact amount of tin, lead, and zinc retained, and we have no figures for home-grown timber nor sufficient figures for flax or jute, while those for copper need expert interpretation.

This list includes the great bulk of the more important raw materials, and shows a very remarkable progress.

PRIMARIES (for the evils of the present system of primaries existing in most states of the United States, see ELECTIONS, p. 439): The flagrant abuses which have arisen in the U. S. from primaries early led to discussions of methods of reform, but only within the last ten or twelve years has there been progress actually made. The first reform undertaken was the so-called

"primary election laws," embodying in various ways the control of primaries by law, by making the primary meeting of a political party a legally organized body instead of a self-constituted group. Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Maryland, South Carolina, Georgia, and other states have adopted statutes of this nature. While details vary, in general it may be said that they provide that due public notice be given of the time and place of primary elections; that the elections be by ballot, and that the expense be paid by the state. In some states the law defines the qualification for admission to the primary. In general the aim is to give all persons who voted with their party at the last elections the right to a vote in the choice of candidates in the primary.

Besides variation in details, there has also been in most states progressive legislation. In Illinois, for example, two systems have been tried:

(1) The indirect or convention system, wherein the law gives to the parties a method which simply insured that the delegates to the nominating convention were honestly elected and seated.

(2) The direct system, wherein the law furnished parties a method whereby the members of a party should vote directly on various names to determine the nominee of the party.

The general tendency is, however, first, to increase the control of primaries by state law and then, secondly, to abolish them and substitute "*direct nominations*" (q. v.) as in the Minnesota Primary Law.

According to this plan in place of a primary there is held a preliminary election conducted by the state in which a voter may participate. Each voter indicates the name he nominates, and the party for which he nominates him. Prospective candidates may announce their names to the public before the preliminary election in any way or through any organization they will. The election gives the official nomination in each party to the person receiving the largest support.

This is in many ways like the second ballot in France. (See ELECTIONS, p. 440.)

This system was first tried in Minneapolis in 1890 and later was applied to state elections. It is said to be a distinct success and this idea is being largely advocated in other states. At the Congress of Primary and Election Laws, held by the National Civic Federation, April, 1906, Mr. Horace E. Deming (of New York), of the National Municipal League, thus outlined a general system of primary reform:

The nominating election should be a public election to determine as to each elective public officer who, as a candidate for that office, shall have the right as the sole representative of a given set of political principles properly applicable to its conduct to have his name appear upon the official ballot used at the general election. Prior to registration day, let every candidate for nomination be announced as such candidate, together with a statement of the platform of political principles upon which he stands, each distinct set of principles being denoted by a short title or phrase; let the names of all candidates for the nomination be printed by the state upon an official nominating ballot delivered to the voter upon a registration day and immediately after registering, and let the voter mark secretly upon it his preference among all the candidates for nomination to each office; let the ballot then be deposited in the ballot-box under exactly the same circumstances as at the general election, and at the close of the polls let the votes be canvassed and the result be announced, as at the general election; upon the official ballot used at the ensuing general election, let only such policies and candidates appear as have successfully passed the two tests set forth above. In this way the local interests of the city could be freed from confusion with national politics;

and municipal elections could be fought out by local parties, which would appear and disappear according as local issues did or did not warrant their existence.

The incongruity and absurdity of having so many elective offices would be brought out clearly, and the day would be hastened when the nine out of ten offices now elective which should be appointive would be taken out of politics.

PRIMITIVE PROPERTY: According to some sociological writers, the present system of private ownership in land was preceded by a system of collective or communal ownership and cultivation. The main authorities for this view are Sir Henry Maine, in his "Ancient Law"; G. L. von Maurer, in his "Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadtverfassung" (1854); P. Viollet, in his "Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes" (1872), and Em. Laveleye, in his "De la Propriété de ses Formes Primitives" (1874), well known to English readers in Marriott's translation, "Primitive Property" (1878). Maine says in the above work (p. 268):

Property once belonged not to individuals, nor even to isolated families, but to larger societies. Maurer says (p. 93): "All land in the beginning was common land and belonged to all; that is to say, to the people." Viollet says (p. 503): "Land was held in common before it became private property in the hands of a family or an individual." De Laveleye says: "The arable land was cultivated in common; private property grew up afterward out of this ancient common ownership."

Maurer builds his argument from certain expressions in Cæsar, Tacitus, and other Latin authors, and from certain words and phrases like *communio* and *ager publicus* in classic and medieval formularies, laws, etc. He studies the subject simply in regard to Germanic peoples.

Viollet finds communal property described or referred to among the Greeks and Romans, by Plato, Vergil, Justin, Tibullus, and other writers. He sees a relic of it in the public meals of Sparta, the feasts of the Athenian *prytanes*, and of the Roman *curia*.

De Laveleye traces such communal property in the Javan *dessa*, the Russian *mir*, the Indian village community, the German *Mark*, the family communities of Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Champagne, and Auvergne, in the Swiss *Allmend*, the Scotch township, the common lands of France, Belgium, and other countries. De Laveleye does not write as an admirer of the "primitive communism." He argues, in his introduction, that inequality overthrew Greece and Rome and threatens us in still more critical form, and then says: "The object of this book is not to advocate a return to the primitive agrarian community, but to establish historically the natural right of property as claimed by philosophers, as well as to show that ownership has assumed various forms and is consequently susceptible of progressive reform." According to De Laveleye, land was first unappropriated at all. Then certain tribes laid claim to certain portions of territory for grazing purposes. Next, portions began to be claimed for cultivation by the tribe. Then this was parceled out among the families of the tribe for cultivation. Next the parcels were claimed for occupation by patriarchal families. Finally, individual hereditary property appears. For a discussion of the Russian *mir*, see *MIR*; for the German *Mark*, see *MARK*; for the *Allmend*, see *SWITZERLAND*. Of the Slavic family communities De Laveleye gives a specially interesting account. Under this system land belongs to the *gmina* (German *Gemeinde*, or commune), which divides the land among the patriarchal families, according to their size. At the head of each family is a *gospodar*. He is elected by the community and transacts its business. He is the executive, but acts only with the advice of the community. The wife of the *gospodar* or some other chosen woman is the *domatchica*, and regulates the domestic interests. The houses cluster around the central house of the *gospodar*. In this house all take their meals. Each community has twenty to thirty persons, and occasionally more. There are usually three generations. When the community becomes too large it divides. The young women usually pass into their husbands' family community. The fruits of the agricultural labor are usually held in common, but of industrial labor, individually. Each community owns about forty acres. The aged and infirm are cared for in common. The women take turns in the common work. Communities aid each other. In the evenings, the community meets for songs and dance. Members are allowed to leave. The system allows of division of labor, union of capital and labor, and simple fraternal life. But it is dying before the forces of self-seeking and western individualism.

Similar communities, De Laveleye says, were developed all through Europe in the Middle Ages, and existed till our own day in Brittany, Auvergne, and various secluded territories.

This view of primitive property in land, however, has been severely criticized by other scholars; notably by Fustel de Coulanges in an essay on "The Origin of Property in Land," first appearing in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* for April, 1889, and translated under the above title by Margaret Ashley (1891).

M. de Coulanges argues that Maurer and Viollet have forced the meaning of the classic authors they quote, and that common meals and family communities by no means prove the communal ownership of land. De Coulanges says in summing up his essay (p. 149): "Are we to conclude from all that has gone before that nowhere and at no time was land held in common? By no means. To commit ourselves to so absolute a negative would be to go beyond the purpose of this

Contrary View

work. The only conclusion to which we are brought by this prolonged examination of authors, is that community in land has not yet been historically proved. . . . M. Viollet has not brought forward a single piece of evidence which proves that the great cities ever practised agrarian communism. M. de Jubainville has not brought forward one which proves communism in Gaul. Maurer and Lamprecht have not produced one which shows that the *Mark* was common land. . . . National communism has been confused with the common ownership of the family; tenure in common has been confused with ownership in common; agrarian communism with village commons."

Such are the two opposing schools. Some argue that the correct balance of truth is that property was not originally held either by individuals or communally, but by bodies of men under some "strong man"—despot, tyrant, or at best patriarch. This would be far from communism, but perhaps equally far from individual ownership.

Prof. Ch. Letourneau in his "Property and Its Origin and Development" (Contemporary Science Series, 1892) finds the origin of property in a biological root, which begins among the animals.

The instinct of property, he says (p. 2), is but one of the manifestations of the most primordial of needs—the need of self-preservation, of existing, and securing existence to offspring. The banquet of nature is very irregular and sometimes very niggardly; the guests are numerous, hungry, and often brutal. Yet, under pain of death, a place must be gained there, defended, and, as far as possible, retained; for continually recurring needs must constantly be satisfied. The severity of the struggle for existence may be greater or less, but it goes on without a truce; therefore the more intelligent the organized being, whether man or animal, the more he takes thought for the future, the more he tries, by securing some sort of property, to reduce the element of chance in his life. . . . But this may be done in various ways: sometimes selfishly, in isolation, if the individual is gifted enough or well enough armed with force or cunning to suffice unto himself; sometimes collectively, if those concerned are sufficiently intelligent, sufficiently sociable, to supplement their native feebleness by combining, by creating a powerful cluster through the union of small individual energies. These two very different methods of understanding property are found in the animal kingdom, and each of them makes its own mark upon the manners, tendencies, and mentality of the species. Letourneau then goes on to trace the development of the instinct of property in the animals which lay claim to certain tracts of territory, exactly as do nomadic tribes, or to dens, lairs, or nests, exactly like primitive men. Weaker animals, like bees and ants, have to think of the future. They develop sociability and intelligence, and organize armies and clusters, with officers and laws. From the animal, Letourneau passes to man and finds some men lower than the brute in the instinct of property. He notices the property of anarchic hordes, the savages of Borneo, the Vedda of Ceylon, the sociability of the Bushmen, the solidarity of the Fuegians, the Australian clans. Among them all property is, as a rule, communal and not private, though the instinct of private property is developing in the private ownership of a weapon or an ornament. Often these are burned or buried with the dead owner. For the property in women, see FAMILY. Among the republican tribes of America, Letourneau finds the same, from the communism of the North American Indian to the developed kingdom of the Incas (see PERU). A step up we come to the monarchic tribes, where despotic heads develop caste and slavery. Here wives are made to toil as the property of the monarchs, and upon fields owned by the monarchs. In New Zealand there were three kinds of proprietors—the tribe, the family, and the individual. In Polynesia, generally, primitive equality has been wholly left behind, and property is

owned by chiefs. In Africa the aborigines have developed out of equality, but the degrees are not fixed. In southern Asia we find the Javanese *desa* and Indian communal village. This is perhaps due to the necessity of collective irrigation of rice-fields. In ancient Egypt we have a kingdom something like that of the Incas; all nominally owned by kings, but divided into kings' lands, priests' lands, and warriors' lands. Beneath these grades are herdsmen, artisans, and slaves. In China land is nominally owned by the king, but allotted to families. It must be tilled, or can be forfeited. Land is inalienable. Village communities are traceable. In nomadic Arabia a system of combined individual and communal property exists. Among the Hebrews land was divided among all, by families. The early Aryan races seem to have practised the village community, and this brings us to historic times.

REFERENCES: See the books quoted above. (See also PROPERTY; LAND; COMMUNISM.)

PRISONER OF WAR, TREATMENT OF THE:

In international law, a combatant or person in arms taken by the enemy either by capture or surrender in time of war, is a prisoner of war. By extension, he is any one attached to a hostile army for active aid; sometimes including also civilians such as correspondents, contractors, and sutlers. By the articles of the convention of Aug. 22, 1864, completed by additional articles in 1868, all medical persons, the wounded in ambulances, chaplains, and nurses are considered non-combatants.

Montesquieu, in his "Esprit des Lois" (bk. x., ch. iii.), says: "In the best days of Pagan antiquity the laws of war . . . decreed, with unyielding severity, confiscation and pillage for the possessions of the enemy; slavery or death for the enemy himself." Under the Romans, capitulation was not sufficient to save life. In the flush of their triumphs, they often put to death the enemy's chiefs, even tho they had become prisoners by surrender. When the putting to death of male prisoners became less frequent, they were deported, enslaved, drafted into the armies, or used in the arenas as prey for the wild beasts against which they were compelled to fight. Civilization and Christianity have brought about the modification of this treatment. Probably the most barbarous treatment of all was that practised by the ancient Britons on their captives. These were turned over to the priests and condemned to death by burning; then, they were thrust into huge wicker-work cages with oxen and other beasts and burned or cast upon Druid altars to be slaughtered with knives. With the advent of the Roman dominion in Britain the Romans exterminated the Druids and their sacrifices were never revived. Sparing the lives of most of their captives, the Romans led many of them back to Rome in triumph and there they were sold as slaves or sent to the galleys.

When the Normans came to England they respected nothing; neither person nor property. Their prisoners, like so many cattle, became the prey of the conqueror. By right of might or violence, valets became feudal lords, and seized for themselves daughters of noble families, while the former lords were reduced to serfdom. The Normans confiscated their property and with it lay the foundation of the nobility of to-day. During the wars between Richard I. and Philip Augustus, each monarch blinded fifteen of the prisoners he had taken and sent them back to their camps in that state. While in Palestine, Richard himself ordered the massacre of 2,500 prisoners which he had captured.

With the dawn of Chivalry generosity to a fallen foe asserted itself, and the practise of ransoming prisoners was introduced. The condition of prisoners of war during this period was comparatively secure. Occasionally, it is true, entire garrisons were butchered, but, as a general rule, the captives were ransomed, exchanged, or deported. In the thirteenth century the custom of exchanging prisoners predominated. Then, too, the status of the prisoner of war changed. He was no longer the property of his captor nor that of the commanding officer, but of the government against which he had taken arms. Notwithstanding this, mutilation was still practised in some degree, as by the Japanese, who in their wars with Korea in the seventeenth century lopped off the ears of 3,600 Koreans, sending them home as trophies of their victory. Thus precedent was established for the treatment in recent times of the unfortunate Kongolese by the Force Publique of the Kongo Free State, members of whose troops are said to have cut off the fingers and hands of those who opposed them in the execution of their duty.

During the relentless War of Candia (1667-68) between the Venetians and the Turks, the latter, who ultimately captured the place, put 30,000 Christian prisoners to death in retaliation for their losses, which totaled 120,000 men.

According to modern international law, prisoners of war taken in battle must not be killed or enslaved. By a law passed June 20, 1792, French prisoners of war are placed under the protection of the nation and must be shielded from all insult or outrage. By a later decree (May 25, 1793), it was

ordered that no person captured from the enemy shall be compelled to serve in the army of the State by which he has been taken. With the **Napoleonic Wars** and the War of the Revolution came the incarceration of prisoners of war, who were often ill fed, poorly clothed, and subjected to gross indignities, being often compelled to perform work that would lessen the cost of their maintenance. On April 4, 1811, a decree promulgated ordered that a prisoner of war of the rank of officer and any hostage who violates his parole shall, if recaptured, be treated as a soldier, receive the same rations, and be confined in castle, citadel, or fort.

The attitude of the British authorities toward the American prisoners of war captured during the **Revolutionary Period** (1776-83) is shown by the method of imprisonment adopted. They put the captured men in condemned hulks which were moored in Wallabout Bay, New York. In these prison-hells they suffered from cold, hunger, thirst, and disease, so that no less than 11,400 died in less than six years.

The attitude of the American colonies toward prisoners of war during the Revolutionary War may be seen from letters written by Thomas Jefferson at that time. In regard to their comfort he said, writing to Governor Henry: "Is an enemy so execrable that, tho in captivity, his wishes and comforts are to be disregarded and even crossed? I think not. It is for the benefit of mankind to mitigate the horrors of war as much as possible. The practise, therefore, of modern nations, of treating captive enemies with politeness and generosity, is not only delightful in contemplation, but really interesting to all the world, friends, foes, and neutrals."

That the health of prisoners should receive consideration also, Jefferson urged on Henry, saying:

"The health (of the British prisoners) is also of importance. I would not endeavor to show that their lives are invaluable to us, because it would suppose a possibility that humanity was kicked out of doors in America, and interest only attended to."

Negotiations for the exchange of prisoners having proved unsuccessful, Jefferson, writing to General de Riedesel, said: "I am sorry to learn that the negotiations for the exchange of prisoners have proved abortive, as well from a desire to see the necessary distresses of war alleviated in every possible instance, as that I am sensible how far yourself and family are interested in it."

Of the treatment accorded to Governor Hamilton by the Americans, Jefferson wrote to Sir Guy Carleton as follows:

"We think ourselves justified in Governor Hamilton's strict confinement on the general principle of national retaliation. Governor Hamilton's conduct has been such as to call for exemplary punishment on him personally. In saying this I have not so much in view his particular cruelties to our citizens, prisoners with him, as the general nature of the service he undertook at Detroit, and the extensive exercise of cruelties which it involved. Those who act together in war are answerable for each other. The known rules of warfare of the Indian savages is an indiscriminate butchery of men, women, and children. These savages, under this well-known character, are employed by the British nation as allies against the Americans. Governor Hamilton undertakes to be the conductor of the war. In the execution of that undertaking he associates small parties of the whites under his immediate command with large parties of the savages, and sends them to act, sometimes jointly, sometimes separately, not against our forts or armies in the field, but the farming settlements on our frontiers. Governor Hamilton is himself the butcher of men, women, and children. I will not say to what length the fair rules of war would extend the right of punishment against him; but I am sure that confinement under its strictest circumstances, for Indian devastation and massacre, must be deemed lenity."

In exchanging prisoners of war efforts were usually made to exchange like for like; that is, men of equal or nearly equal rank were transferred whenever possible. In 1690 a marshal in the French army was considered worth as many as 10,000 soldiers, but

The Exchange of Prisoners

a century later he was not considered worth more than fifty. The number of French prisoners exchanged by cartel in 1781 from the commencement of the war declared by France against England in 1778 was 44,000, and the number of English prisoners taken by France during the war of the First Coalition (1792-97) was approximated at 6,000, while of French captives in England there were 27,000 in Sept., 1798. During the operations of the Third Coalition and subsequent war with France 47,600 French prisoners were transported to England and released at the close of hostilities. Prisoners of war that fell into the hands of Napoleon, altho kept in confinement, were, with one notable exception, humanely treated—1,200 Turkish prisoners, the defenders of Jaffa, whom he could not transport and was unable to feed, were shot.

During the War of 1812 Great Britain transported to England a number of American soldiers and seamen who had been captured, and confined them in a prison on Dartmoor. Ill-fed and neglected the men rebelled, and during a riot that ensued (April 6, 1815) seven of the prisoners were killed and thirty-five wounded. The Prince Regent (afterward George IV.) ordered an investigation, and on receiving a report of the incident severely censured the officers in charge of the

prisoners of war. A pleasant contrast was afforded by the treatment accorded to American seamen who, having been taken prisoners during several naval engagements, in 1815, were conveyed to Bermuda, where they were kept in confinement, but where such Bermudians as were permitted to have access to them, extended "generous and tender sympathy" which "prompted the kindest attentions" to the living, and honored those who died during detention (Jan.-Feb., 1815).

The condition of the Russian prisoners taken by the Allies during the **Crimean War** (1854) was more pitiable than that of the regular troops, which was shameful. Owing to the breakdown of the commissariat, food supplies, clothing, and other necessities were sent to places where there was no need of them, while in others the troops suffered terrible hardships for lack of them. No less than 18,500 men died in the hospitals, which were frightfully mismanaged. Under such conditions prisoners fared severely.

The stern repressive measures taken by the British against the Sepoys during the **Indian Mutiny** (1857) were the result of the barbarisms which the Sepoys themselves practised on the Europeans who fell into their hands. The ruthless butchery of the white prisoners in Cawnpore was punished by the blowing from the mouths of guns the rebel leaders who had been captured.

During the American Civil War large numbers of prisoners were exchanged, but the Confederate Congress having passed an act (May, 1863) to

American Civil War

punish with death or otherwise all commanders of negro troops taken in the field, this temporarily put a stop to release by exchange. Negotiations, however, were reopened by General Grant, Oct. 15, 1864, and the Secretary of War reported that the number of prisoners captured to 1864 was 152,434, of which 121,937 Confederates were exchanged for 110,866 Federal soldiers. From Jan. 1 until Oct. 20, 1865, there were in the Federal prisons 98,802 prisoners of war of whom 1,955 enlisted in the United States army. When fighting ceased, 63,442 prisoners were released, 33,127 were exchanged, and 174,223 surrendered in the Confederate armies and were released on parole. During the war the U. S. established prisons at Camp Douglas, Utah; Camp Chase, Ohio; Chicago, Ill.; Elmira, New York; Point Lookout, Maryland; and Rock Island, Ill., and here the Confederate prisoners of war were detained.

Of the prisons in the Confederate States these were situated at Andersonville, Ga.; Belle Isle; Castle Thunder; the Libby at Richmond, Va., and Salisbury. Here Federal prisoners were detained. Of these institutions the Libby Prison and that at Andersonville were notorious for their unsanitary conditions. The

Confederate Prisons

Libby was a tobacco warehouse, three stories high and containing six rooms 100 feet long by 45 feet wide. The building was situated on Main Street and was surrounded by a stockade. Within its walls as many as 1,200 prisoners were confined at one time. The prisoners suffered terribly from want of food, from cold due to scant clothing, and neglect, and from the lack of proper sanitary arrangements, so that many died during their confinement and others suffered permanently from impaired health.

Andersonville Prison was an open pen, 1,540 feet long by 750 feet wide. It was situated on a hillside field and surrounded by a stockade. Within its walls 44,882 Union prisoners were detained within one year, and of this number 12,926 died from starvation or lack of proper care.

After the close of the war Captain Henry Wirz, one of the officers who had charge of the prisoners and against whom gross cruelty was alleged, was indicted for "injuring the health and destroying the lives of prisoners by subjecting them to tor-

ture and great suffering, by confinement in unhealthy and unwholesome quarters, by exposing them to the inclemency of the winter and the dews and burning sun of the summer, by compelling the use of impure water, and by furnishing insufficient and unwholesome food; by establishing the dead-line and ordering the guards to shoot down any prisoner attempting to cross it; for keeping and using bloodhounds to hunt down prisoners attempting to escape; and for torturing prisoners and confining them in stocks."

A commission began the trial of Captain Wirz, Aug. 21, 1865, and he was found guilty and hanged on Nov. 10th of that year.

The number of French prisoners taken by the Prussians in the **Franco-Prussian War** (1870-71) was enormous and they were transported to German soil. They were detained chiefly in fortified towns throughout Germany, the largest contingents being held in Berlin, Breslau, Cassel, Ingolstadt, Königsberg, Leipsic, Mainz, Magdeburg, Munich, Posen, Stettin, etc. Here the only restraint put upon them was presence at roll-call every morning, and report of return at night. During the day the prisoners were permitted to mix with the native population and to hire themselves out to work among such of the German people as could utilize their services. They were fed at their own camp or barrack kitchens, the German Government bearing the cost. Medical attendance was supplied the sick, and clothing served to the destitute. No statistics of the numbers captured and returned are available, but it is known that in the aggregate they totaled several hundred thousands.

In the course of the **Russo-Turkish War** of 1877 the Russian troops captured no less than 80,000 prisoners, many of whom were wounded and perished from cold during their removal to Russia (Dec., 1877), as no special provision had been made for their care.

During the **Spanish-American War** (1898) the number of Spanish troops surrendered at Manila was about 13,000, and the number at Santiago about 24,000. None of these prisoners were brought to or held in the U. S. In accordance with the terms of surrender, which contained a proviso that the prisoners should be returned home by the U. S., their return to Spain was conducted by the Quartermaster's Department of the U. S. army.

By the U. S. army regulations, money and other valuables found on a prisoner, such as jewelry and extra clothing, are considered as the private property of a prisoner and must not be appropriated by his captors. A prisoner of war is liable to such confinement as may be considered necessary for public safety, but is not to be the subject of indignity or intentional suffering. If he escapes he may be shot or killed as he flees, but for attempting to escape he is not amenable to military law, such attempt not constituting a crime, according to the rules of war.

A different method of treating prisoners of war was introduced by the Boers during the progress of their war against Britain (1899-1902). At first prisoners were conveyed to Pretoria. The officers were imprisoned in one of the schoolhouses there; the men were kept within a wire entanglement in one of the public squares in the town, where they were guarded by such volunteers as the Irish Brigade. As fighting

wore on and the Boer capitals were captured, the commandants found it most convenient to strip their prisoners of their clothing and other personal property and turn them loose. At Vlakfontein a British patrol of twenty men and a few native scouts surrendered to a commando of 200 Boers, who ordered the scouts to hold up their hands and shot them in cold blood. One of these was a white trooper from Cape Colony. Following this event Commandant Kruitinger announced that he would shoot all natives, armed or unarmed, who were caught with the British. Fortunately for the reputation of the Boers as civilized people, the example set by Kruitinger was not followed by his brother officers.

The treatment accorded to the Boer prisoners by the British was somewhat different. Laagers surrounded by wire entanglements to prevent escape were established at Simon's Town, St. Helena, Ceylon, and Bermuda. There the captured officers and men were transported. Within the laagers they were permitted to establish a government of their own, and only in cases of refractory prisoners was appeal made to the British adjutants in charge, who invariably referred such cases to their superiors. The prisoners were not required to do any work, but if they volunteered to do it, were paid at the same rate as British soldiers would be paid. They were allowed the freedom of the laagers and were permitted to bathe in the sea, but not allowed to swim beyond the military zone marked by buoys. The rations served to each prisoner first passed

Rations Served

a joint examination by Boer and British officers. Food declared unfit was promptly condemned. Each man was given per day 1 pound of fresh meat, 1 pound of biscuit or 1½ pounds of graham bread, ½ pound of fresh vegetables, ¾ ounce of ground coffee, 2 ounces of sugar, ½ ounce of salt, ⅓ ounce of pepper, ⅞ gill of lime juice, 2 gallons of fresh water. In addition to the above, prisoners who had the means were at liberty to purchase luxuries, as fruit, fresh or canned; preserves; fish, smoked or dried; etc., from a Boeren winkel, or company store, maintained by the prisoners themselves for the common good. No restrictions were placed on fishing from shore, so that those who desired it could add to their rations in this way. In Bermuda, the one hardship was the quantity of fresh water supplied per man—two gallons being held not sufficient for their needs.

Clothing Supplied

On the arrival of the prisoners at the detention camps, each man's kit was examined, and bedding was supplied to him. To those who were destitute of clothing, new clothing was served. This clothing was of the common kind usually supplied to army laborers, and on this account was occasionally the cause of complaint. Of the complement of prisoners sent to Bermuda (nearly 5,500), only five died from disease in two years and one was shot for attempting to escape. While at sea, on the voyage from Cape Town to Bermuda, twenty-one died from wounds, dysentery, and other causes due to exposure in the field.

The refugee camps established by the British in Cape Colony for the wives and children of the Boers in the field were not prisons in the military sense, and the persons detained were not strictly prisoners of war—the camps having been formed for the sake of the maintenance of the occupants

In the Boer War

in lieu of allowing them to starve to death on desolate farms. The refugees were housed in iron, wooden-lined buildings and marquees, each family having separate accommodation. A free government school where English and Dutch were taught was maintained. The cost of housing and feeding the 137,619 refugees and the 20,000 prisoners of war in various parts of the world was borne by the British taxpayer. Notwithstanding the care given to the treatment of the refugees, an outbreak of zymotic disease, chiefly measles, resulted in a high death-rate among the children. The total deaths of whites (adults and children) during six months of the year 1901 was 13,941—a rate which was gradually reduced as the Boers overcame their prejudices, observed the sanitary regulations made for their welfare, and took the medicine prescribed for them. Throughout the war all communications, such as telegrams and letters, were delivered subject to the censor and approval of the commanding officer.

Refugee Camps

During the Chino-Japanese War (1894-95) a marked change was noticed by the Chinese prisoners in the treatment accorded them by their foes. They could not account for it, especially as on the Japanese who fell in their hands they had perpetrated nameless atrocities. The common belief was that they were being fattened to kill and that they would have done better to die in battle. But the true cause of this was that in 1886 Japan joined the Red Cross nations. One notable exception was the treatment accorded the Chinese at the taking of Port Arthur (Nov. 21, 1894). Then, long after the surrender of the place, the Japanese continued the indiscriminate slaughter of the Chinese. This inhumanity has been attributed to the frenzied condition of the Japanese who were horrified at the mutilation of their men by the enemy.

As the Russo-Japanese War progressed (1904-1905) the Japanese Government issued regulations for the treatment of the Russian prisoners that fell into their hands.

JAPANESE REGULATIONS

(1) All prisoners of war shall be treated humanely; they shall not be subject to insult or cruelty. (2) They shall be treated in conformity to their rank and position. (3) Except where imposed by military discipline, they shall not be subjected to physical restraint. (4) They shall be at liberty to attend the religious services of their own faith, so long as in doing so they do not infringe the requirements of army discipline. (5) Insubordinate prisoners shall be subjected to disciplinary measures, according to the offense committed, and so also must prisoners who attempt to escape, or who may actually, for a time, contrive to get away and are retaken; no criminal punishment shall be inflicted on account of such attempt at escape. (6) Offenses of prisoners are dealt with and punished in conformity with the established rules of the military court.

(7) Officers to be transported to the place of their internment separately from the common soldiers. (8) The military authorities to provide places suitable for the internment of prisoners; soldiers' barracks, temples, or other convenient buildings are to be used for this purpose. (9) In each place of detention the inmates shall appoint one person to be their chief, who shall be responsible for his fellow prisoners. (10) Prisoners are at liberty to purchase with their own money any articles that may add to their comfort, subject, of course, to the approval of the superintending officer. (11) All telegrams or letters are subject to the approval of the supervising officer; no cipher or suspicious communication of any sort can be permitted to pass. (12) The postal matter sent to or from prisoners is free of charge, in accordance with the postal convention rules.

All articles or money held for safe custody by the Japanese were returned to the prisoners on their discharge. All articles or money belonging to prisoners who died were forwarded to the Prisoners' Intelligence Board.

The rations served to prisoners were based on an amount of money stipulated by schedule.

RATION SCHEDULE. PER PERSON PER DAY

	Officers and their equals	Non-commissioned officers and men
Bread.....	1½ kin ¹	1½ kin
Animal food (meat, fish, or poultry).....	100 monme ²	50 monme
Vegetables.....	120 monme	80 monme
Table salt.....	5 monme	5 monme
Sugar.....	4 monme	3 monme
Appetizers.....	Some	Some

¹ Equals 1.325 pounds avoirdupois.

² 1 gram equals ⅓ monme.

The foregoing was modified according to climatic conditions. The amount per diem allowed for the cost of these rations was, for officers and their equals, 60 sen; for non-commissioned officers and men, each 30 sen—a sen is about four fifths of a cent.

Each person of the rank of sergeant-major and above was allowed bed, blankets, and a toilet set, which was loaned to the captives. To non-commissioned officers and men, blankets or wadded quilts were loaned individually, and toilet sets in groups. Of clothing each prisoner wore what he possessed; when that wore out a new suit was lent to prisoners of the rank of officers or above, and second-hand clothing to non-commissioned officers or privates.

The prisoners were quartered at Matsuyama. The officers had quarters in a Buddhist Temple in a wooded park there. The other prisoners were stationed in temples and large bamboo barracks and hospital wards. Their physical condition could not have been better. That the number of prisoners was enormous is shown by Japan's bill for their maintenance. It amounted to about \$75,000,000, the last payment of which (\$24,302,200) was made Nov. 23, 1907.

Of the treatment accorded to the Japanese by the Russians, little or nothing has been published, and no official information is available, but it is known that Russia's expenses for the maintenance of Japanese prisoners were \$40,000,000.

During the last fifty years great strides have been made in the care of prisoners of war. From imprisonment, as if criminals, they have now been emancipated. Sympathy for the conquered by the conqueror has shown itself until, among civilized nations, the sick receive free medical attendance and the healthy are well fed, well housed, and plainly but serviceably clothed. As much attention has been given to their physical well-being as to their treatment. This has been due as much to the placing of prisoners in charge of humane officers as to international comity. Russian prisoners mostly played ball: Boer prisoners enjoyed the privilege of cricket, croquet, football, gymnastics, and various games of ball. Gymnastic appliances, as horizontal and parallel bars, etc., were supplied in several of the detention camps. Schools were conducted, and the prisoners were also permitted to make tennis-courts and billiard-tables for their use. Card games were few. Athletic sports were freely indulged in.

The question of the admission of liquor to the camps was purely one of local option and its exclusion was voted in all. To this may be attributed, in some degree, the small death-rate among the prisoners detained, and the total absence of rioting.

FRANK H. VIZETELLY.

PROBATION AND PROBATION OFFICERS:

Probation in sociology means the suspension of sentence chiefly of juvenile and first offenders for transgressions of not too serious a nature. It rests on two principles: (1) It draws a distinction between those who have transgressed the law from some definite and immediate cause—e. g., hunger, sudden impulse or passion, etc.—and those who are thoroughly vicious and have criminal tendencies. (2) It is a postponement of condemnation while the offender is given an opportunity to redeem himself and become a useful member of society. Probation officers are persons into whose care and supervision the offenders are put while under probation. They may be paid officials of the state or municipalities, or private individuals interested in the prevention of further transgressions by first or juvenile offenders.

Massachusetts passed a law for the establishment of the probation system in 1878. The procedure is briefly this: The probation officer receives notice in the case of a first offender from the clerk of the court, to make investigations concerning him and report. On the day of trial this report is submitted to the judge, and practically decides whether the accused—if found guilty—is considered fit for probation or not. If fit, the judge determines the period during which the offender is to be under the surveillance of the probation officer—the latter becoming "the bondsman to save the offender from prison." The officer has to report to the judge at stated intervals; and if these reports and the behavior of the probationer are satisfactory, sentence may be suspended by the court for a longer period, or canceled. Otherwise it may be pronounced and go into effect at once.

This system of redeeming offenders from prison is now practised extensively both in Europe and America. In Massachusetts 8,140 persons of all ages were placed on probation during 1903, and about 65 per cent proved successes. New York requires probation for at least one year, and the probation officer of Brooklyn advocates its extension to three or four years so as to establish thoroughly friendly relations. In the case of juvenile offenders the process is this: *reformatory* on indeterminate sentence; *release* "on parole" for good conduct under a probation officer; period of probation; period of indefinite suspension of sentence.

Germany's probation law provides for a Court of Guardianship—consisting of local officials, the parents, clergymen, schoolmasters. The advantage of this system is that a number of persons become responsible for and interested in the transgressor—one person is, however, appointed probation officer in each case, and responsibility is centralized. The law of Hungary resembles that of Germany. In Holland, Belgium, France, and Switzerland authorized private organizations—*Sociétés de Patronage*—assume the responsibilities for juvenile offenders.

The question is, whether the expenses connected with this system are a good investment. Massachusetts, for instance, pays probation officers from \$1,500 to \$1,800 per year; New York has just (June 6, 1907) passed a law to create a *State Probation Commission* with voluntary members, but a paid secretary with a salary of \$3,000 a year plus funds for stenographer, etc. The expenses are likely to grow as the probation system develops, and objections are raised. It

would be a good investment even if it saved only one half of the probationers from a career of crime. A German report ("Statistik über die Fürsorge-Erziehung") says that the total cost of over £300,000 per annum in Germany would be amply compensated by restraining only 25,000 offenders for one year from further transgressions. The gain to the State in better citizens is, of course, not expressible in figures.

PROFIT (for facts and statistics as to profits, see following article): The word profit is used in political economy by different writers in different senses. It is not at all difficult to understand its different uses, but great care must be taken to be sure that one knows the sense in which an author uses it, before one can judge or understand his meaning. The failure to do this has led to endless popular confusion, and not seldom to inaccurate statements by economists themselves.

Adam Smith defines it as "the revenue derived from stock (capital) by the person who manages or employs it" ("Wealth of Nations," i., 7). Mill defines it ("Polit. Econ.," chap. xv., § 1) as "the gains of the person who advances the expenses of production—who, from funds in his possession, pays the wages of the laborers, or supports them during the work, who supplies the requisite buildings, materials, and tools, or machinery; and to whom, by the usual terms of the contract, the produce belongs, to be disposed of at his pleasure."

Jevons ("Primer of Political Economy," p. 52) uses it of wages of superintendence, interest, and recompense for risk. He says:

"The proper share of the capitalist is interest; but this is usually a good deal less than what actually remains in the hands of the capitalist. Business is generally carried on by some capitalist who rents a piece of land, builds a factory, purchases machinery, and then employs men to work the machinery, paying them wages. The capitalist himself often acts as manager, and works every day almost as long as the workmen. When the goods are finished and sold, he keeps the whole of the money he gets for them; but then he has already paid out a large sum as wages, while the goods were being made; another part goes to pay the rent of the land which he has hired. Having struck off these portions, there ought to remain a certain profit, part of which he uses to live upon. But even this profit consists of more than interest upon his capital. It should include also a payment for his labor in superintending the business. The manager of a factory may seldom touch the cotton, flax, iron, or other material, which is manufactured; nevertheless, he works with his head and his pen, calculating the prices at which he can produce goods, inquiring where he can buy the materials most cheaply, choosing good workmen, keeping the accounts straight, and so on. Severe mental labor is really far more difficult and exhausting than manual labor; and in raising up a good business, and carrying it through times of danger, a manager has to undergo great anxiety and mental fatigue. Thus, it is necessary that a successful manager should receive a considerable share of the produce, so as to make it worth his while to give this labor. His share is called the wages of superintendence, and, altho usually much larger than the share of a common laborer, it is really wages of the same nature."

**What
Profit Is**

"Another part of the capitalist's so-called profit ought to be laid aside as recompense for risk. There is always more or less uncertainty in trade, and even the most skilful and careful manager may lose money by circumstances over which he has no control. Sometimes, after building a factory, the demand for the goods which he is going to produce falls off; sometimes the materials cannot be bought; perhaps it is discovered, when too late, that the factory has been built in an unsuitable place; occasionally, too, the workmen are discontented, and refuse to work for such wages as the capitalist can afford to pay. Now, whenever any of these mistakes or misfortunes happen, it is the capitalist who mainly suffers, because he loses a great deal of money, on which he might otherwise have lived comfortably."

Professor Ely uses the word to exclude interest and wages of superintendence. He says ("Political Economy," p. 217, 1st ed.):

"Whatever is left after paying interest, rent, and wages is profits. It is the return which is received for the organization and management of a business at one's risk. It is, strictly speaking, not 'wages of superintendence,' for that may be deducted, and often is deducted."

Profits then may be considered (1) to be what the stockholders or owners of a business receive after those who manage the business have received their "wages of management," after the capital invested or borrowed has received its due interest, and after payment has been made for risk; or (2) profit may be used in a larger sense to include one or more of all these items.

Of the law which governs profits we have many statements. John Stuart Mill says ("Political Economy," 5th London ed., book ii., chap. xv.):

Law of Profits

The lowest rate of profit which can permanently exist is that which is barely adequate, at the given place and time, to afford an equivalent for the abstinence, risk, and exertion implied in the employment of capital. . . . Such, then, is the minimum of profits; but that minimum is exceedingly variable, and at some times and places extremely low; on account of the great variability of two out of its three elements. The rate of necessary remuneration for abstinence, or, in other words, the effective desire of accumulation, differs widely in different states of society and civilization. . . . There is still a wider difference in the element which consists in compensation for risk. . . . But the profits thus vary, the parity, on the whole, of different modes of employing capital (in the absence of any natural or artificial monopoly) is, in a certain and a very important sense, maintained. On an average (whatever be the occasional fluctuations), the various employments of capital are on such a footing as to hold out, not equal profits, but equal expectations of profit, to persons of average abilities and advantages. By equal, I mean after making compensation for any inferiority in the agreeableness or safety of an employment.

Representing much later and, at present, far more generally accepted thought, Professor Marshall says ("Economics of Industry," book vi., chap. viii.):

The profits of a business are the excess of its receipts over its outgoings, and the annual rate of profits is the ratio which the yearly profits bear to the capital invested. We have next to inquire whether there is any general tendency of the rate of profits to equality.

The first difficulty arises from the fact that the outgoings of a business, and therefore its profits, are not always estimated in the same way. This was well pointed out by Adam

Professor Marshall's View

Smith, who said: "The whole drugs which the best employed apothecary in a large market-town will sell in a year may not perhaps cost him above thirty or forty pounds. Tho he should sell them, therefore, for three or four hundred, or a thousand per cent profit, this may frequently be no more than the reasonable wages of his labor in the only way in which he can charge them, upon the price of the drugs. The greater part of the apparent profit is real wages disguised in the garb of profit. In a small seaport town a little grocer will make 40 or 50 per cent upon a stock of a single 100 pounds, while a considerable wholesale merchant in the same place would scarce make 8 or 10 per cent upon a stock of 10,000."

There are even reasons for thinking that the rate of profit, rightly estimated, on large capitals tends to be higher than on small. For of two businesses competing in the same trade, that with the larger capital can nearly always buy at a cheaper rate, and can avail itself of many economies in the specialization of skill and machinery and in other ways, which are out of the reach of the smaller business; while at most the only important advantage which the latter is likely to have consists of its greater facilities for getting near its customers and consulting their individual wants.

There are some trades which require a very high order of ability, but in which it is nearly as easy to manage a very large business as one of moderate size. In rolling-mills, for instance, there is little detail which cannot be reduced to routine, and a capital of £1,000,000 invested in them can be controlled by one able man. A rate of profits of 20 per cent, which is not a very high average rate for some parts of the iron trade, would give the owner of such works earnings of management amounting to more than £150,000 a year. And since ironmasters can with so little additional effort get the earnings of management on an increased capital, wealthy men remain in the trade longer than in most others; and the competition of the great ironmasters with one another is said to have reduced the average rate of profits in the trade below the ordinary level.

The rate of profits is low in nearly all those trades which require very little ability of the highest order, and in which a public or private firm with a good connection and a large capital can hold its own against newcomers, so long as it is managed by men of industrious habits and sound common

sense and a moderate share of enterprise. And men of this kind are seldom wanting either to a well-established public company or to a private firm which is ready to take the ables of its servants into partnership.

We may then conclude, firstly, that the true rate of profits in large businesses is higher than at first sight appears, because much that is commonly counted as profits in the small business ought to be classed under another head. . . .

Profits are exceptionally high where the wages bill is very large, relatively to the capital. . . .

It is obvious that wholesale dealers who buy and sell large quantities of produce in single transactions, and who are able to turn over their capital very rapidly, may make large fortunes, tho their average profits on the turnover are less than 1 per cent; and, in the extreme case of large stock exchange dealings, even when they are only a small fraction of 1 per cent. But a ship-builder, who has to put labor and material into the ship, and to provide a berth for it, a long while before it is ready to sail, and who has to take care for every detail connected with it, must add a very high percentage to his direct and indirect outlay in order to remunerate him for his labor and the locking up of his capital.

Again, in the textile industries, some firms buy raw material and turn out finished goods, while others confine themselves to spinning, to weaving, or to finishing; and it is obvious that the rate of profit on the turnover of one of the first class must be equal to the sum of the rates of profit of one of each of the three other classes. Again, the retail dealers' profit on the turnover is often only 5 or 10 per cent for commodities which are in general demand, and which are not subject to changes of fashion; so that, while the sales are large, the necessary stocks are small, and the capital invested in them can be turned over very rapidly, with very little trouble and no risk. But a profit on the turnover of nearly 100 per cent is required to remunerate the retailer of some kinds of fancy goods which can be sold but slowly, of which varied stocks must be kept, which require a large space for their display, and which a change of fashion may render unsalable except at a loss; and even this high rate is often exceeded in the case of fish, fruit, flowers, and vegetables. . . .

To pass to another point, the number of those who succeed in business is but a small percentage of the whole; and in their hands are concentrated the fortunes of others several times as numerous as themselves, who have made savings of their own, or who have inherited the savings of others and lost them all, together with the fruits of their own efforts, in unsuccessful business. In order, therefore, to find the average profits of a trade we must not divide the aggregate profits made in it by the number of those who are reaping them, nor even by that number added to the number who have failed; but from the aggregate profits of the successful we must subtract the aggregate losses of those who have failed, and perhaps disappeared from the trade; and we must then divide the remainder by the sum of the numbers of those who have succeeded and those who have failed. It is probable that the true gross earnings of management—that is, the excess of profits over interest—is not on the average more than a half, and in some risky trades not more than a tenth part, of what it appears to be to persons who form their estimate of the profitability of a trade by observation only of those who have secured its prizes. There are, however, reasons for thinking that the risks of trade are on the whole diminishing rather than increasing.

John Stuart Mill adds an important point. He says ("Political Economy," book ii., chap. xv., § 5):

To popular apprehension it seems as if the profits of business depended upon prices. A producer or dealer seems to obtain his profits by selling his commodity for more than it cost him. Profit altogether, people are apt to think, is a consequence of purchase and sale. It is only (they suppose) because there are purchasers for a commodity, that the producer of it is able to make any profit.

Demand—customers—a market for the commodity, are the cause of the gains of capitalists. It is by the sale of their goods that they replace their capital and add to its amount.

This, however, is looking only at the outside surface of the economical machinery of society. In no case, we find, is the mere money which passes from one person to another the fundamental matter in any economical phenomenon. If we look more narrowly into the operations of the producer, we shall perceive that the money he obtains for his commodity is not the cause of his having a profit, but only the mode in which his profit is paid to him.

The cause of profit is that labor produces more than is required for its support. The reason why agricultural capital yields a profit is because human beings can grow more food than is necessary to feed them while it is being grown, including the time occupied in constructing the tools and making all other needful preparations; from which it is a consequence that, if a capitalist undertakes to feed the laborers on condition of receiving the produce, he has some of it remaining for himself after replacing his advances. To vary the form of the theorem: the reason why capital yields a profit is because

Labor, the Source of Profit

food, clothing, materials, and tools last longer than the time which was required to produce them; so that if a capitalist supplies a party of laborers with these things, on condition of receiving all they produce, they will, in addition to reproducing their own necessities and instruments, have a portion of their time remaining, to work for the capitalist. We thus see that profit arises, not from the incident of exchange, but from the productive power of labor; and the general profit of the country is always what the productive power of labor makes it, whether any exchange takes place or not. It there were no division of employments, there would be no buying or selling, but there would still be profit. If the laborers of the country collectively produce 20 per cent more than their wages, profits will be 20 per cent, whatever prices may or may not be. The accidents of price may for a time make one set of producers get more than 20 per cent, and another less; the one commodity being rated above its natural value in relation to other commodities, and the other below, until prices have again adjusted themselves; but there will always be just 20 per cent divided among them all.

All economists, however, do not agree with Mill that the cause of profit is that labor produces more than is required for its support. They deny the fact. Mr. Edward Atkinson, e. g., argues that capital is as necessary to labor as labor to capital. He says ("The Industrial Progress of the Nation," p. 147):

Many an honest workman now sincerely contests the equity of distribution by way of capitalists. What is the true answer? There is and there can be but one reply to this question. Labor does not produce the entire product; it only shares in the work as it shares in the product. Without capital labor alone would be almost incapable of sustaining those who constitute the mere working classes in the narrow sense. Capital is a force, and capitalists are those who direct this force. By the direction which the owners or the administrators of capital give to this force, which requires mental work of the most uncommon kind, the joint product of labor and capital is so much increased that even though the capitalist secures to his own use a large part of the joint product, what is left to the workman is more in quantity and in value than he could otherwise have attained by his own unaided efforts.

Mr. Atkinson says elsewhere ("The Distribution of Profits," p. 38): "The late Cornelius Vanderbilt may be taken as an example of a communist in a true sense. He was the greatest communist of his age. He consolidated and perfected the railroad service in such a way that a year's supply of meat and bread can be moved 1,000 miles from the Western prairies to the Eastern workshop at the measure of cost of a single day's wages of a mechanic or artisan in Massachusetts."

Says Mr. George Gunton ("Wealth and Progress," chap. i.):

The idea most prevalent, indeed, well-nigh universal, among working men regarding the production of wealth, to use the official language of the largest labor organization in the world,¹ is: "(1) That labor creates all wealth. (2) That all wealth belongs to those who create it." From this it manifestly follows that all wealth rightfully belongs to the laborer. Hence, all who obtain wealth without his consent do so by cheating him out of the product of his labor, and are "thieves and robbers."

This is not merely the official dogma of a single society, but it constitutes the basis of nearly every proposition and the essence of nearly all economic literature put forth in the name of industrial and social reform. With financial reformers the robbery is labeled "interest and usury"; with land reformers it is "rent," and with the Socialists, in the language of their own economist, Karl Marx, it is "surplus value," which is more sweeping than any of the others, and includes all rents, profits, and interest.

If this formula is correct, and all profits, interest, rents, etc., are "exploitation"—mere plunder of the laborer—clearly the working men would be justified in using any means within their power to take possession of all the wealth in the community, as many of their leaders are expecting them some day to do.

But is it correct? If the first proposition is true, the balance of the formula is indisputable; but if it is not true, then the whole fabric falls, and all efforts at social reformation based upon it must surely fail to produce the desired and expected result.

A very little reflection will suffice to show that this proposition, while seemingly true, is essentially false. . . . There are clearly two sets of forces or two kinds of motor power that can be employed in producing wealth. One is labor power engendered and put forth by human beings; the other is natural power engendered and put forth by material objects,

as capital (machinery, etc.). The former is slow, clumsy, and ineffectual, and capable of very little increase, while the latter is rapid, exact, and powerful, and is capable of indefinite increase.

Accordingly, in proportion as wealth is produced by human labor it is scant and dear, and the masses are poor and barbarous; and according as it is produced by natural forces (steam, etc.) it is abundant and cheap, and the masses are materially prosperous and socially civilized. Thus, e. g., in India, where wealth is produced mainly by human labor, the annual earnings are about £2 (\$10) per capita of the population, as against £33 (\$105) per capita in this country, where human labor supplies the smallest per cent of the productive power of any country in the world.² The same is true of other countries.

Hence we find that in England over 78 per cent of the productive power is furnished by steam, as against 10 per cent in Russia. In Spain, 24; Italy, 34; and Portugal, 42 per cent of the productive power is furnished by human labor, as against 4 per cent in England and America.

It is, therefore, clear that human labor does not, except under the most primitive state of savagery, "create all wealth," and that the social condition of the laborer is not necessarily the best when he gets the whole product; but, on the contrary, wealth is produced by the combined effort of labor and capital, and that, according as the proportion of the total wealth produced by human labor diminishes, the actual amount the laborer receives increases.

Most Fabian Socialists do not hold that labor produces all wealth. They argue that wealth comes from land, labor, and capital. They agree, however, with the Marxian Socialists that labor should get all the wealth, because they believe that all men should labor, and that it is neither wise nor just that one class in the community should own the land and capital and be paid for their use, and another class furnish the labor and be paid for their work. They would have the same men and women (the whole community) own the capital and land and furnish the labor, and so receive the whole product. The Socialist's and the workman's quarrel is not with capital, but with the capitalist; that is, with the wage system where one class does the work and another class furnishes the capital.

Already the share that goes to capital as a whole is falling, even tho, by concentration, a few capitalists are gaining enormous wealth. The profits on capital may fall so low as to fail to induce men to furnish capital or allow them to live on the returns to capital; then a cooperative system will become necessary, or the whole community be compelled to work and be paid by a few successful capitalists who will get enormous returns, at very low rates, from still more enormous investments.

That the rate of profits is falling is not denied. Says Professor Marshall ("Economics of Industry," book ii, chap. xii, §§ 7-8):

The total amount of the earnings of management got by business men in a country may be found by subtracting interest on the whole amount of their own capital from their total net incomes after allowing for all expenses and losses; and, even after allowance has been made for insurance against personal risks, this amount certainly gives a very high rate of wage for the skill and ability of business men. But this rate is not so high as at first sight appears; for great deductions must be made on account of those who have lost their capital in trade. The earnings of the laborer that these men have wasted, together with all the capital that they have lost, must be deducted from the earnings of management got by successful men before the average earnings of management can be found. Those who fail are quickly lost from sight and memory; but their number is very great. It is said that in America three fourths of those who engage in trade become insolvent in the course of the first five years (Bowen, "American Political Economy," chap. x.).

§ 8. The supply of skilled labor is increasing faster than that of unskilled labor, and the supply of business power is

¹ "Polity of the Labor Movement," vol. i., p. 4, published by the Knights of Labor, 1885.

¹ See Mulhall's "Progress of the World," p. 42.

² Ibid., "History of Prices," p. 53.

increasing faster than that of the lower kinds of skilled labor. Thus the competition of business power for the aid of the lower orders of labor in production is increasing. And, as a consequence, the earnings of management that can be got by doing work of a given order of difficulty—the task-earnings of management—are diminishing. The continual increase in the complexity of business, and the continual increase in the amount of capital that can be employed in business under a single management, are indeed giving to business ability of the highest order the opportunities of obtaining greater earnings of management than were ever heard of in earlier generations. But the total amount of the earnings of management is not so high in proportion to the amount of capital employed as it used to be. And the ratio which the earnings of management of a business bear on the average to the capital employed goes on diminishing; and will probably continue to diminish. For the growth of education will increase rapidly the supply of business power that is competing for the aid of hired labor in production; and this competition will prevent the earnings of management from growing as fast as capital is likely to grow.

Since the normal rate of interest is likely to fall, and the ratio which normal earnings of management bear to capital is likely to fall, and since profits are composed of interest and earnings of management, therefore the normal rate of profits is likely to fall. It will not fall rapidly for a time, and then remain stationary at a minimum. But subject to some oscillations its fall will probably be continuous, the increasingly slow, so long as the world is inhabited by men of the same nature with ourselves.

So argues Mr. Edward Atkinson. He says ("The Industrial Progress of the Nation," p. 305):

Under existing institutions and laws the working classes, in the sense in which they use that word, have been securing to their own use and enjoyment an increasing share of an increasing product. 2d. The richer classes controlling and using capital are securing to their use, control, and enjoyment a decreasing share of the same increasing product.

For Mr. Atkinson's proof of this, as also for contrary views, see articles WEALTH and WAGES.

PROFITS (NET): For a discussion of the principles involved, see PROFIT. We are concerned here simply with the facts. Statistics as to net profits, and conclusions deduced from them, must be suspiciously viewed. The "Twenty-first Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor" reports on the net profits of sixty-four manufacturing industries in that state, but even this report has been most severely criticized. We give its conclusions, and some of the criticisms upon it. Says the report (pp. 623-630):

We first bring forward the following general caution:

No one should make use of these tables without careful consideration of the analyses for each industry which follow the tables. These analyses are intended to supplement the tabular presentations, as deductions drawn from the figures alone, without due regard to the analyses, would, in many cases, be misleading.

In the returns as to net profits 10,013 establishments are represented, representing 75.45 per cent of the grand aggregate of capital invested in all establishments in all industries, and in them was produced nearly 70 per cent of the entire product turned out in the manufacturing and mechanical industries in the commonwealth. Of the 10,013 establishments, 9,251, or 92.39 per cent, made a profit, while 762, or 7.61 per cent, did not make a profit. The establishments making a profit had 81.22 per cent of the capital invested, and made 88.77 per cent of the goods manufactured. The establishments not making a profit had 18.78 per cent of the capital invested, and made 11.23 per cent of the goods manufactured. The result for all industries was a net profit amounting to 3.90 per cent of the selling price, and equivalent to 4.83 per cent on the capital invested.

Out of the grand total of \$500,594,377 of capital invested in manufacturing and mechanical industries in the commonwealth, land, buildings, and fixtures are valued at \$118,886,643, or 23.74 per cent of the total; machinery, implements, and tools at \$115,254,330, or 23.03 per cent; cash at \$173,440,947, or 34.65 per cent; and credit at \$93,012,457, or 18.58 per cent. For every \$100 invested the proportions of the details are as follows: Land, buildings, and fixtures, \$24; machinery, implements, and tools, \$23; cash, \$35; credit capital, \$18. The total plant values represent \$47, and the total cash and credit capital, \$53.

As to cost of production, each \$100 of total cost includes the following elements: Stock (including raw or manufactured materials), \$67.67; salaries, \$1.98; wages, \$25.66; rent, 85 cents; taxes, 64 cents; insurance, 38 cents; freight, \$1.46; new equipment, 28 cents; repairs, 93 cents; other expenses, 15 cents; these items aggregating \$100. or 100 per cent, if the items are considered as percentages instead of dollars and cents. By

Cost of Production

total cost is meant the cost to the manufacturer of the completed product, ready for sale, but excluding profit.

As to selling price, each \$100 of selling price includes the following elements: Stock, or materials, \$58.91; salaries, \$1.73; wages, \$22.34; rent, 73 cents; taxes, 56 cents; insurance, 33 cents; freight, \$1.27; new equipment, 24 cents; repairs, 81 cents; expenses not previously enumerated, 13 cents. In each \$100 there is an excess of selling price above the cost of production amounting to \$12.95. This \$12.95 is the manufacturer's gross profit, and is equivalent to 16.01 per cent on the amount of capital invested in, and needed to carry on, his business. These items, as enumerated, including gross profit, aggregate \$100, or 100 per cent, if the items are considered as percentages of selling price instead of dollars and cents. By selling price is meant the price for which a given quantity of manufactured product is sold by the manufacturer, and it includes, as shown above, cost of production, and profit, if any.

Of the sixty-four industries considered in the investigation all but one, print works, dye works, and bleacheries, show an excess of selling price above the cost of production; that is, all but one made a gross profit. The net profit was determined by the following deductions, determined upon after careful consideration:

Interest on cash and credit capital.....	5 per cent
Depreciation in the value of machinery, implements, and tools.....	10 per cent
Allowance for selling expenses, losses, and bad debts.....	5 per cent

After these deductions were made 58 out of 64 industries exhibited a net profit.

The excess of selling price above the cost of production amounts, on an average, to \$12.95 in each \$100 worth of manufactured product. If from this \$12.95 excess are deducted the following: \$2.15 for interest, \$1.90 for depreciation on machinery, implements, and tools, and \$5 for selling expenses, and to make up for losses from bad debts, there will then remain as net profit \$3.90, which is equivalent to 4.83 per cent on the amount of capital invested, or an annual return of \$4.83 upon each \$100 of invested capital.

In private firms, each of 257,656 employees (including both sexes and all ages) receives an average of \$362.23 for annual earnings in return for his labor, while each of 12,558 partners in private firms, with an average investment of \$10,701, receives an average net profit of \$517 in return for his money investment and his labor.

In corporations, each of 162,310 employees (including both sexes and all ages) receives an average of \$333.22 for annual earnings in return for his labor, while each of 30,967 stockholders in corporations, with an average investment of \$7,857, receives an average net profit of \$379 in return for his money investment, mainly, as comparatively few stockholders render any personal service, unless paid salaries therefor, to the corporations in which they are financially interested.

As a general result in all industries it appears that: First, in private firms, the percentage of the average yearly earnings of each employee of the average net profit to each partner is 70.02, or a little more than seven tenths; second, in corporations, the percentage of the average yearly earnings of each employee of the average net profit to each stockholder is 87.86, or a little more than seven eighths. These figures show the narrow money margin between the earnings of employees and the net profits of partners and stockholders.

If net profits are added to the wages fund, and the sum is divided equally among the employees, the employees of private firms would receive, on the average, an increase of \$37.47, or 10.34 per cent, on their present average annual earnings; the employees of corporations would receive an advance of \$89.44, or 26.84 per cent, while the employees of all establishments, including both private firms and corporations, would receive an advance of \$57.55, or 16.40 per cent, on the average, above their present average annual earnings.

Eliminating 71,025 partners and stockholders, and assuming that all the gross profits and the wages fund go to the employees, then each employee, regardless of sex or age, would receive \$541.86 for an annual income, or \$10.42 per week on the average. Of the employees now employed in manufacturing industries in Massachusetts 38.79 per cent receive more than \$10 per week under the present application of the wage system.

If gross profits are added to the wages fund, and the sum is divided equally among the employees, the employees of private firms would receive, on an average, an increase of \$124.24, or 34.30 per cent, on their present average annual earnings; the employees of corporations would receive an advance of \$296.55, or 89 per cent, while the employees of all establishments, in-

cluding private firms and corporations, would receive an advance of \$190.84, or 54.07 per cent, on the average, above their present average annual earnings.

In the case of private firms, if net profits and wages are added together, and divided equally between the employees and partners, the employer thus sharing alike with each of his employees, the amount falling to each would be \$360.15; in the case of corporations, each employee and stockholder would receive \$334.57, while, as a grand aggregate for all establishments (including private firms and corporations), the wages fund and net profits combined would give \$349.47 to each employee, partner, or stockholder.

On the share-and-share-alike plan (or an equal division among employees, partners, and stockholders of the net profits and wages fund combined), the average annual earnings per employee would have been \$349.47 instead of \$351.02, or a decrease of 0.44 per cent; the net profits per partner would have been \$349.47 instead of \$341.20, or an increase of 2.42 per cent; and the net profits per stockholder would have been \$349.47 instead of \$339.71, or an increase of 2.87 per cent.

Assuming that giving the entire net profits or the entire gross profits to labor would be more than just to labor, and consequently unfair to capital, and also assuming that the share-and-share-alike plan is just and fair to both labor and capital, these results prove that the average financial condition of the employee shown under the wage system is slightly better, as a general average, than it would have been if the net profits had been added to the wages fund, and the sum equally divided between the employees and their employers.

The average annual financial returns to the employee from the wage system, and from a plan in which the net profits and the wages fund, if combined, were divided equally between employees and their employers, are substantially the same, the variation being but \$1.55 per year, that sum being the excess paid by the wage system over and above what would have been derived from the share-and-share-alike plan.

The report says further, pp. 629-630:

The results of the investigation seem to warrant the inference that material improvement in the workman's condition is not to be expected from an increase of his money wages gained by adding thereto a portion of the profits now absorbed by capital, but rather from an increase in his real wages, gained through materially increased production, accompanied by materially reduced prices, with consequent increased consumption; the rise in the standard of living implied by the increased consumption being accompanied and still further raised by reduced hours of labor.

In the light of the results, too, it would seem that theories of industrial reform which relate chiefly to changes in the mode of distribution of the existing results of production should give place in importance to plans involving an increase in production itself, whereby both labor and capital may have more, without diminishing the amount which either now receives.

So far as cooperation, profit-sharing, or any other scheme of industrial reform involves an increase of production, so far it moves in the right direction. But the success of any such scheme would seem to rest

Conclusions largely upon its power to augment production in the aggregate, by stimulating endeavor, diminishing waste, promoting harmony, simplifying management, or otherwise, rather than in the changes it might introduce in the mode of division of the fruits of production.

The general results of the investigation indicate average conditions—but no one sees such conditions. We see the exceptionally prosperous establishment, or the very rich manufacturer, and are apt to consider that all manufacturing is equally prosperous, and all manufacturers equally rich. The bankruptcy court shows the other side of the picture, but its records do not appeal to the eye or the imagination as does a large factory or an imposing mansion.

The results, on the percentage basis, for net profits show that in few industries, if any, can the profits be called exorbitant, all things considered, for we find the largest percentages of net profit in the small industries, while large industries involve small profits, and, sometimes, large losses. As to the general result for all industries, no one, we think, will maintain that the percentage of net profit is excessive. While it is true that this conclusion is based upon an average, and may not show the condition in any one industry, it must be remembered that any of the proposed changes so frequently urged for the improvement of our industrial system must be measured by its effect upon average conditions, and that such changes may be fairly tested by comparing the new averages resulting from them with those based upon conditions now prevailing.

Where are we, then, to look for the margin between cost of production and the price to the consumer? If neither the workman nor his employer is profiting unduly by the present system, may it not be possible that the middleman, or the distributor of wealth in its various forms, may be securing more than his rightful share, and is thus bearing down upon the two extremes between which he is placed? Are not the creators and the consumers of wealth suffering in common

from the exactions of the distributors of wealth? This question cannot be answered from data now at hand, but it is evident that the mechanism of distribution, as well as the mechanism of production, must be brought to the statistical basis before the final solution of the question of profits will be secured.

This report, however, seems open to the severest criticism. Says the *Christian Union* for Oct. 3, 1891:

The Massachusetts returns were utterly untrustworthy. One large industry reported a net loss amounting to 28 per cent of the value of the goods sold. Yet the returns of the manufacturers are much less misleading than the deductions of the commissioner who has edited them. The manufacturers in estimating their profits naturally deducted whatever they paid as rent, and this amounted to 4 per cent upon the capital invested in lands and buildings. The commissioner obligingly supplements this deduction by a further one of 5 per cent for "interest" upon the cash and credit capital invested. The manufacturers in estimating their profits have naturally deducted 3 per cent upon the value of the goods sold for "salaries and freight." The commissioner obligingly makes the further deduction of 5 per cent for "selling expenses and loss through bad debts." The manufacturers in estimating their profits had naturally deducted for "new equipments and repairs" an amount equal to 6 per cent upon the capital invested in machinery and tools. The commissioner obligingly makes a further deduction for "depreciation" of an amount equal to 10 per cent upon the capital invested in machinery and tools. By this means the profits are whittled down from 16 per cent, as reported by the manufacturers, to 4½ per cent, as returned by the commissioner. That this report should have been published by the Bureau of the Statistics of Labor shows the direction which has been given to the work of this department. The figures leave no one wiser than before and could have been published only from a desire to help manufacturers by representing that, after all, their business is in a bad way, and that higher wages, shorter hours, and lower tariff are not to be thought of. The department might better be called the "Bureau of the Statistics of Capital."

Mr. Frederick B. Hawley ("American Statistical Association Publications," 1893, vol. iii., p. 38) also severely criticizes the Massachusetts report. He finds many suspicious points in the report, all pointing one way. The great cotton-goods industry is reported as selling at a net loss of 10.91 per cent of the selling price. Says Mr. Hawley:

The cotton-goods industry, like others, has its ups and downs, but I do not believe it ever had as bad a year as this. But if the figures are correct, then it follows that the choice of that year for gathering of the original data was an unfortunate one.

Yet it employed 27.33 per cent of the capital and 11.55 per cent of the whole output of the 10,013 establishments reported, and vitiates the final conclusion, Mr. Hawley calculates, by no less than 64.61.

On the other hand a business man writes to the Statistical Association that, adding together the total dividends of all the larger manufacturing and other companies in Massachusetts which have not changed their capital from 1882 to 1892, he gets \$24,420,913, and he also says that Jan. 1, 1892, their stocks could be bought for \$11,005,913 less than Jan. 1, 1882, and that, deducting this from the dividends, we have \$13,415,446 as the net dividends, which would make only 2.68 per cent a year.

Such contradictory statements as these show the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of making any correct general statements as to net profits. It depends very largely upon what is included under profits. (See PROFIT.) This is true of all industries. It is particularly true of mercantile establishments. Some great stores are said, on good authority, to make 25 per cent profit on their capital; many make little or none, and vast numbers go into bankruptcy. Of the railroads it is almost as difficult to speak, because of the dif-

ferences of bookkeeping. Many railroads declare small and often no dividends. The inference would seem to be that they are making low net profits or none at all. This, however, by no means necessarily follows. It is true, undoubtedly, of some roads, but of many roads it is simply a matter of bookkeeping. Watered stock accounts for a part of it. Railroads with watered stock try to pay dividends on capital never paid in. (See STOCK-WATERING.) Duplication in accounts explains much. Railroads absorb small roads, and in their accounts the capitalization and bonds of the smaller roads appear both separately and added to the capital of the main road. Salaries and jobs granted to the officers of the road account for much. Sums put down as expenses of maintenance really often mean immense profits for some favored few. Hence, roads nominally making nothing often immensely enrich some of their owners. Undoubtedly, however, the legitimate net profits of many forms of investment are not large. Most of the large fortunes made in industrial investments are made in more or less illegitimate gambling in stocks, the buying and bearing of railroads, or in monopolies, natural or the creatures of the law. (For a discussion of this, see WEALTH.)

It follows from this view that, if social reformers would increase wages, and lower profits, thus equalizing distribution, what they must strive for is not so much the increase of wages in legitimate industry, as for a change in laws and customs allowing of the immense profits made to-day by speculation in natural or artificial monopolies. Most reformers believe, to-day, that a more equitable distribution must come from change of system rather than from mere generosity on the part of employers. That in some way immense net profits are made to-day, the facts of the distribution of wealth, both in England and America, abundantly prove (see WEALTH).

PROFIT-SHARING: This system of industrial remuneration has been defined as "the division of realized profits between the capitalist, the employer, and the employee, in addition to regular interest, salary, and wages"; and it is claimed by its advocates to be "the most equitable and generally satisfactory method of remunerating the three industrial agents."¹

It has also been defined by the International Congress, held in connection with the Paris Exposition in the summer of 1889, as "a voluntary agreement under which the employee receives a share, fixed beforehand, in the profits of the business."

Participation of the workmen in the profits of business undertakings is, historically, a method first prominently associated with the name of the Parisian house-painter and decorator, Edme Jean Leclaire (*q. v.*). As a youth he became an apprentice to a house-painter in Paris, and showed himself remarkably diligent in his work. He set up for himself in 1827, and his first great stroke of business was a contract for painting seven houses in 1829, by which he cleared 6,000 francs; he paid his men 5 fr. per day on this job, instead of the usual 4 fr. In 1838 he established a mutual aid society for them, which he found "a powerful means of moralization." But he desired, furthermore, to provide for his men in their old

age, and in case of a change in the ownership of the business. A friend, M. Frégier, told him that he saw no solution to the problem except in the participation of the workmen in the profits of the master. "This was in 1835," writes Leclaire. "My head was too thoroughly crammed with all the ideas of the economists and reformers of the time to relish this proposition. It appeared to me entirely impracticable. I rejected it emphatically." But all at once, five years later, he perceived that he might have made a great mistake in his reasoning. He could not afford to take out from his average profits a sum sufficient to help his workmen much. But would not an industrial partnership "create, by the common effort, in view of the division of profit, and with the energy so called forth," a further return beyond the average, which would not only pay the workman a bonus, but might even increase the profits of the employer? Are there not, in the common workman, moral qualities to which the simple wages system makes slight appeal, because it leaves the inspiring word "profit" out of the workman's vocabulary, with all its implications of ambition, zeal, and persistence? Would not the prospect of a share in the profits of business advance the prosperity of the establishment by increasing the quantity of the product, by improving its quality, by promoting care of implements and machinery, and economy of materials, and by diminishing labor difficulties and the cost of superintendence? Leclaire tried the experiment cautiously, beginning in 1842, after due preparation; and he soon found that all these questions were answered by experience with a decided affirmative.

His workmen, despite his many efforts for their good and his careful preparations for the new scheme, were suspicious at first, but the first bonus changed their feelings. On Feb. 12, 1843, Leclaire distributed to forty-four workmen 12,266 fr. When he was a candidate for the Constituent Assembly, in 1848, he stated in his electoral address that he had distributed in six years 112,588 fr. The number of participants had risen to ninety-eight. "This is what we can do without touching any one's property; this is what I have practised for six years; I have found my profit in it, and others also."

In 1853 Leclaire associated with himself M. Alfred Defournaux, the son of an overseer, who had grown up in the house, and the Mutual Aid Society was reconstituted for a second term of fifteen years, its entire resources to consist of annual donations from the house. In 1860 the time limit was abolished, and retiring pensions established. In 1863 the Mutual Aid Society was incorporated and became a perpetual sleeping partner with limited liability in Leclaire et Cie. Of its accumulated capital, 116,442 fr., 100,000 fr. were invested in the firm at 5 per cent interest. It received 20 per cent of the net profits, while 30 per cent went to the workmen as a bonus calculated on wages. This was the result of twenty-one years' trial of profit-sharing. In 1865 Leclaire withdrew from active business; in 1869 the system was thoroughly revised, and in 1871 a resolution was passed admitting to a share in the profits the apprentices and auxiliary workmen. Henceforth, even a single day's work entitled a transient employee to a share in the bonus. Leclaire died at Herblay, near Paris, in 1872, leaving a fortune of 1,200,000 fr., which he attributed largely to his system of participation,

¹ "Profit-Sharing Between Employer and Employee," by N. P. Gilman, p. 412.

The Maison Leclaire is now an elaborate and almost ideal industrial partnership. It has two managing partners and one sleeping partner, the Mutual Aid Society. The society

The Maison Leclaire

holds half of the capital of 400,000 fr. and each partner a fourth. If, when a new partner is chosen by the men, he has not this amount of capital, the acquisition of it is rendered easy for him. The reserve fund is 100,000 fr. When it falls below this amount a first levy of 10 per cent is to be made upon the profits of the year until it is restored to its normal size. Capital receives 5 per cent interest, and each manager 1,200 fr. as salary for superintendence. After interest, salary for management, and any needed sum for the reserve fund have been taken from the gross profits of the year, the net profit is thus divided: One quarter part goes to the two partners, a second to the society, and the remaining half to the working force in proportion to wages and the number of hours' work done. Between 1870 and 1886 the number of participants varied from 710 to 1,125, the total of wages paid from 406,414 fr. to 1,069,905, the total bonus from 61,625 fr. to 240,050, and the ratio of bonus to wages from 12 to 24 per cent. The liability of the workmen is confined to their interest in the reserve fund, which has never yet been drawn upon to pay losses.

The *noyau*, or nucleus, is an important feature in the Maison Leclaire. The conditions of membership are five years' service in the house; age between twenty-five and forty; ability to read, write, and cipher; skill in work, and good moral character. The membership is kept at nearly the same figure; the members have a first claim to employment in bad times; it supplies men for vacancies in the clerical force, from which it elects a new partner on occasion. It chooses eight members of the committee of conciliation, the partners being the other two. This committee takes cognizance of any misconduct in the force, and examines candidates for admission. The *noyau* chooses the foreman each year from a list submitted by the managers. Membership in the *noyau* is a condition for admission to the Mutual Aid Society, which is thoroughly organized and generously administered, giving aid in sickness, at death, and in pensions and life-insurance policies. In 1887 its property was 2,053,618 fr.

The workman in the Maison Leclaire receives the highest wages paid in his craft in Paris; a year's bonus varying from 12 to 24 per cent; in case of sickness 5 fr. a day; in case of permanent disability, a pension of 1,200 fr., and he may retire on such a pension after twenty years' service. His sons are preferred as apprentices, and at his death 1,000 fr. of life-insurance are paid to his family and the funeral expenses defrayed. The standard of skill and character corresponds to these exceptional advantages. Peace and good-will reign in the establishment, and its long career of more than sixty years of prosperity has made it the classic instance of profit-sharing elaborately developed.

The profit-sharing firms of France are now some 125 in number. Among the more important cases, for size and length of trial of the system, are the noted Bon Marché of Paris, employing 3,000 persons, and doing a business of \$30,000,000 a year; the immense Chaix printing house of Paris; the great Godin foundries at Guise, with a capital of 6,000,000 fr., and

the Laroche-Joubert paper works at Angoulême, with its thousand employees.

The French Society for the Practical Study of Profit-Sharing, founded in 1879, is a flourishing organization. Membership in the society is confined to business men practising the system.

In Germany and other countries of the Continent the heads of some 70 firms would be eligible to such membership.

In the United States it is a conservative estimate that there are now half a hundred firms practising profit-sharing. No list of such firms has been published since

United States

1891. The manufacturing company the head of which is Mr. N. O. Nelson (*q. v.*), of St. Louis, is, in several ways, the most conspicuous of all American profit-sharing enterprises.

The N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company, at Edwardsville, Ill., is situated within an hour's ride of St. Louis. In this village, Leclaire (*q. v.*), the building of a home is rendered easy by the Cooperative Building Association and special facilities provided by the company; a large clubhouse is managed by a considerable number of men, who lodge and board in it at a moderate price; all the buildings are provided with water, steam-heat, electric light, good drainage, and nearly every other convenience of a city house; provision for amusements has not been overlooked.

The first year's dividend, paid by the company in 1887, was 5 per cent on wages; the next, 10 per cent; the third, 10 per cent; the fourth, 8 per cent; the fifth, 10 per cent; the sixth, 7 per cent, and the seventh, 4 per cent; making 54 per cent in seven years, or, practically, 8 per cent a year. In 1893 the company succeeded in paying its full force full wages for full time (a nine-hour day), but earned no bonus. The dividends for the first five years were paid in cash, but employees were always at liberty to take it in stock, and about three fourths did so. After having paid the dividends in cash for five years, the company took up the plan of paying only in stock; it has always been a rule to redeem the stock at par, when the holder leaves the company's employ.

Two other cases of profit-sharing in the United States deserving particular attention are the Bourne Cotton-Mills at Fall River, Mass., and the Procter & Gamble Soap Works at Cincinnati. (For a full account of these two cases, and of the Nelson case, see "A Dividend to Labor," part iii.)

The cause of profit-sharing is ably represented in Great Britain by the Labor Copartnership Association. In its monthly paper, *Copartnership*, it states its principles briefly thus, with an indication of the results (issue for Aug., 1907): "Our object is to bring about an organization of industry based on the principle of labor copartnership; that is to say, a system in which all those engaged shall share in the profit, capital, control, and responsibility. With this view we seek (1) in the cooperative movement to aid by propaganda and advice all forms of production based on the above principle. (2) In other businesses to induce employers and employed to adopt schemes of profit-sharing and investment tending in the same direction. This system is no mere dream. Independent of the copartnership steps taken by ordinary businesses, the principle is carried out by British productive businesses,

organized by working men, which, at the end of 1906, numbered 120; had a capital of £1,938,980; sold in the year £3,806,156 worth of goods; made a net profit of £187,501 (after deducting losses); and paid to labor, in addition to provident funds, a sum not easily ascertained, but exceeding £22,308, as labor's share of the results over and above standard wages. In some, the part of labor, whether in profit or in management, is smaller, and in some larger, but in all there is co-partnership."

The number of cases in England where profit-sharing is at present in effect in the "ordinary businesses" just mentioned is 82, according to the latest figures of the Board of Trade. Among these instances of profit-sharing some having special interest are Fox Bros., woolen manufacturers, Wellington, Somerset (now the oldest instance, going back of 1866); J. T. & J. Taylor, of Batley (fourteen years); Hazell, Watson & Viney, printers, of London; Wm. Thomson & Sons, woolens, Huddersfield (twenty years); Clarke, Nicholls & Coombs, of London, confectioners; and Sir W. G. Armstrong, White-worth & Co., the immense engineering works. The most notable development in a particular business, however, is in the manufacture of gas. Here the South Metropolitan Company of London has followed the counsels of Sir George Livesey, the managing director, with the striking result shown in the first line of figures of the following table, which also shows the experience of four other gas companies, influenced by the

companies, is that since 1898 the former has had three workmen directors on its board, chosen by the workmen, and the latter also has had such directors. (The Consolidated Gas Company of Boston, Mass., has recently put into effect a stock-sharing plan like that of these English companies.)

In view of this record a recent utterance of Sir George Livesey, now chairman of the company, may be quoted. At the annual meeting of the Labor Copartnership Association, held Oct. 31, 1906, he moved this resolution:

"That this meeting, recognizing the serious inequalities which abound in the existing social system, affirms its belief in the principle of copartnership, by which labor and capital are united in a common endeavor to produce and distribute wealth in the most efficient manner, and hopes that both employers and employed will give increasing support to an industrial method so well calculated to solve some of our most acute social problems."

He then said he had studied the industrial question very closely since 1889, and he did not think that employers and employed were getting closer together under the present wage system. The remedy, he believed, was to be found in the union of capital and labor in the same hands. Co-partnership united capital and labor and also enabled the laborer to become the owner of property. In advocating copartnership as the remedy, he was simply stating what he believed to be the absolute truth. Mere profit-sharing did not in his experience go far enough. The distribution of profits each year in cash did

PARTICULARS OF COPARTNERSHIP AND PROFIT-SHARING IN BRITISH GAS COMPANIES

NAME OF COMPANY	No. of years scheme has been in operation	Capital in 1906. Total share and loan	No. of employees under agreement for profit-sharing or copartnership	Amount divided among employees for year ending June, 1906	Amount per cent on wages	Total profit to employees since scheme was adopted	Amount of shares and deposits held by employees in the company. Market value (about)
		£	about	£		£	£
South Metropolitan.....	Since 1889	8,245,445	5,000	43,962	9½	345,214	309,000
Commercial.....	Since 1901	2,478,280	1,236	5,742	5½	23,446	30,043
South Suburban.....	Since 1893	788,415	532	2,867	6	24,920	27,000
Newport.....	Since 1900	291,151	300	401	2.41	2,103	1,524
Chester.....	Since 1901	181,413	69	284	5	795	981

example of the South Metropolitan Company. (See the full account of this company's scheme in "A Dividend to Labor," pp. 317-323.)

It will be seen that the total sums credited to the employees under the schemes for the year ending June 30, 1906, was no less than £53,256, while the aggregate amount since the schemes were adopted exceeds £396,478, and the total amount capitalized equals £368,548. It is expected that the total amount standing to the credit of the 7,137 employees in the capital of the companies in two years will be not far short of £500,000. What this great sum, owned by men most of whom before the adoption of these schemes probably never possesed a penny after they had paid their debts, means in freedom from anxiety, stimulus to careful habits and forethought, and all that goes to add to happiness and strengthen character, it is difficult to overestimate. On the face of it it is clear that not only are the individual workmen the gainers, but, as is the case with all genuine progressive steps, the community gains too. One thing at any rate these schemes show, and that is that labor copartnership is practicable in gas companies, and if these alone throughout the country would take the matter up, as five have already done, the improvement in the lives of some tens of thousands of workmen would be great indeed.

The most striking point about the scheme of the South Metropolitan and the South Suburban

not encourage thrift because often those among whom the profits were divided did not make the best use of them. Copartnership meant that the workers would have a sense of responsibility because as shareholders they would experience the effects of bad times as well as of good. When the South Metropolitan gas scheme was started the share of profits was paid in cash, with the option of investment, but only about 45 per cent of the men invested. In 1894 it was decided that half the amount due should be credited to the men as stock in the company and the balance paid in cash. Now, practically every pound allotted is invested, the men realizing that it is much to their advantage to let their share of profit accumulate. Of the £43,000 allotted to the men last July none had been withdrawn, except that paid to men leaving or in respect of workmen who had died. To-day every man in regular employ was a shareholder, the total amount invested being over £300,000. Copartnership, continued Sir George, increased the workers' self-respect and removed the fear that in

old age they would be in want. To show how the men had benefited he said that eleven of them employed in one department held between them £2,000 in the company, while one man had £400. Sir George referred to the many difficulties that had to be contended with in carrying out the scheme, the men having to be educated up to it step by step, but he did not see why other companies should not put copartnership into operation as his own had done.

Profit-sharing is a conservative movement.

It attempts to recall, as far as is possible under the changed conditions of modern industry, the old sentiment of partnership felt when the shoe manufacturer in his small shop worked at the same bench with his few

employees, or when the farm was let on shares, or the catch of the fishing schooner was apportioned among the crew. We can no longer divide the actual products of industry among the workers. But we can modify the wage system, and strengthen it at a weak point, by adding to fixt wages a variable bonus, dependent on the workman's zeal. Industrial partnership, again, has this singular advantage over the socialisms of the day, and even over the more sober scheme of productive cooperation: it pays due respect to the two great principles of modern society which must find a *modus vivendi*—democracy and aristocracy. Those who would solve all industrial troubles by a resort to the easy but deceptive analogy of democratic government, and the erection of an "industrial republic," declare that profit-sharing is not a practical reform, that it is unjust to the workman, since the bonus is bestowed as a gift and not as a right, and that, in reality, it intensifies the evils of the wage system by making the workingman more dependent on the employer. These objections by Socialists and revolutionary reformers have the character usual in criticism of moderate and statesmanlike measures by theorists. The practicability of the system has been amply proved by many firms in long years of trial. The bonus tends steadily to become a fixt and regular addition to wages, dependent not on the mere will of the employer, but on a written agreement and the results of the year. In its developed and logical form, profit-sharing makes the transition to cooperative production more gradual, easy, and sure than any other method yet devised. Its advocates do not find any objection to it in the fact that the employer often profits by the system as well as the employee, but this fact seems sufficient to stamp the plan as iniquitous in the eyes of so-called reformers who consider that the employer should either lose or, at least, not profit by any change in existing methods. A system advantageous to both parties fails to commend itself to such very partial thinkers! Profit-sharing, on the contrary, starting from the actual state of things, would modify this in the interest of both parties and to the injury of neither; and here is its recommendation to the enlightened employer and the sensible workingman.

It is not on the ground of abstract justice or inherent right—these are matters about which it is very easy to be mistaken—but on the ground of ordinary human nature and actual experiment, that the advocate of profit-sharing bases his confidence in its gradual diffusion.

He can now appeal to a large body of experience in favor of his claim that a regular dividend to labor out of profits is one of the next steps which the evolution of industry is likely to follow in numerous quarters. The chief reason why profit-sharing has not made greater progress than the above figures show, is undoubtedly the common opposition of the trade-unions. How far this opposition is justifiable from the standpoint of the general welfare of society we cannot here take room to consider. Profit-sharing is a move by the employer toward industrial peace; if it is not accepted by the workman, the latter should offer, if he can, a system better calculated to advance the interests of both parties.

For details of the history of profit-sharing and its present condition, and a full statement of the argument for it, see "Profit-Sharing Between Employer and Employee," chap. ix. of "Socialism and the American Spirit," and "A Dividend to Labor" (part iii. and appendices), by N. P. Gilman (a bibliography may be found in the first work, continued in the other two volumes); "Profit-Sharing Between Capital and Labor," by Sedley Taylor; "Profit-Sharing and the Labor Question," by T. W. Bushill (an employer); "Sharing the Profits," by Mary W. Calkins; "La Participation aux Bénéfices," the French translation of Dr. Victor Böhmert's work, with additions, revised edition; "Guide Pratique pour l'Application de la Participation aux Bénéfices," par A. Trombert; "Methods of Industrial Remuneration," by D. F. Schloss, third edition; "History of Cooperation in the United States"; the "Bulletin of the French Society"; *Copartnership*, the monthly organ of the Labor Copartnership Association of London, and the annual reports of the Labor Department of the Board of Trade since 1894, usually summarized in the *Labor Gazette* of the department.

N. P. GILMAN.

OBJECTIONS TO PROFIT-SHARING

1. That it is not practical, not being suited to the times. The distinguishing economic characteristic of the present time is a tendency to combination. Firms that will not enter into combines, or are not themselves doing a very large business, are troubled not as to the way in which to share their profits, but as to their inability to make any profits to share. In the best times many firms make no profits. Profit-sharing is scarcely then applicable except to great monopolies and the strongest firms. Of the seven instances in New England cited by Professor Bemis ("Cooperation in New England," by Professor Bemis, in publications of the American Economic Association, Nov., 1886), one, a shoe establishment of Brockton, Mass., was not a case of profit-sharing, but a percentage on capital paid in by workmen; one, the New Haven Wire Company, merely proposed the plan to the employees, which was rejected; and only one of the entire seven had ever paid a dividend. Mr. Paul Monroe states, in the *American Journal of Sociology* for May, 1896, that of 50 cases of profit-sharing only 12 continue. Its friends claim that in many cases of discontinuance the failure was due, not to anything inherent in the system, but to intrinsic causes. This is true and is the most damaging and conclusive testimony against the system. It is not suited to the times. Extrinsic causes

usually prevent its successful operation. Its diagnosis of present evils does not go deep enough. Employers can rarely practise it, and employees care little for it.

2. Even when successful, as it is in a few strong firms, it is of questionable advantage to working men. Unless coupled with other reforms, which are not profit-sharing, it gives the worker no voice in the management. It does not develop the responsibility of the worker. Its advocates claim, indeed, that while it does not do everything it is at least a practical first step to-day toward industrial partnership. This, its critics say, is not the case. In their view it is not a step toward industrial democracy or fraternity. It intensifies paternalism. It says, "If you, the worker, will work a little harder, we, the management, will give you a slight share of your increased earnings." Mr. Monroe (see above) sums up the case as to profit-sharing by declaring it of some importance from a statistical point of view, but little, if any, from that of social progress.

3. Profit-sharing is unjust.

Says a recent writer—we abridge his words:

There is only one party to it, and that is the employer. He proposes it; he decides when a surplus of profits exists, and how much it is; he lays down rules for apportionment and distribution among employees; in a word, he manages the business and the books without any right of interference or question by employees, and from his decision there is no appeal. All these things give profit-sharing the appearance of a gift bestowed, whereas it is a payment earned. It is not legally a gift which must take effect immediately; it is a mere promise without consideration, and cannot be enforced. Wage-workers demand not merely greater wages, which they have already obtained, but a greater proportionate share of products in accordance with the new ethics of social justice. Profit-sharing not only offers no balm for this, the real wound of industrial society, but aggravates the difficulty. Mr. Gilman, in the work above quoted (pp. 415-416), says that employers who have adopted profit-sharing generally agree that the division of a bonus among the working men is good business policy; . . . in most cases they claim that their own share is greater than the whole profits were under the simple wage system." By what means has their share become "greater"? Through whose efforts are they enriched by extra profits? Says Mr. Gilman: "Out of this extra profit comes the share of men whose diligence and care have created it."

Profit-sharing thus reduces the proportionate share of workmen. If extra profits, or, in other words, more goods, are produced solely by the "diligence and care" of employees, to them should belong the goods. No part of them should go to capital, for this has played no part in creating the surplus: no part should go to the employer, for he has done actually less. Every consideration of justice demands that laborers, who have by increased exertion produced more, should alone have the fruit of their labor. To bestow a part of this on the laborer, and a part on the employer, is what profit-sharing graciously offers to do!

4. Profit-sharing misleads. It has been before the world fifty years. Largely tried, it has to-day only 108 firms in all the United States and Great Britain. Meanwhile the social question is developing a crisis around the world. Society demands deeper remedies than what has accomplished so little in fifty years, and that of doubtful good.

PROGRESS (UNITED STATES): The table on pages 968, 969 is compiled from the monthly summary of the U. S. Bureau of Statistics for March, 1907.

PROHIBITION: The object of Prohibitionists is to obtain laws prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, except for the purpose of manufacturing industries, science and art, and medicine. They argue that this is advisable because vast sums of money are annually wasted by the people in the purchase of liquor, and its

consumption reduces the productiveness of labor; because pauperism and crime are largely increased thereby; because the habit of drinking renders the citizen less able to serve in the defense of government, when necessary, or to perform his part in the upbuilding of the nation, and because the government should protect the defenseless women and children, who are most injured by drunkenness. They also urge that the sale of liquor as an organized business is an element of corruption in national life. The opponents of prohibition dispute some of the facts of its advocates; assert that drunkenness is rather the accompaniment than the cause of pauperism and crime, and argue that, in any event, prohibitory laws cannot be enforced, and that some other system will be more effectual in restraining the sale of liquor. They also contend that prohibitory laws infringe the individual liberty of the citizen. On Dec. 5, 1887, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered an important decision, holding that it is within the discretionary police powers of a state to protect public health, safety, and morals, even by the destruction of property, and that the Kansas laws, providing for the destruction, without compensation, of property used in connection with liquor-selling, do not violate the provision in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the U. S., nor shall any state deprive any person of . . . property, without due process of law." A prohibitory law was passed in Maine in 1846, and in 1851 a more stringent one, including the provision for the seizure and destruction of intoxicating liquors (known as the "Maine Law," and drafted by Neal Dow), was enacted, and has since been in force, except

History

for the years 1856 and 1857. Vermont in 1852, New Hampshire in 1855, and Connecticut in 1854 passed the Maine law. New York enacted a similar law in 1855, but it was promptly declared unconstitutional by the courts on account of the exposure to confiscation of liquors owned prior to its passage. A prohibition law was enacted in Indiana in 1855, but declared unconstitutional, and was repealed in 1858. Illinois also had a nominal prohibition law, 1851-53. Ohio and Michigan, by their constitutions, forbade the passage of a license law. A prohibitory amendment to the constitution of Kansas was ratified by the people in 1890, and this has been enforced by legislation. A similar amendment was passed in Iowa in 1882, and had a large popular majority, but in the next year it was pronounced invalid because of informalities in its passage. In 1884 a prohibitory law was passed by the legislature. Alaska was placed under prohibition in 1887 by executive order of President Cleveland. Rhode Island has at various times had prohibitory statutes in force. North and South Dakota were admitted to the Union in 1890 as prohibition states. The Indian Territory was early placed under prohibition by act of Congress and the prohibitions were added to by legislation of the Indian "nations." Georgia passed a prohibitory statute in 1907, exceedingly stringent and far-reaching in its terms, and Oklahoma, on Sept. 17 of the same year, adopted a constitution containing a prohibitory clause.

Prohibition in Vermont was repealed in 1902 by political agitation. The same thing came to pass in New Hampshire in 1903. Connecticut repealed

the law in 1872. Rhode Island repealed her latest prohibition law in 1889. Iowa nullified the prohibition law by enacting the "mulct law" (to all intents a license law) in 1894. Ohio retains its antilicense constitution, but legalizes the liquor traffic under a "tax." Michigan repealed prohibition in 1875. South Dakota repealed its law in 1896, and Congress voted a license law for Alaska in 1899.

The year 1907 closes with five prohibition states, including the new State of Oklahoma—Maine, Kansas, North Dakota, Georgia, and Oklahoma, and probably Alabama.

It may properly be said here that in spite of all that is alleged to the contrary, prohibitory law has never been a "failure" in any of the states where it has been tried, tho, on account of political corruption, it has frequently lacked much of accomplishing the full results desired. Its repeal, in every case, has been secured by tremendous efforts upon the part of the liquor interests which have resorted to misrepresentation, bribery, intimidation, and frauds of the grossest character.

The year 1907 witnessed a marked revival of the prohibition idea, especially in the South, where already (see article LOCAL PROHIBITION) there is much territory under no-license law. North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama are believed to be upon the eve of passing prohibitory laws.

I. What Prohibition Means

Prohibition, the opposite of permission, is not a synonym of annihilation. Those who say, "Prohibition does not prohibit"—a self-contradictory proposition—mean that prohibition does not annihilate. This is manifestly true of all kinds of prohibitions in this world—those of the divine government, of family government, and of civil government alike. Prohibition does not annihilate, not even when it forbids murder, adultery, theft, false witness, and Sunday-work.

Prohibition does not define accomplishment, but only the aim and attitude of government toward wrong. License is a purchased truce—sometimes a surrender; prohibition is a declaration of war. License is an edict of toleration—sometimes a certificate of "good moral character"; prohibition is a proclamation of outlawry. The first requisite of law is justice. A law that sanctions wrong is not law at all, but legislative crime. It is not "public sentiment," but public conscience, out of which law should be quarried. Law is an educator. Dueling, and smuggling, and liquor-selling were once in the "best society." Gradually the law has made them disreputable. Rum-selling under prohibition is a sneaking fugitive, like counterfeiting—not dead, but disgraced, and so shorn of power.

In Maine children grow up without ever seeing a drunken man. In most parts of Kansas and in Iowa, while the prohibition law was in force, the law against the saloon is as effective as the law against the brothel or the burglar. To this fact testify governors, senators, congressmen, pastors, physicians, manufacturers—against whose evidence scarcely a witness can be brought in rebuttal except "anonymous." The liquor-dealer's statement that more liquor is consumed under prohibition than without it is canceled by actions that speak louder than words, by frantic

efforts, at great cost, to defeat prohibition wherever it is proposed.

The argument for prohibition may be concisely stated in four propositions:

1. The business interests of our country demand the suppression of their worst foe—the liquor traffic.

2. The homes of our country demand the suppression of their worst foe—the liquor traffic.

3. The political liberty of our country demands the suppression of its worst foe—the liquor traffic.

4. The conscience of the country demands that the attitude of government toward this foe of business, home, and liberty, as toward other foes of the public good, shall be one of uncompromising hostility.

The prohibiting of the sale of a maddening poison is not a "sumptuary law"—that is, a law against luxury—but rather a law to promote luxury; to give every year to the impoverished families of those who waste their money for drink, in place of it, a billion dollars' worth of pianos, books, pictures, etc.

Prohibition is consistent with liberty in the same way as fire-escapes and quarantines are. A prohibitory liquor law is not aimed at the habits of the drinking-man but at the vicious business of the seller, and therefore is a law for the promotion of commerce, for the protection of labor, for the prevention of cruelty and crime, for the preservation of health and home and liberty.

The capital that is invested in the liquor business, if invested in legitimate forms of trade, would give employment to hundreds of thousands more people than are now employed by it, producing goods that would be demanded if the money spent for drink were turned to the legitimate channels of trade.

Not only life, but liberty itself, is menaced by alcohol. In the words of the *Catholic Review*, "There is nothing fanciful in the assertion that in most of the large cities the saloon-keeping interest has as much representation in the common council as have all other interests combined—that is to say, the minority in numbers, intelligence, and decency governs the majority in most of our large cities." It is this "spoils system" of the saloons that civil-service reformers should strike at, if they would cure political corruption at the root. It is not so much examination of office-seekers as extermination of these office-brokers of the saloon that is needed. Municipal reformers also should learn that it is not by a change in the mayor's office, but by a change in the saloon, that city politics is to be purified. If our city politics is in slavery to the saloons to-day, when the states are able to restrain them by their yeoman majorities in the legislatures, what of the time when the cities shall have the majority of our voters?

Those uses of alcoholic liquors which have been made the excuse for their continued sale, specially their use in medicine, have far less importance now than formerly. The whole trend of medical science is away from the use of alcohol as a medicine. Only a small part of the amount so used a quarter of a century ago is employed to-day. Thousands of successful physicians now never use it at all, and its most ardent advocate uses it with care and far less frequently than in the past. In the realm of the arts, denatured alcohol—that is to say, alcohol made unfit for drinking purposes by adding substances having a repelling taste—is now coming into common use.

PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

ITEMS	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Area ¹ , square miles.....	827,844	1,999,775	2,059,043	2,059,043	2,059,043	2,980,959	3,026,789
Population ²	5,308,483	7,239,881	9,638,453	12,866,020	17,009,453	23,191,876	31,443,321
Population, square mile ²	6.41	3.62	4.68	6.25	8.29	7.78	10.39
Wealth ³						7,135,780,000	16,159,616,000
Wealth per capita ²						307.69	513.93
Debt, less cash in treasury ⁴	\$ 82,966,294	\$ 53,173,218	\$ 91,015,566	\$ 48,565,407	\$ 3,573,344	\$ 63,452,774	\$ 59,964,402
Debt per capita.....	\$ 15.63	\$ 7.34	\$ 9.42	\$ 3.77	\$ 0.21	\$ 2.74	\$ 1.91
Interest-bearing debt ⁵	\$ 82,976,294	\$ 53,173,218	\$ 91,015,566	\$ 48,565,406	\$ 3,573,344	\$ 63,452,774	\$ 64,640,838
Circulation of money.....	\$ 26,500,000	\$ 55,000,000	\$ 67,100,000	\$ 87,344,295	\$ 186,305,488	\$ 278,761,982	\$ 435,407,252
Per capita.....	\$ 5.00	\$ 7.59	\$ 6.94	\$ 6.79	\$ 10.91	\$ 12.02	\$ 13.85
National banks, No.....							
Capital.....							
Bank clearings, New York.....							7,231,143,057
Total, U. S.....							
Deposits in national banks.....			1,138,576	6,973,304	14,051,520	43,431,130	149,277,504
Savings-banks.....			8,635	38,085	78,701	251,354	693,870
Depositors, savings-banks, No.....						3,967,343,580	7,980,493,060
Farms and farm property ²							
Farm products, value ²							
Manufacturing establishments ² , No.....							
Value of products ²						123,025	140,433
Receipts—Net ordinary ¹²	\$ 10,848,749	\$ 9,384,214	\$ 17,840,670	\$ 24,844,117	\$ 19,480,115	\$ 43,592,889	\$ 56,054,000
Customs.....	\$ 9,080,933	\$ 8,583,309	\$ 15,005,612	\$ 21,922,391	\$ 13,499,502	\$ 39,668,686	\$ 53,187,512
Internal revenue.....	\$ 809,337	\$ 7,431	\$ 106,261	\$ 12,161	\$ 1,682		
Expenditures—Net ordinary ¹³	\$ 7,411,370	\$ 5,311,082	\$ 13,134,531	\$ 13,229,533	\$ 24,139,920	\$ 37,165,990	\$ 60,056,755
War.....	\$ 2,560,870	\$ 2,294,324	\$ 2,630,392	\$ 4,767,159	\$ 7,095,267	\$ 9,687,025	\$ 16,472,203
Navy.....	\$ 3,448,741	\$ 1,654,244	\$ 4,387,990	\$ 3,239,429	\$ 6,113,897	\$ 7,904,725	\$ 15,514,050
Pensions.....	\$ 64,131	\$ 83,744	\$ 3,208,376	\$ 1,393,297	\$ 2,603,562	\$ 1,866,886	\$ 1,100,802
Interest on public debt.....	\$ 3,402,601	\$ 3,163,671	\$ 5,151,004	\$ 1,912,575	\$ 174,598	\$ 3,782,393	\$ 3,144,121
Imports of merchandise.....	\$ 91,252,768	\$ 85,400,000	\$ 74,450,000	\$ 62,720,950	\$ 98,258,706	\$ 173,509,526	\$ 353,610,119
Per capita.....	\$ 17.19	\$ 11.80	\$ 7.71	\$ 4.87	\$ 5.76	\$ 7.48	\$ 11.25
Exports of merchandise.....	\$ 70,971,780	\$ 66,757,970	\$ 69,691,669	\$ 71,670,735	\$ 123,668,932	\$ 144,375,726	\$ 333,576,057
Per capita.....	\$ 13.37	\$ 9.22	\$ 7.22	\$ 5.57	\$ 7.25	\$ 6.23	\$ 10.61
Domestic exports—Iron, steel, and manufactures of.....	\$ 52,144	\$ 91,914	\$ 46,552	\$ 322,747	\$ 1,127,877	\$ 1,953,702	\$ 5,870,114
Manufactures.....			\$ 7,792,544	\$ 9,579,195	\$ 15,425,180	\$ 23,223,106	\$ 48,453,008
Farm animals—Value.....						\$ 544,180,516	\$ 1,089,329,915
Production of gold.....		27,2403	17,73,112	17,564,950	17,11,697,829	50,000,000	46,000,000
Silver, commercial value.....						50,900	156,800
Coal, tons.....		19,20	3,080	285,779	1,848,249	6,266,233	13,044,680
Petroleum, gallons.....							21,000,000
Pig iron, tons.....			20,000	165,000	286,903	563,755	821,223
Copper, tons.....							
Tin plates, lbs.....					21,100	650	7,200
Wool, lbs.....					35,802,114	52,516,959	60,264,913
Wheat, bushels.....					84,823,272	100,485,944	173,104,924
Corn, bushels.....					377,531,875	592,071,104	838,792,740
Cotton, bales.....					2,177,835	2,333,718	4,861,292
Cane sugar, tons.....	155,556	340,000	606,061	976,845	69,240	110,526	119,040
Sugar consumed, tons.....				69,711	107,177	239,409	428,785
Railways operated, miles.....				23	2,818	9,021	30,626
Passengers carried, No.....							
Freight carried 1 mile, tons.....							
Rates, ton per mile, cents.....							
American vessels: built, tons.....	106,261	127,575	51,394	58,560	121,203	279,255	214,797
Trading, domestic, etc., tons.....	301,919	440,175	60,065	614,508	1,280,999	1,949,743	2,807,631
Trading, foreign, tons.....	669,921	984,269	619,048	576,475	899,765	1,585,711	2,540,237
On Great Lakes, tons.....			22,3,500	11,106	54,199	198,266	467,774
Vessels passing through Sault Ste. Marie Canal, tons.....							403,657
Commercial failures, No.....							3,076
Amount of liabilities.....							79,807,000
Post-offices, No.....	903	2,300	4,500	8,450	13,468	18,417	28,498
Receipts, Post-office Department.....	\$ 280,804	\$ 551,684	\$ 1,111,927	\$ 1,850,583	\$ 4,543,522	\$ 5,499,985	\$ 8,518,067
Telegrams sent ²³ , No.....		23,59	28,861	1,403		2,526	4,051
Newspapers, etc., No.....							
Public schools, salaries.....							4,778
Patents issued, No.....					473	993	4,778
Immigrants arrived ²⁸ , No.....			8,385	23,322	84,066	369,980	150,237

¹ Exclusive of Alaska and islands belonging to the United States.² Census figures; those for intermediate years estimated.³ True valuation of real and personal property.⁴ 1904.⁵ Total debt prior to 1855.⁶ Figures for the years 1800 to 1850 include the total public debt.⁷ Gold and silver cannot be stated separately prior to 1876. From 1862 to 1875, inclusive, gold and silver were not in circulation except on the Pacific coast, where it is estimated that the average specie circulation was about \$25,000,000, and this estimate is continued for the three following years under the head of gold. After that period gold was available for circulation.⁸ Total specie in circulation. Gold and silver not separately stated prior to 1876.⁹ Includes notes of Bank of U. S., state-bank notes, demand notes of 1862 and 1863; fractional currency, 1863 to 1878; treasury notes of 1890, 1891 to date; and currency certificates, Act of June 8, 1872, 1892 to 1900.¹⁰ 1905.¹¹ Exclusive of neighborhood industries and hand trades, included in previous years.¹² "Net ordinary receipts" include receipts from customs, internal revenue, direct tax, public lands, and "miscellaneous."¹³ "Net ordinary expenses" include expenditures for war, navy, Indians, pensions, and "miscellaneous."

PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES—Continued

ITEMS	1870	1880	1890	1900	1906
Area ¹ , square miles.....	3,026,789	3,026,789	3,026,789	3,026,789	3,026,789
Population ²	38,558,371	50,155,783	62,622,250	76,303,387	84,154,009
Population, square mile ²	12.74	16.57	20.69	25.14	27.71
Wealth ²³	30,068,518,000	42,642,000,000	65,037,091,000	88,517,306,775	107,104,211,917
Wealth per capita ²³	779.83	850.20	1,038.57	1,164.79	1,310.11
Debt, less cash in treasury ⁴	2,331,109,950	1,919,326,748	890,784,371	1,107,711,258	904,435,687
Debt per capita.....	60.46	38.27	14.22	14.52	11.46
Interest-bearing debt ⁶	2,046,455,722	1,723,993,100	725,131,110	1,023,478,800	895,159,140
Circulation of money.....	675,212,794	973,382,228	1,429,251,270	2,055,150,998	2,736,046,628
Per capita.....	17.50	19.41	22.82	26.94	32.32
National banks, No.....	1,612	2,076	3,484	3,732	6,053
Capital.....	427,235,701	455,909,565	642,073,676	621,536,461	826,129,785
Bank clearings, New York.....	27,804,539,406	37,182,128,621	37,600,680,572	51,964,588,564	103,754,100,091
Total, United States.....	542,261,503	833,701,034	58,845,279,505	84,582,450,081	157,749,328,913
Deposits in national banks.....	542,261,503	833,701,034	1,521,745,665	2,458,092,758	4,055,873,637
Savings-banks.....	549,874,358	819,100,973	1,550,023,950	2,389,719,954	3,299,544,601
Depositors, savings-banks, No.....	1,630,846	2,335,582	4,258,893	6,107,083	8,027,192
Farms and farm property ²	8,944,857,749	12,180,501,538	16,082,267,686	20,514,001,838	24,915,216,262
Farm products, value ²	1,958,030,927	2,212,540,927	2,400,107,454	3,704,177,706	10,111,802,147,087
Manufacturing establishments ² , No.....	252,148	253,852	355,415	512,339	10,111,802,147,087
Value of products ²	4,232,325,442	5,360,579,191	9,372,437,283	13,014,287,498	50,240,852
Receipts—Net ordinary ¹²	395,959,834	333,526,501	403,080,983	507,240,852	594,454,122
Customs.....	194,538,374	180,522,065	229,668,585	233,164,871	300,251,878
Internal revenue.....	184,899,756	142,009,374	142,606,706	295,327,927	249,150,213
Expenditures—Net ordinary ¹³	164,421,507	169,090,062	261,637,203	447,553,458	544,476,223
War.....	57,655,675	38,116,916	44,582,838	134,774,768	117,946,692
Navy.....	21,780,230	13,536,985	22,006,206	55,953,078	110,474,264
Pensions.....	28,340,202	50,777,174	106,936,855	140,877,316	114,034,562
Interest on public debt.....	129,235,498	95,775,575	36,099,284	40,160,333	24,308,576
Imports of merchandise.....	435,958,408	607,954,746	789,310,409	849,941,184	1,226,502,446
Per capita.....	11.06	12.51	12.35	10.88	14.42
Exports of merchandise.....	392,771,768	835,638,658	857,828,684	1,394,483,082	1,743,864,500
Per capita.....	9.77	16.43	13.50	17.96	20.41
Domestic exports—Iron, steel, and manufactures of.....	13,483,163	14,716,524	25,542,208	121,913,538	160,984,985
Manufactures.....	70,040,845	121,818,298	178,982,042	484,840,235	680,023,169
Farm animals—Value.....	1,524,960,149	1,570,917,556	2,418,766,028	2,228,123,134	3,675,389,442
Production of gold.....	50,000,000	30,000,000	32,845,000	79,171,000	18,961,100,400
Silver, commercial value.....	16,434,000	34,717,000	57,242,100	35,741,100	18,961,100,400
Coal, tons.....	29,496,054	63,822,830	140,866,931	240,789,310	350,820,840
Petroleum, gallons.....	220,951,290	1,104,017,166	1,924,552,224	2,672,062,218	5,658,138,360
Pig iron, tons.....	1,665,911	3,835,191	9,202,703	13,789,242	25,307,191
Steel, tons.....	68,750	1,247,335	4,277,071	10,188,329	20,023,947
Tin plates, lbs.....	12,600	27,000	115,960	677,969,600	1,108,440,000
Copper, tons.....	162,000,000	232,500,000	276,000,000	288,636,621	298,915,130
Wool, lbs.....	235,884,700	498,549,868	399,262,000	522,229,505	735,260,970
Corn, bushels.....	1,094,255,000	1,717,434,543	1,489,970,000	2,105,102,516	2,927,416,091
Cotton, bales.....	3,114,592	5,761,252	7,311,322	9,436,416	11,345,988
Cane sugar, tons.....	46,800	92,802	136,503	149,191	268,013
Sugar consumed, tons.....	607,834	956,784	1,476,377	2,219,847	2,864,013
Railways operated, miles.....	52,922	93,267	166,703	194,262	10,217,341
Passengers carried, No.....	.....	.....	520,439,082	584,695,935	10,745,440,641
Freight carried 1 mile, tons.....	.....	.....	79,192,985,125	141,162,109,413	187,375,621,537
Rates, ton per mile, cents.....	.....	.....	0.93	0.75	0.78
American vessels: built, tons.....	276,953	157,409	294,122	393,790	418,745
Trading, domestic, etc., tons.....	2,729,707	2,715,224	3,477,802	4,338,145	5,735,483
Trading, foreign, tons.....	1,516,800	1,352,810	940,695	826,604	939,486
On Great Lakes, tons.....	684,704	605,102	1,063,063	1,565,587	2,234,432
Vessels passing through Sault Ste. Marie Canal, tons.....	690,826	1,734,890	8,454,435	22,315,834	41,098,324
Commercial failures, No.....	3,546	4,735	10,907	10,774	10,682
Amount of liabilities.....	88,242,000	65,752,000	189,856,064	138,495,673	119,201,515
Post-offices, No.....	28,492	42,989	62,401	76,688	65,600
Receipts, Post-office Department.....	19,772,221	33,315,479	60,882,098	102,354,579	167,932,783
Telegrams sent ²³ , No.....	9,157,646	29,215,509	63,258,762	79,096,227	96,987,146
Newspapers, etc., No.....	5,871	9,723	16,948	20,806	22,326
Public schools, salaries.....	37,832,566	55,942,972	91,836,484	137,687,746	177,462,981
Patents issued, No.....	13,333	13,947	26,292	26,499	31,965
Immigrants arrived ²⁸ , No.....	387,203	457,257	455,302	448,572	1,100,735

¹⁴ Imports for consumption after 1860.¹⁵ Domestic exports only after 1860.¹⁶ Includes mules.¹⁷ Dr. Soetbeer's estimate averaged for the period.¹⁸ Estimate of the Director of the Mint.¹⁹ 1814.²⁰ Last six months of 1891.²¹ 1845.²² Andrew's Colonial and Lake Trade.²³ Western Union to 1880; includes Postal Telegraph after 1880.²⁴ Not including messages sent by Western Union over leased wires or under railroad contracts.²⁵ 1810 to 1860, inclusive, from census of 1880.²⁶ 1828.²⁷ After 1860, from Rowell's Newspaper Directory.²⁸ 1820 to 1850, includes aliens not immigrants; 1820 and 1830, years ending Sept. 30; 1850, fifteen months ending Dec. 31;

1840 and 1860, calendar years; after 1860, fiscal years.

II. Results of Prohibition

Benefits of Prohibition.—The practical trial of the prohibition policy in the U. S. has been interfered with by many and serious difficulties. Great as is the extent of territory, in the aggregate, where experiments have been made since the agitation began, this policy has never had the advantage of a systematic introduction and broad foundation. The national Congress has never enacted general prohibitory legislation, and has never given support to or even recognized the prohibitory measures adopted in states and localities; indeed, the attitude of the federal government for nearly fifty years has been in formal antagonism to prohibition. The states, with very few exceptions, have uniformly (or with but brief intervals of prohibition) permitted license under certain conditions—conditions that, in

Not Fairly Tried

practise, have effectually excluded prohibitory law from most of the chief centers of population. Thus, in New England, while two states (Maine and Vermont) were constantly under complete prohibition for a long term of years; the other four states (Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island), tho nominally prohibiting the traffic at times in that period, have so far inclined to license as to give continuance to liquor manufacture and commerce in such cities as Boston, Portsmouth, New Haven, Hartford, and Providence. Kansas has for years stood alone at the West; meantime the neighboring license states with their great cities have been aggressively hostile to prohibitory laws and diligently sought to flood the prohibition districts with liquor. There is no prohibition state or county, city, village, or township where the success of the policy is not or may not be at any time endangered by the interference of the liquor trade in license states, counties, or localities close at hand.

By a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court no prohibition state can, without the consent of Congress (not yet granted), prevent an interstate railway or express company from carrying to any point within its borders liquor brought from another state.

The chief of the local difficulties undoubtedly arises from the failure of the controlling political parties to earnestly identify themselves with the cause of prohibition. This is not at all equivalent to saying that the people, as the source of parties and of government, are fundamentally responsible in cases of neglect or opposition; for the existence of prohibition implies that popular consent and approval have already been granted. An indifferent or a hostile partizan attitude is frequently, if not always, taken without regard to genuine public sentiment—at least without regard to the sentiment of the best citizens; party action is controlled by designing leaders, and leaders are readily influenced against prohibition by aggressive demands, bribes, threats, and promises of support from the liquor element. Thus it has happened nearly everywhere that prohibition has not enjoyed the cordial political support necessary to its full success. Men personally opposed to prohibition, or deliberately pledged to its organized foes, have been chosen to fill the offices most intimately connected with the administration of law—as judges, prosecuting attorneys, mayors, sheriffs, aldermen, police authorities, etc.; juries have been packed with

saloon adherents—in short, it has often seemed that the entire machinery of government has been given over to the outlawed traffic. Would thoroughly enforced prohibition be beneficial? Are the benefits of partial prohibition such as to justify enacting a prohibitory law that may be only partially effective?

Experience

In sifting the great mass of testimony that every patient inquirer may easily gather, it is difficult to adopt an entirely satisfactory method of classification. For the purposes of this article the testimony will be presented under two heads: (1) Diminution of the Consumption of Drink, and Effects upon Crime and Kindred Evils; (2) Economic and Other Effects.

Nothing is more suggestive than the unanimity and the vigor with which prohibition laws are opposed by all engaged in the liquor traffic. In the uncompromising hostility with which the "trade" meets every attempt to establish prohibition lies a strong indication of prohibition's effectiveness.

Neal Dow, the "Father of the Maine Law," made this declaration: "I think I have seen nearly an acre of puncheons of West India rum at one time on our wharves, just landed from ships. All this time seven distilleries (in Portland) running day and night! Now I will venture to say that we have not had a puncheon of West India rum imported here in five years—yes, I will say ten years, and there is but one distillery in the state, and that not running, I think; but if it runs it is laid under \$3,000 bonds to sell no spirit except for medicinal or mechanical purposes or for exportation."¹

These statements are confirmed with the strongest emphasis by well-nigh all the eminent men of Maine. It is impossible in this article to make even a summary of all the important testimony.

Senator William P. Frye in 1890 wrote:

I can remember the time when in the State of Maine there was a grocery store at nearly every four corners in certain portions of the state, whose principal business was in the sale of New England rum; when the jails were crowded and poverty prevailed. To-day the country portions of the state are absolutely free from the sale of liquor; poverty is comparatively unknown, and in some of the counties the jails have been without occupants for years at a time. . . . The law is not a failure; it has been, on the other hand, a wonderful success.

Senator Eugene Hale in the same year wrote:

Throughout the state generally the prohibitory law has driven out the grog-shop, and while liquor is undoubtedly sold in the larger towns and cities, it is not done in an open way, and the amount of liquor-selling is smaller even in these larger towns and cities than in corresponding places elsewhere. Maine people believe in prohibition because they are everyday witnesses to its good effect.

These letters were published in *The Voice* with the following indorsements:

James G. Blaine: "On the point of the relative amount of the liquors sold at present in Maine and in those states where a system of license prevails, I am sure, from personal knowledge and observation, that the sales are immeasurably less in Maine."

Hannibal Hamlin, U. S. senator from Maine, and formerly vice-president of the U. S.: "I concur in the statements made by Mr. Frye. In the great good produced by the prohibitory liquor law of Maine, no man can doubt who has seen its results. It has been of immense value."

Lot M. Morrill, U. S. senator from Maine: "I have the honor unhesitatingly to concur in the opinions expressed in the foregoing by my colleague, Hon. Mr. Frye."

¹ "Alcohol and the State," p. 352.

John Lynch, member of Congress from Maine: "I fully concur in the statement of my colleague, Mr. Frye, in regard to the effect of the enforcement of the liquor law in the State of Maine."

John A. Peters and Eugene Hale, members of Congress from Maine: "We are satisfied that there is much less intemperance in Maine than formerly, and that the result is largely produced by what is termed prohibitory legislation."

Confessedly, of late years, there has been much violation of the law in Maine. The assertion has frequently been made that it cannot be enforced. The election of a Prohibition Party sheriff, Samuel F. Pearson, in Portland, in 1900, answered that assertion, and the law has since been enforced there and in other cities by Republican officials under proper incentives.

In Kansas there has always been a tremendous opposition to the law, and at times the opponents have been in practical possession of the state government. In some of the cities, notably in Kansas City, Leavenworth, Atchison, and Wichita, the law has been openly violated without opposition, for years in succession. Yet the results considering the whole state have amply justified the policy.

Kansas

In 1880, when prohibition was adopted, Kansas had 4 distilleries and 39 breweries, producing 42,779 gallons of spirits and 32,270 barrels of beer. In 1906, in spite of the reported failure of the law, only 18,800 gallons of spirits (and that an increase of more than 7,000 gallons over 1905) and 29,565 barrels of beer were produced in Kansas, Indian Territory, and Oklahoma together. The figures for Kansas alone are not given by the government. In 1907 the last illegal brewery in Kansas closed up and left the state. A considerable number of U. S. liquor-tax certificates have always been issued in Kansas, but in the greater part of the state liquor is not sold openly.

In 1889, when the law was fairly well enforced, *The Voice* applied to the probate judges of the 106 counties of Kansas for information as to the effects of the law; and, among other questions, the following were asked: "How successfully has prohibition closed the saloons in your part of the state?" and "To what extent, in your judgment, has it diminished drunkenness and the consumption of intoxicants for beverage purposes?" There were replies from ninety-seven counties. Ninety-four of the writers declared positively that there were no open saloons, while the other three made qualified reports. Ninety-two stated that drunkenness and the consumption of drink had been greatly diminished. A majority, in estimating the extent of the diminution, placed it at from 75 to 90 per cent; others said that drunkenness and drink had been "entirely eradicated" in their parts of the state, or "almost totally," or were "too small to estimate," etc.¹

Perhaps the best illustration of the success of the enforcement of the prohibitory law in the State of Kansas has been furnished in the present year (1907) in Kansas City, where the Hon. C. W. Trickett was appointed assistant attorney-general for the purpose of enforcing this law. Kansas City, Kan., lies in close proximity to Kansas City, Mo., so that the problem presented special difficulties. The results are summed up in *The Defender*, New York, on Sept. 26, 1907, and show that by the enforcement of the law Mr. Trickett closed every one of the 256 saloons doing unlawful business in the county when he took office, and that 200 gambling-dens and sixty in-

famous resorts closed with them; that bank deposits increased; that attendance at public schools, by boys and girls, who had been obliged to work while liquor was sold, grew at once; that the expense of prosecuting criminals at once decreased, and crime sank to a minimum, while all kinds of business flourished and the city treasury showed an unprecedented favorable balance. With \$84,000 of unlawful revenue from saloons Kansas City, Kan., was always in debt. Without that revenue and without the expenses caused by the saloons, her municipal finances in 1907 are prosperous. Governor E. W. Hoch, of Kansas, writing of the prohibition revival in that state, in a letter to *The Defender*, on Sept. 16, 1907, says:

The state (Kansas) was never so free from saloons and joints as it is to-day. It was never so prosperous as it is now materially and financially. I do not believe that there are anywhere on earth 1,600,000 people maintaining a higher standard of morals than the 1,600,000 who constitute the population of Kansas, nor do I believe that there are anywhere else on earth a similar number of people enjoying such freedom from pauperism and poverty. We have not only proved the wisdom of the prohibition policy so far as the moral and intellectual interests of the people are concerned, but we have established its wisdom from a financial standpoint.

From July 4, 1884, to and including 1893, Iowa was a prohibition state. During the first four of these years the law was well enforced in the greater part of the state. That it ministered to the welfare and prosperity of the state there is ample evidence. The Hon. Henry Sabine, superintendent of public instruction in that state, testified of it, "Prohibition has not only emptied our jails, but it has also filled our colleges and schools, and brought prosperity to all our educational interests." In 1885 thirty-eight newspaper editors, from all parts of the state, headed by C. F. Clarkson of the leading Des Moines daily paper, signed the statement that the prohibition law was "as well enforced throughout the state as other laws." In 1899 the Hon. William Larrabee, who had been governor of the state, 1886-90, made a public statement in which he showed the results of enforced prohibition, of its nullification, and of its repeal, in a statement of the prison population of Iowa for twelve years, as follows:

PROHIBITION YEARS			
1886.....	696	1888.....	596
1887.....	667	1889.....	574
ANTI-PROHIBITION YEARS			
1890.....	588	1892.....	659
1891.....	631	1893.....	727
MULCT LAW YEARS			
1894.....	847	1896.....	1,094
1895.....	1,094	1897.....	1,118

In his message to the legislature in 1889 Governor Larrabee, speaking of the success of the law, said: "The deposits of the banks show an unprecedented increase, and there are everywhere indications of a healthy growth of legitimate trade."

In existing circumstances the decision of the question whether state prohibition has wholesome practical effects, if executed with tolerable fairness, rests mainly upon the conclusions coming from a thorough study of Maine, Kansas, and Iowa experience; for these are the only states in which there has been anything like an adequate and a prolonged trial of the policy

Other States

¹ See *The Voice*, June 13, 1889.

throughout a broad extent of territory embracing considerable cities and peopled by enterprising classes of citizens.

Vermont and New Hampshire.—These two states, since the repeal of their prohibitory laws, mentioned above, have given startling proof of the dissatisfaction of the public with license laws, in the fact that no-license territory has constantly increased until the larger part of both the states is under local prohibition.

North Dakota.—In this state the enforcement of the prohibitory law has been strenuously opposed by railroad interests, influenced by money received for transportation of liquors, yet in many towns, notably in Fargo, the law has proved a great success. Fargo, judged by the tests of prosperity, absence of crime, etc., is immeasurably in advance of the license city, Moorehead, located just across the Red River in Minnesota. (See "Fargo and Moorehead," a leaflet published by the National Temperance Society of New York.)

The year 1907 is specially notable for the appearance of a strong movement to repudiate the constitutionality of any law licensing the sale of liquor. Judge Samuel R. Artman, of Indiana, in a formal decision, declared the license laws of that state unconstitutional, on the ground that the sale of liquor is opposed to those things for which the constitution is established, and is a nuisance per se which the legislature cannot legalize. Judge Artman has been followed by several other circuit court judges in Indiana, and, tho one of the cases, passed upon by the supreme court of that state, has been decided adversely, the movement is by no means checked, and the prohibitionists of Indiana are using every effort to bring the case before the Supreme Court of the U. S. It is freely charged that the supreme court of Indiana was influenced by political necessities in its decision. This movement rests upon the ground taken by the U. S. Supreme Court when it said (*Stone vs. Mississippi*, 102 U. S., 816): "No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The people themselves cannot do it, much less their servants. Government is organized with a view to their preservation and cannot divest itself of the power to provide for them."

WILLIAM P. F. FERGUSON.

PROHIBITION PARTY, THE: The Prohibition Party was established in 1860. The early efforts (1844-60) to secure the prohibition of the liquor traffic were purely non-partizan. The liquor business had little or no political influence and was without effective organization. In most of the cases where prohibition laws were submitted to the people of a state the submission was in good faith and the vote honestly taken.

It is considered memorable that Rev. Charles F. Deems published at Greensburg, N. C., in 1854, a newspaper urging independent political action by the advocates of prohibition. Only a few numbers of this journal were issued.

In the Civil War (1861-65) all political questions save the supreme questions arising from that conflict were lost sight of. The liquor traffic was given a new footing by the internal revenue legislation. Brought into political prominence and schooled in political arts by its close relations with the federal government, the liquor element gradually asserted itself in politics. No

new prohibitory measure was enacted at the North during the war. Rhode Island's statute was repealed in 1863, other state laws were weakened, and nearly all were flagrantly violated. Soon after the restoration of peace it became evident that the liquor dealers were bent on sweeping away, by political operation, all the prohibitory legislation of the union. In Massachusetts, the most populous of the prohibition states, the liquor forces made an aggressive political canvass in 1867, resulting in the election of a legislature which rescinded the law the next year. In Connecticut, in 1860, an active agitation for repeal was begun. In the same year the National Brewers' Congress (at Chicago, June 5, 1860) adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, The action and influence of the temperance party is in direct opposition to the principles of individual freedom and political equality upon which our American union is founded; therefore

Resolved, That we will use all means to stay the progress of this fanatical party, and to secure our individual rights as citizens, and that we will sustain no candidate, of whatever party, in any election, who is in any way disposed toward the total abstinence cause.

A steadily growing disposition upon the part of political leaders to cater to the wishes and consent to the demands of the liquor interests gradually forced the advocates of prohibition to the position that the interests which they championed could be conserved only by the control of the machinery of government by the advocates of those interests.

In Feb., 1867, the State Temperance Convention of Pennsylvania declared that "if the adversaries of temperance shall continue to receive the aid and countenance of present political parties we shall not hesitate to break over political bands and seek redress through the ballot-box." The Grand Lodge of Good Templars of Pennsylvania, at Pittsburg, June 10, 1860, passed a similar resolution, and the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of Good Templars (the supreme body of the order), in session at Richmond, Ind., May 28, 1868, recommended the formation of a prohibition party.

In 1869 (at Oswego, N. Y.), at a meeting of the Grand Lodge, a conference of those favoring separate political action was held, and the duty of preparing a call for a national convention to organize a national prohibition party was assigned to a committee of five, composed of Rev. John Russell, of Detroit, Mich., Prof. Daniel Wilkins, of Bloomington, Ill., J. A. Spencer, of Cleveland, O., John N. Stearns, of New York, and James Black, of Lancaster, Pa.

The organizing convention met in Farwell Hall, Chicago, on Sept. 1, 1869, with nearly five hundred delegates in attendance. The name Anti-Dramshop Party at first found favor, but the organization was launched as the National Prohibition Party. Articles II. and III. of the platform adopted by this convention set forth the party's position. They read:

2. That the traffic in intoxicating beverages is a dishonor to Christian civilization, inimical to the best interests of society, a political wrong of unequaled enormity, subversive of the ordinary object of government, not capable of being regulated or restrained by any system of license whatever, but imperatively demanding for its suppression effective legal prohibition, both by state and national legislation.

3. That in view of this, and inasmuch as the existing political parties either oppose or ignore this great and paramount question, and absolutely refuse to do anything toward the suppression of the rum traffic, which is robbing the nation of its brightest intellects, destroying internal prosperity, and rapidly undermining its very foundations, we are driven by an

Origin

imperative sense of duty to sever our connection with these political parties and organize ourselves into a National Prohibition Party, having for its primary object the entire suppression of the traffic in intoxicating drinks.

The platform denounced "all repudiation of the public debt," pledged "fidelity to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the federal Constitution" and deemed it "not expedient at present to give prominence to other political issues." The fifth section expressed reliance upon divine aid. From that day to this the party's utterances have always been deeply religious in tone and form.

At the fall elections of 1869 Ohio was the only state returning votes for the Prohibition Party as a distinct organization, 679 being reported from that state. But Maine cast 4,743 and Minnesota 1,061 votes for "Republican Prohibition" candidates.

In 1870 support was received at the polls in six states, as follows: Illinois, 3,712; Massachusetts (lieutenant-governor), 8,692; Michigan, 2,170; New Hampshire, 1,167; New York, 1,459; Ohio, 2,812—total, 20,012. In Massachusetts the Prohibition candidate for governor, Wendell Phillips, indorsed by the Labor Party and Independent Republicans, polled 21,946 votes.

Only a few of the states held elections in 1871. Five returned Prohibition votes: Massachusetts, 6,598; New Hampshire, 374; New York, 1,820; Ohio, 4,084, and Pennsylvania, 3,186—total, 16,002. In New York the party took the name of "Anti-Dramshop."

The first National Nominating Convention was held on Feb. 22, 1872, at Columbus, Ohio. James Black, of Pennsylvania, and John Russell, of Michigan, were unanimously nominated for president and vice-president, respectively.

First Presidential Nomination

Besides the prohibition planks there were planks favoring a sound currency, convertible into gold or silver, suffrage irrespective of color or sex, low rates of travel and transportation, direct vote for presidency and vice-presidency, promotion of immigration, transportation, and purity of office. The total vote was only 5,607, only six states having tickets in the field.

The second National Nominating Convention met in Cleveland on May 17, 1876. Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, was nominated for president, and Gideon T. Stewart, of Ohio, for vice-president. "The National Prohibition Reform Party" was substituted for the old name.

1876 to 1884

Resources for a canvass were wholly lacking, the contest between the old parties was bitter, Hayes and Tilden being the candidates, and only 9,737 votes were recorded, but they came from eighteen states. A national conference was held in New York in Sept., 1877, and in state elections that year marked progress was shown. Iowa, which had hitherto ignored the movement, cast 10,545 votes, and Massachusetts, 16,354. The politicians of the former state hastened to submit a prohibitory constitutional amendment to counteract the movement.

The third National Nominating Convention met at Cleveland, June 17, 1880. General Neal Dow, of Maine, was nominated for president, and the Rev. H. A. Thompson, of Ohio, for vice-president.

Again no campaign was waged and in only sixteen states did the party appear, receiving a total of 9,678 votes.

In Aug., 1881, a group of temperance leaders, most of whom had not been identified with the prohibition movement, in a meeting at Lake Bluff, near Chicago, decided to secure a reorganization of and a wider support for the party. A call for a national convention to absorb and supersede the Prohibition Party was issued, and the body met in Farwell Hall, Chicago, Aug. 23 and 24, 1882; 341 delegates being present from twenty-two states. The name, the "Prohibition Home Protection Party," was adopted and was more or less readily accepted by prohibition agitators and voters. The state elections of 1881, 1882, and 1883 were encouraging.

The nominating convention of 1884 was called to order at Pittsburg, May 21st. But it was desired by some of the new

leaders, and by many who had not fully made up their minds, to make a final test of the tendencies of the other political parties before entering the field, and this was done.

The platform committees of the two conventions, after listening with scant courtesy to the advocates, ignored their requests. Many who had hoped that the Republican or the Democratic Party would take up the cause in due time, were now convinced of the hostility of both these organizations, and, when the Prohibition convention assembled at Pittsburg, on July 23d, it was evident that a profound impression had been made on the country. Thirty states and territories and the District of Columbia sent 465 accredited delegates. The original name of the party was restored. John P. St. John, who had been governor of Kansas for two terms as a Republican, was nominated for president, and William Daniel, of Maryland, for vice-president. The temperance women were given special representation in the committee, by the selection of Miss Frances E. Willard, of Illinois, and Mrs. Stewart, of Ohio, as members-at-large. Woman suffrage, however, was left to the discretion of the states, and the platform devoted almost entirely to prohibition. John B. Finch was elected national chairman, and held the office until his death, in 1887.

1884 to 1888

With the presidential campaign of 1884 the National Prohibition Party ceased to be a merely nominal organization, and began its active career. An event contributing much to the success of the campaign of 1884 was the founding of a new prohibition paper, *The Voice*, in New York City, by Dr. I. K. Funk. This paper was continued until 1907 and was one of the greatest factors of the reform.

Prohibition electoral tickets for St. John and Daniel were in the field in thirty-four states, and a total vote of 150,626 was counted. The great growth of the party created a sensation, which was intensified by the fact that the votes drawn by it from the Republican Party in New York caused the defeat of Blaine and the election of Cleveland. The resentment of the Republican politicians took the form of persecution of Prohibitionists, but the party thrived upon it.

The National Convention of 1888 was held in Indianapolis. General Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey, was nominated for president, and John A. Brooks, of Missouri, for vice-president. In spite of much opposition, especially from the South, the platform made a distinct declaration for woman suffrage. A number of other issues were also recognized.

The campaign waged was vigorous, but the excitement created by the tariff issue between the old parties and the failure of the Methodist Church to support General Fisk, who was a leading member of that body and depended much upon the strong utterances of its conferences, made the vote disappointingly small. However, 249,945 votes were counted, every state excepting South Carolina contributing.

Following the election of 1888 the party propaganda was vigorous in almost all parts of the country and resulted in a large and enthusiastic national convention in Cincinnati in 1892. General John Bidwell, of California, was nominated for president, and J. B. Cranfill, of Texas, for vice-president. In addition to prohibition the platform declared for woman suffrage, currency reform, laws against monopoly, the restriction of emigration, arbitration, just pensions, support of public schools, and suppression of speculation.

Samuel Dickie was continued as chairman of the national committee, and William T. Wardwell, of New York, the treasurer of the Standard Oil Company, became the secretary of the committee.

The currency issue, the question between the advocates of free silver and a gold standard, was much agitated in the Prohibition Party during the years which followed, and as a result the national convention of 1896, which met at Pittsburg on May 27th, attended by 840 delegates representing thirty-nine states, "split," the free-silver advocate mustering 387 out of 814 votes in the test vote on platform. The platform adopted was known as a single-plank platform, making no declaration on any subject except the prohibition issue. Joshua Levering, of Maryland, was nominated for president, and Hale Johnson, of Illinois, for vice-president. The advocates of the free-silver policy, under the leadership of John P. St. John, R. S. Thompson, Helen M. Gougar, L. B. Logan, withdrew from the convention and formed the "National Party," which polled a few votes in the election which followed and disappeared.

The first McKinley-Bryan campaign so centered public attention upon the currency question that the prohibition issue had hardly a hearing. Only a little over 130,000 votes

contributed.

Only a little over 130,000 votes

were cast for the party's candidates—a falling off of one half. The party rallied itself after this blow, and it was evident that the movement was too deep-rooted to be checked by any disaster. In 1899 the leading prohibition paper, then known as *The New Voice*, was purchased by the firm of Dickie & Woolley and removed to Chicago under the direction of John G. Woolley with William P. F. Ferguson as managing editor.

The National Convention of 1900 met in Chicago and nominated John G. Woolley, of Illinois, for president, and Henry B. Metcalf, of Rhode Island, for vice-president. The platform adopted confined itself entirely to the prohibition issue and the relation of that issue to other questions of national importance. The vote was largely increased, almost 210,000 ballots being counted, every state excepting Louisiana, Nevada, and Mississippi returning Prohibition votes.

In the year 1902 began the movement which has since assumed some importance in the election of Prohibitionists to state legislatures. In that year Mr. Stewart, the national chairman, was elected on the straight Prohibition ticket to the legislature of Illinois from a Chicago district. In 1904 three Prohibitionists secured seats in the Illinois legislature, two others being possibly elected but counted out. In 1906 three Prohibitionists were elected to the legislature of Illinois, and three in Minnesota, while some ten other candidates narrowly missed of election. Pronounced Prohibitionists were also elected to the legislature, by the aid of other parties, in Massachusetts and Connecticut, while, in New York, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, Prohibitionists took part in successful fusion movements.

The National Convention of 1904 met at Indianapolis and nominated Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, for president, and George W. Carroll, of Texas, for vice-president. Dr. Swallow had gained wide public attention by campaigns in the State of Pennsylvania against political corruptionists and had polled a large vote for governor in that state on the Prohibition ticket.

The following is the presidential vote of the Prohibition Party from 1872 to 1904:

The platform, as the latest and as well the broadest official utterance of the Prohibition Party, is worthy of reproduction here.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION PLATFORM, 1904

The Prohibition Party in national convention assembled, at Indianapolis, June 30, 1904, recognizing that the chief end of all government is the establishment of those principles of righteousness and justice which have been revealed to men as the will of the ever-living God, desiring His blessing upon our national life, and believing in the perpetuation of the high ideals of government of the people, by the people, and for the people, established by our fathers, makes the following declaration of principles and purposes:

I. The widely prevailing system of the licensed and legalized sale of alcoholic beverages is so ruinous to individual interests, so inimical to public welfare, so destructive of national wealth, and so subversive of the rights of great masses of our citizenship, that the destruction of the traffic is, and for years has been, the most important question in American politics.

II. We denounce the lack of statesmanship exhibited by the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties in their refusal to recognize the paramount importance of this question, and the cowardice with which the leaders of these parties have courted the favor of those whose selfish interests are advanced by the continuation and augmentation of the traffic, until to-day the influence of the liquor traffic practically dominates national, state, and local government throughout the nation.

III. We declare the truth, demonstrated by the experience of half a century, that all methods of dealing with the liquor traffic which recognize its right to exist, in any form, under any system of license or tax or regulation, have proved powerless to remove its evils, and useless as checks upon its growth, while the insignificant public revenues which have accrued therefrom have seared the public conscience against a recognition of its iniquity.

IV. We call public attention to the fact, proved by the experience of more than fifty years, that to secure the enactment and enforcement of prohibitory legislation, in which alone lies the hope of the protection of the people from the liquor traf-

STATE	1872	1876	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900	1904
Alabama				613	583	239	2,147	2,173	612
Arkansas					614	113	889	584	983
California			61	2,960	5,761	8,096	2,573	5,024	7,380
Colorado				761	2,191	1,652	1,717	3,790	3,438
Connecticut	205	378	409	2,305	4,334	4,026	1,808	1,617	1,506
Delaware				64	400	504	355	538	607
Florida				72	417	561	654	2,234	
Georgia				168	1,808	988	5,613	1,396	845
Idaho						288	197	857	1,013
Illinois		141	443	12,074	21,695	25,870	9,796	17,626	34,770
Indiana		38		3,028	9,881	13,050	3,056	13,718	23,496
Iowa		36	592	1,472	3,550	6,340	3,192	9,502	11,601
Kansas		110		4,495	6,779	4,553	1,611	3,605	7,245
Kentucky		818	258	3,139	5,225	6,442	4,781	3,780	6,609
Louisiana				328	160				
Maine			93	2,160	2,691	3,062	1,570	2,585	1,510
Maryland		10		2,827	4,767	5,877	5,918	4,582	3,034
Massachusetts		84	682	9,923	8,701	7,539	2,998	6,207	4,279
Michigan	1,271	767	942	18,403	20,942	20,857	5,025	11,859	13,308
Minnesota		144	286	4,684	15,316	14,017	4,365	8,555	6,253
Mississippi					218	910	485		
Missouri		64		2,153	4,539	4,298	2,196	5,965	7,191
Montana						549	186	298	335
Nebraska		1,599		2,899	9,429	4,902	1,243	3,685	6,323
Nevada					41	89			
New Hampshire	200		180	1,570	1,594	1,296	779	1,270	749
New Jersey		43	191	6,153	7,939	8,131	5,614	7,183	6,845
New York	201	2,329	1,517	24,999	30,231	38,193	16,052	22,043	20,787
North Carolina				454	2,787	2,636	675	1,006	361
North Dakota						899	358	731	1,137
Ohio	2,100	1,636	2,616	1,169	24,356	26,012	5,068	10,203	19,339
Oregon				492	1,677	2,281	919	2,516	3,806
Pennsylvania	1,630	1,319	1,319	15,283	20,447	25,123	19,274	27,908	33,717
Rhode Island		68	20	928	1,251	1,654	1,160	1,529	768
South Carolina									
South Dakota									
Tennessee							683	1,542	2,905
Texas				1,131	5,969	4,856	3,098	3,900	1,889
Utah				3,534	4,749	2,165	1,786	2,644	4,292
Vermont								209	
Virginia				1,752	1,460	1,424	733	383	792
Washington				138	1,682	2,798	2,350	2,150	1,383
West Virginia						2,553	968	2,363	3,229
Wisconsin				939	1,084	2,145	1,216	1,585	4,413
Wyoming		151	69	7,056	14,277	13,132	7,509	10,124	9,770
Total	5,607	9,737	9,678	150,626	249,945	270,770	130,617	209,260	258,787

fic, it is necessary that the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government should be in the hands of a political party in harmony with the prohibition principle, and pledged to its embodiment in law, and to the execution of those laws.

V. We pledge the Prohibition Party, wherever given power by the suffrages of the people, to the enactment and enforcement of laws prohibiting and abolishing the manufacture, importation, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages.

VI. We declare that there is not only no other issue of equal importance before the American people to-day, but that the so-called issues upon which the Democratic and Republican parties seek to divide the electorate of the country are, in large part, subterfuges under the cover of which they wrangle for the spoils of office.

VII. Recognizing that the intelligent voters of the country may properly ask our attitude upon other questions of public concern, we declare ourselves in favor of:

The impartial enforcement of all law.
The safeguarding of the people's rights by a rigid application of the principles of justice to all combinations and organizations of capital and labor.

The recognition of the fact that the right of suffrage should depend upon the mental and moral qualifications of the citizen.

A more intimate relation between the people and government, by a wise application of the principle of the initiative and referendum.

Such changes in our laws as will place tariff schedules in the hands of an omnipartisan commission.

The application of uniform laws to all our country and dependencies.

The election of United States senators by vote of the people.
The extension and honest administration of the civil service laws.

The safeguarding of every citizen in every place under the government of the people of the U. S., in all the rights guaranteed by the laws and the Constitution.

International arbitration, and we declare that our nation should contribute, in every manner consistent with national dignity, to the permanent establishment of peace between all nations.

The reform of our divorce laws, the final extirpation of polygamy, and the total overthrow of the present shameful system of the illegal sanction of the social evil, with its unspeakable traffic in girls, by the municipal authorities of almost all our cities.

In December, 1904, Charles R. Jones, of Pennsylvania, was elected national chairman.

WILLIAM P. FERGUSON.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION: No one, who has not analyzed the statistics of political elections, can realize how defective is the electoral machinery of most countries. The late Mr. Thomas Hare, who was known in England as the "Father of Proportional Representation," calculated that no less than two fifths of the voters were wholly unrepresented in Parliament, while in this country Mr. Salem Dutcher, to whom we owe an excellent work on "Proportional Representation," curiously enough found the same proportion of two fifths to be true also for the Fortieth, Forty-first, and Forty-second Congresses of the United States. In Switzerland the statistics for the years 1881, 1884, and 1887 of the elections to the National Council, which corresponds to our House of Representatives, revealed the same unjust state of affairs. Down to the present time the same system goes on producing similar results. As matters now stand in these countries, the powers of government are entrusted to a majority of the majority, who may be a minority of the whole electorate. If, for instance, three fifths of the electors only are represented in a certain legislature, and one half plus one of the representatives, or say two thirds in order to leave a little margin, regulate the character of legislation, then the majority in that legislature, which frames the laws, represents a minority of the electors; for two thirds of three fifths is two fifths, which is less than one half. Mr. Garfield, while still a Congressman, described this unjust feature of our political machinery with characteristic clearness in a speech delivered before the House of Representatives on June 23,

1870. "In my judgment," he said, "it is the weak point in the theory of representative government, as now organized and administered, that a large portion of the voting people are permanently disfranchised. . . . Take my own district as an example; I have never been elected by less than 9,000 majority. Sometimes the majority has exceeded 12,000. There are about 10,000 Democratic voters in my district, and they have been voting there for the last forty years, without any more hope of having a representative on this floor than of having one in the Commons of Great Britain."

Many readers can supply illustrations of similar injustices, either from their own electoral district or from the wider field of national politics.

Here are a few recent examples of similar injustice and disproportion:

The congressional delegation elected in Ohio in 1906 contained 16 Republicans and 5 Democrats. According to the actual vote cast, the proportion ought to have been 11 Republicans and 10 Democrats.

In the British parliamentary election of 1906 the Ministerialist groups had 56 per cent of the votes and elected 72 per cent of the members. The Conservatives had 44 per cent of the votes and elected only 28 per cent of the members. So that the huge Ministerialist majority of 256 ought to have been only 68.

The Oregon House of Representatives consists of 60 members. In the election of June, 1906, the vote cast was, in round figures, as follows: Republicans, 54,000; Democrats, 30,000; Socialists, 7,000; Prohibitionists, 5,000. The fair and proper representation for each party would, therefore, have been 34 Republicans, 19 Democrats, 4 Socialists, and 3 Prohibitionists. Yet the actual result was 59 Republicans, 1 Democrat, and no Socialists or Prohibitionists.

Hundreds of similar examples could be given. The present system is unjust to Republicans as well as to Democrats, to Liberals as well as to Conservatives, and most of all to the smaller parties. The system is hopelessly faulty. By mere accident it sometimes approximates fair results as between the two main parties, but between them alone.

Undoubtedly the habit of manipulating the boundaries of electoral districts for party purposes also tends to aggravate these discrepancies. This abuse is called by the Germans *wahlkreisgeometrie*, or the geometry of electoral districts. In the United States it has been nicknamed the *gerrymander* (q. v.).

But even if dishonest electoral districts were never created, there would still remain a high percentage of unrepresented voters. The truth is, the whole system of electing representatives, as now practised the world over, cannot be made to produce accurate results. It is evident that a radical reform is demanded—one which shall make the vote of every elector effective, by applying the principle of proportional representation.

The various systems proposed of proportional representation are all based upon what is known technically as the electoral quota.

Suppose that in an illustrative state 70,000 votes are cast for the election of seven representatives on the proportional principle. Now, if 70,000 can elect seven, then one seventh of

Injustice of Present Methods

70,000, that is, 10,000, ought to be able to elect one. Thus 10,000 is the electoral quota in such a case. Every candidate who obtains 10,000 votes is sure of election; and every party is entitled to one representative for each 10,000 votes. This assumes that all these seven representatives are elected from the one electoral district.

Basis of Proportional Representa- tion

The same principle applies to a meeting of seventy persons who elect a committee of seven. Any ten persons voting together ought to be able to elect one of the committee, and the electoral quota is therefore ten. Any candidate obtaining ten votes is sure of election. If sixty persons are electing a committee of five, then any twelve of them ought to be able to elect one; and so on, whatever the number of electors or of representatives.

The theoretical basis of the electoral quota is, therefore, to divide the number of votes cast by the number of seats to be filled; in other words, to divide all the votes by all the seats. This gives what may be termed "the large quota." But in practise it is found that a smaller quota is sufficient to insure the election of any candidate and there are simple rules for finding such a quota, with which we will not trouble the reader at this stage. Let it suffice to indicate the general principle on which the electoral quota rests.

Then comes the working out of the quota principle in contested elections. This can best be shown by the descriptions of specific systems which follow:

We take first the Hare or Hare-Spence system, as being more explanatory of the proportional principle than any other, and we describe it in a colloquial way:

If you are voting on the Hare-Spence system in a seven-member electoral district, you mark your ballot for seven candidates (or less) in the order of your choice, with the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. The man whom you like best you mark No. 1, the next best No. 2, and so on in rotation. If your vote goes to help the candidate of your first choice to be elected, then it does not count for anybody else. But if the candidate whom you have marked No. 1—your first choice—has enough votes without yours, or has so few votes that he cannot be elected, then your vote goes to the man whom you have marked No. 2. If your No. 2 does not need or cannot use your vote, then it is passed on to No. 3, and so forth.

The Hare or Hare-Spence System

In counting the votes, the first operation in the Hare system is to sort out the ballots into as many compartments as there are candidates, according to the first choice or No. 1 votes, paying no attention for the present to the other figures on the ballots. While this is being done two tally-clerks are keeping tally of the votes. When the total number of votes is thus ascertained, it is divided by seven, which is the number of members to be elected. This gives the "quota" or number of votes required to elect any one man. For instance, if seven members are to be elected and 14,000 votes have been cast, the "quota" will be 2,000.

This is the "large quota." If the more accurate smaller quota of Mr. Droop is used, the process is thus: Divide the 14,000 votes by one more than the seven seats, and add one to the quotient. This gives 1,751 as the electoral quota. Any candidate getting 1,751 votes is sure of election, because if seven candidates get 1,751 votes each, there are not votes enough left to put an eighth candidate on a par with them.

Then any one of the candidates who has a quota or more than a quota is declared elected. If he has more than a quota, his surplus ballots are transferred to such of the other candidates as may have been marked No. 2 on the ballots so transferred. If the candidate marked No. 2 on any of these ballots has already been elected, then the ballot goes on to No. 3, and so on.

It never happens that the full number of members required have quotas of first-choice votes; so we then begin at the other end, take the man at the foot of the poll, with the lowest number of votes, declare him "out of the count," and then distribute the whole of his votes among the remaining candidates, according as indicated by the voters themselves, each on his own ballot. This process of elimination is repeated until seven of the candidates either get a

quota or come the nearest to it, and these seven are the elected ones.

From the above it will be seen that there are four chief factors in the Hare system of proportional representation:

1. The multiple electoral district; that is, a district from which several members are elected—not less than five, and more being better, up to the limit of balloting convenience.
2. The single vote; that is, each elector has one vote only which finally counts.

3. The electoral quota.
4. The transfer of votes.

Two or more of these factors are common to all systems of proportional representation.

Hon. William H. Gove (Salem, Mass.) has devised a system on the same general principles as the Hare plan, but greatly simplified. After nomination and before election each candidate publishes, in a certain formal way, a preferential list of those other candidates to whom he directs that

any necessary transfers of his votes shall be made; that is, his surplus, if any, or all his votes if he be eliminated. Then at the election each voter marks only one name on his ballot. The counting and the use of an electoral quota are the same as in the Hare system, except that the candidates' lists are used instead of the voters' second or subsequent choices, and actual ballots are not transferred. Transfers are made by calculation only, so that the ballots have not to be brought to one central place for counting.

The Gove Plan

A simpler plan still is used in Japan. In multiple electoral districts each elector has one vote only. The districts vary in electoral size from five members to fifteen. There is no electoral quota, and there are no transfers. The votes are simply counted, and the required number of members taken from the head of the poll. This frequently gives a true proportional result; because the process is just the same as if only the first choices were counted in the Hare system; and often in that system those who head the poll on the count of first choices are those ultimately elected. In any event the only difference the transfers make is a difference of one member, or two at most. The explanation is that the tendency of electoral transfers is from the weaker to the stronger candidates. Therefore the simple single vote in a multiple district is approximately proportional.

An addition to the Japanese system is proposed by Mr. John H. Berry, of Salem, Mass., and has been twice or three times embodied in a bill before the Massachusetts Legislature, but not passed. It gives each elected representative as many votes on a division as he has received from his constituents at his election, and provides a simple and ingenious plan by which any voter may transfer his vote from one representative to another, or from an unsuccessful to a successful candidate, thus enabling voters to withdraw support from an unfaithful representative, and insuring that every voter can be represented if he chooses.

The Proxy System

A plan called cumulative voting was used for thirty years in the election of English school-boards. It is now in use in the State of Illinois for legislative elections, in three-member districts—districts too small for really good working. Each elector has as many votes as there are candidates to be elected, and he may divide these votes among several candidates or "cumulate" them all on one or two of the candidates, as he pleases. The more the voters cumulate, the more proportional is the result. Cumulative voting, used as a system by itself, is an imperfect plan, and leads to great waste of votes. It is used in multiple districts.

Between systems of proportional representation there is a distinct line of cleavage: that between list systems and the non-list methods we have been describing.

A marked feature of list systems is that either the single vote, the multiple vote, or the cumulative vote may be used with them. They all require that the candidates be divided into party lists on the ballots; hence the name. Each list has its appropriate party heading. A vote counts both for the list and for the individuals in it to whom the vote is given.

The List Systems

The process of counting is to ascertain the grand total of votes, and the total for each list. Then the electoral quota is obtained in one of the ways already mentioned, or by mathematical methods such as the d'Hondt plan, which is adapted to list systems only, and gives a smaller quota than even the Droop. Next the lists are divided in turn by the electoral quota, thus showing the number of representatives to which each list is entitled. These representatives are chosen from the candidates having the largest number of votes.

In Switzerland the system is called the free list, and the multiple vote is chiefly used in connection with it; only one canton having the cumulative vote instead. The effect of the multiple vote, so used, is to give proportional results as

between parties, but not as between members of the same party.

In Belgium the single vote is used with the lists, each elector having one vote only; but the nominating arrangements are such as to give great power to the party organizations.

Akin to proportional representation is the preferential plan of securing an absolute majority at one balloting when electing a single officer such as a governor or mayor, no matter how many candidates are running. There is also the great advantage of promoting free nomination of candidates, because a weak candidate can be nominated without fear of cutting into the vote of a stronger candidate in the same interest. The method is simply that of the Hare or Gove system without the electoral quota. The counting finally concentrates the whole vote on two of the candidates, one of whom must then have a clear majority; barring a tie, which then is dealt with in the ordinary way. When at the same election both single officers and representatives have to be chosen, it is an advantage to use a similar method of balloting for each kind of election.

The Absolute Majority Method

Turning now to the actual use of proportional representation in legislative elections, we have the example of Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, Tasmania, Japan, and Finland.

Switzerland uses the free list with multiple vote, Canton Zug having the additional feature of cumulation.

A Swiss canton is the equivalent of an American state or a Canadian province. Six cantons elect their legislatures by proportional representation, namely, Ticino, Neuchâtel, Geneva, Zug, Basel, and Soleure. Besides this, the people of Soleure elect the tax commission proportionally; also all municipal councils which consist of more than seven members. When the number is less than seven, the proportional method of election ceases to be obligatory and becomes optional. In Canton Freiburg there is the option of electing municipal councils proportionally. Canton Bern and Canton Ticino also use proportional representation municipally; this including the large capital city of Bern. Recent news is that the canton of Schwyz has voted for the adoption of proportional representation by a good majority.

Belgium uses the free list with the single vote and elects both houses of Parliament on that system, which was first used in the general elections of May, 1900. There have since been general elections in 1902, 1904, and 1906, all on the same proportional plan.

The Kingdom of Denmark has used a modified Hare system in the elections to the Upper House for the last fifty years; also in the election of parliamentary committees. In this case the application of the proportional principle is restricted and partial.

The British colony of Tasmania used the Hare system in Jan., 1897, and again in March, 1900, in the cities of Hobart and Launceston respectively, for the election of members of the island legislature. Six were elected in Hobart and four in Launceston. After the formation of the Australian Commonwealth, the then new state of Tasmania elected her six commonwealth senators and five representatives by the same Hare system. Then interested politicians brought about an indirect abolition of the system, by doing away with the large electoral districts in which alone it could be worked. The government responsible for this was overwhelmingly defeated at the next general election, and the new government reenacted proportional representation, their bill passing the Lower House of the legislature almost unanimously. But the Up-

per House defeated the measure by a majority of two, and there the matter stands for the present. This Tasmanian Upper House is a monopolistic and reactionary institution, small in numbers, and elected for long terms on a restricted franchise.

Japan's Parliament or "Diet" consists of two chambers, the House of Peers and the House of Commons. There are 379 members in the House of Commons, elected from forty-seven electoral districts, thus averaging eight members to a district. The number of members elected from these districts varies from five to fifteen. In every district each elector has one vote only, which gives an exceedingly simple electoral system, with a close approximation to proportional representation in its results.

Finland's new constitution contains a provision for proportional representation, and the system was used for the first time in the 1907 legislative elections of that interesting Russian dependency.

The results of all these various and widely differing practical tests may be shortly summarized in the one word, success.

We will take Belgium as an example, because it is there that proportional representation has been tried on the largest scale, in a country where exact data are available. The information given here comes from "La Représentation Proportionnelle en Belgique," a book published by the distinguished statesman and author, M. le Comte Goblet d'Alviella. We choose the election of 1900 instead of later ones, because, being the first election under proportional representation, the contrast between the new and old systems can be better shown:

Actual Results in Belgium

In the general elections for the Belgian Parliament at the end of May, 1900, a million and a half voters cast their ballots under the free-list plan of proportional representation. There are three parties in Belgium—the Clerical Conservatives, the Liberals, and the Socialists. The Clerical Conservatives prefer to be called simply the Catholic Party. At the previous election under the old system, the Catholics were grossly over-represented, chiefly at the expense of the Liberals; but the new system set this nearly right, and had the effect of giving each party a fairly proportional representation in accordance with the numerical strength of each, thus proving its right to the name it bears. The figures for the Chamber of Deputies (the Lower House) are worth giving.

The defunct Chamber, elected under the old system, contained 112 Catholics, 12 Liberals, and 28 Socialists. In 1900, on May 27th, proportional representation elected 86 Catholics, 33 Liberals, 32 Socialists, and 1 "Democratic Christian"—a dissident from the Catholic Party. This striking difference is indeed an object lesson.

One noteworthy result of the new system has been a great lessening of partizan virulence, largely because each party realized that the system prevented unfair advantage being taken. Another beneficial effect is stated by Count d'Alviella as follows:

"One of the advantages of our proportional representation consists in having broken the old lines that divided in politics our Walloon and our Flemish citizens. Formerly the Walloon districts returned Socialist and Liberal members; the Flemish without exception only Catholics, or Catholics, as they prefer to call themselves. Now, of course, each district has members belonging to both parties, or even to three; and this tends to diminish racial antagonism.

"Another result has been to awaken political life in numerous districts where for a long time it had seemed to be extinguished, especially in the Flemish provinces. In the heart of the two Flanders, notably at Anvers and even at Limbourg, liberal associations have been born or revived in localities most devoted to the conservative Catholic Party. The Socialists entered into the struggle wherever they could find candidates, and the Catholics raised their flag in districts in the Walloon country where they had never succeeded in electing a candidate within the memory of man.

"Among other indirect advantages, proportional representation has thus put an end to the perilous coincidence which tended to establish itself between political divisions

and racial or linguistic divisions. (In Belgium there are two distinct races, speaking different languages.) The Flemish Liberals have to-day in the Chamber of Deputies members who know their country and speak their language; just as the Catholics of the industrial districts find other representatives of their interests than 'Luxembourgeois'—country squires, or Flemish proprietors."

The system used in Belgium promotes the solidarity of the great political parties. Count d'Alviella says: "These elections show that Belgium has room for three parties, but only for three. Even in the city of Brussels, which was one large constituency, returning eighteen members, so that to carry a seat less than one eighteenth of the votes cast was required, the lists of the commercials, of the industrial commercials, and of the P. O. L. obtained with difficulty some thousands of votes; but further, neither the independents, in spite of the personal influence of M. Theodor, nor the Christian Democrats, in spite of the intense propaganda of Abbe Daens, succeeded in reaching the electoral quotient which gives a seat. Except the one follower of Abbe Daens elected at Alost, not a dissident has entered either the Chamber or the Senate. The three parties are certainly more homogeneous than they were in the last Parliament elected under the old system."

"On the other hand, proportional representation has put an end to the heterogeneous coalitions which have tended for some years to be introduced into Belgian politics, and which end in reciprocal disappointments. Everywhere the radicals, who generally form the mainspring of anticlerical combinations, have had to resign themselves to go with the moderate Liberals or to struggle alone. At Brussels the independents have been constrained to break with the Catholics, and thus is terminated an equivocal alliance which had monopolized for fourteen years the 'representation' of the district. Each party, freed from the care of seeking at any price allies which it hoped to dupe on the morrow, has been able to present itself with an integral and homogeneous program which, for the first time, perhaps, in an electoral contest, was distinguished for clearness and sincerity."

Coming now to the prospects, progress, and propaganda of the proportional-representation movement in countries other than those mentioned, we find pending legislation or an active propaganda in at least five countries, namely: Sweden, France, Australia, England, and the United States.

The American Proportional Representation League was organized in 1893 (*q. v.*).

The recent work of the American Proportional Representation League has been to collect and distribute information to inquirers and others as to the principles and progress of the movement, particularly among workers for direct legislation, who are to-day among those most interested in political and electoral reform. One result of this policy is a local campaign for the adoption of proportional representation in Oregon, where the old system has had a particularly obnoxious outcome.

The American Proportional Representation League now consists of something over a hundred members, and keeps quietly, but steadily, at work.

A Proportional Representation Society has existed in England for many years, but was almost dormant from 1888 until March, 1905, when a reorganization took place, with Lord Avebury as president, Hon. Leonard Courtney (now Lord Courtney) as chairman of committee, and Mr. John Humphreys (107 Algernon Road, Lewisham, S. E. London, England) as honorary secretary. Since then much active work has been done. Articles have been published in many newspapers, pamphlets printed and distributed, two bills introduced into the imperial parliament, and a Blue Book of authoritative information issued by the House of Lords, concerning the use of proportional representation in various countries.

In Great Britain the only system proposed is that of Mr. Hare, as modified by Miss C. H. Spence, by introducing the feature of electoral

districts instead of the whole of the country being one district as Mr. Hare proposed. Hence the method is sometimes known as the Hare-Spence system. Altho approved in England, a densely populated country, many members of the American League believe that the Hare system would not work well in the U. S.

South Australia is the home of Miss Catherine Helen Spence, an able advocate of electoral reform; now over eighty-one year of age, but still active as a journalist and public speaker. For some years proportional representation has been in practical politics in that state, but so far without actual adoption. Its prospects seem bright for the near future.

In Victoria attempts have been made to introduce the proportional principle, but so far unsuccessfully. Professor Nanson, professor of mathematics in the University of Melbourne, is leader of the movement in that state.

Tasmania has been already referred to. Some propaganda work has been done in New South Wales.

There is now before the commonwealth Parliament a government bill for the use of preferential voting in single member districts. The Hare-Spence system is the only plan of proportional representation advocated or used in Australia. France during the last few years has been much stirred by the example of her near neighbor, Belgium, and a strong movement for proportional representation is in progress. The organ of the movement is *Le Proportionnaliste*, a quarterly journal published at 71 Grande-Rue Roubaix, France; and it has the support of powerful daily newspapers.

At the general election in May (1907) proportional representation figured in the program of many candidates, and, as soon as the new Parliament was opened, three bills tending to establish it in municipal and parliamentary elections were introduced.

As a result of the long struggle for electoral reform in Sweden the Swedish Government introduced into Parliament in Jan., 1907, a comprehensive measure which includes provisions for proportional voting in the elections for both chambers of the Riksdag and for municipalities.

ROBERT TYSON.

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PROSTITUTION OR THE SOCIAL EVIL:

The "social evil," as one form of social wrongdoing is commonly denominated, is not an evil peculiar to any age, country, or civilization. Herodotus tells us of an extent and infamy of prostitution in ancient Babylon almost beyond belief. Prostitution in terrible and unnatural forms was a part of the religious cultus of goddesses or gods worshipped under different names in Phoenicia, Syria, Phrygia, Egypt, and the ad-

The Australian Common- wealth

The French Republic

Sweden

Progress and Propaganda

Great Britain

jacent countries. Similar rites entered into the idolatry which repeatedly led the children of Israel astray, and are connected with the "groves" and "pillars," and other terms under which the English Old Testament covers the literal meaning of the Hebrew original. In Greece and at Athens, as well as in Corinth, we find the same sexual worship and prostitution made a matter of civic glory and religious gain. Unnatural vice was openly practised and defended by Greece's sages, heroes, and statesmen. Prostitution was taught as an art. The most educated women of Greece were courtesans. In Rome, if vice was less beautiful, it was more unbridled. Women of the highest rank, even of the imperial purple, enrolled themselves as common prostitutes. Orgies took place in the baths and in the temples. Obscenity ruled the stage.

We find the evil in every portion of the globe; in India, in Japan, in Hawaii, and everywhere about in proportion to our knowledge of the life of the age and country. We find it in the Middle Ages alike in hovel and in palace; in cloister and in hall. If under the Puritan régime it was temporarily restrained, it broke out in the Restoration in a wilder carnival of vice. (See CRIME.) It exists to-day in modern Babylons as in the old; if it is now publicly condemned and the number of the pure is enormously increased, there are those who believe that it is eating to-day under the surface far more than is generally known. At the National Purity Congress in Baltimore (Oct., 1895) it was stated that the number of prostitutes in the United States was 230,000, and that this implied at least 1,150,000 prostitutes, which is probably far under the truth. Miss Kate R. O'Hare, a rescue mission worker of many years' experience, estimates (*The Worker*, May 26, 1906) 600,000 public prostitutes in the U. S., and possibly as many more who sacrifice their chastity in connection with some other means of livelihood. Prostitutes are mainly found in the cities. Their male companions live not only in the cities, but also in the towns and villages, whose residents go to the cities for business, or pleasure, or both.

In a paper prepared for the World's Congress on Social Purity, held in Chicago in June, 1893,

Hon. Elbridge T. Gerry states that Superintendent Byrnes, of the police department, and himself compared notes with exactly the same result, and, viewing the matter from two different standpoints, they were agreed that the number of prostitutes at that time in New York City was at least 40,000.

Some think this estimate was too high. The Rev. F. M. Goodchild, writing in *The Arena* for March, 1896, says:

It has been declared that in New York City there are between 40,000 and 50,000 such women. That would make one habitual prostitute for every nine mature men in the city. As it is estimated that every fallen woman means on an average five fallen men to support her, it would appear that more than half our men are regular contributors to the brothel, which I should hesitate very much to believe.

Mr. Goodchild, however, appears to forget that prostitutes in a city are not supported by residents of that city alone, so that there may be 40,000. Nor is there any reason for believing that New York is much, if any, worse than other places in proportion to their size.

Mr. George K. Turner (*McClure's*, April, 1907)

estimates that \$20,000,000 a year is made by prostitution in Chicago. He says:

There are at least 10,000 professional prostitutes. Average annual receipts of \$2,000 each are brought in by these women. They do not themselves, however, have the benefit of this revenue. Much of it is never received by them. They are, in fact, exploited by large business interests.

There are four large interests which are concerned in the exploitation of prostitution. The first of these is the criminal hotels, the second is the houses of ill fame, the third the cheap dance-halls and saloons, and the fourth the men—largely Russian Jews—who deal in women for the trade. There are large indirect interests—such as, for instance, the leasing or subletting of tenements to the business, an operation which yields enormous percentages of profit—but these are the four principal direct interests in the trade.

He states that 292 hotels interested in prostitution are known and recorded, with 10,000 rooms, and receipts of not less than \$8,000,000 annually, probably \$10,000,000. They are, however, now being proceeded against. The number of good-sized houses of prostitution he puts at 350, with more than 4,000 women. The annual gross receipts are not less than \$8,000,000; they are more likely over \$10,000,000. These houses are disposed throughout the city. Their profits are not only from their shares in the women's wages, but from excessive prices for liquor. They also secure large returns from furnishing clothing and other necessities of life to their employees, at prices ranging from 100 to 200 per cent higher than the usual retail price. By this system the wages of the women are largely secured by the proprietors of the establishments. The plan is not different in principle from the familiar "company store" system of the manufacturing and mining district. It is a first rule of the business, as generally conducted, to keep the employees continuously in debt, so that they are unable to leave the establishments unless the proprietors desire it.

The business of the small places, the flats, cannot be estimated, but it is very large and is growing constantly, especially since the official attacks which have frightened away custom from the criminal hotels. There are certainly not less than 2,000 women in these flats, and annual expenditures are certainly not less than \$4,000,000. In some sections of the city there are scores of these small places. One building of over seventy apartments is said to contain nothing else.

These places and the hotels cater to the demand for ruining young girls—especially the low-paid employees of department stores and factories, which furnish the majority of the English-speaking women in the profession in Chicago. The dance-halls and irregular saloons also take a part of the profit from this source. The direct business of supplying women to the trade, while not so large as these others, is also profitable. Some of the more enterprising of the keepers of the regular houses of ill fame have private arrangements with men, who ruin young girls for their use. Most of the young women who come into the business in this way do so before reaching the age of nineteen.

The largest regular business in furnishing women, however, is done by a company of men, largely composed of Russian Jews, who supply women of that nationality to the trade. These men have a sort of loosely organized association extending through the large cities of the country, their chief centers being New York, Boston, Chicago, and New Orleans. . . . The price paid is about \$50 a head. In some exceptional cases \$75 has been given. This money paid over to the agent is charged up to the debt of the woman to the house. She pays that for her own sale. In addition she gives over a large share of her earnings to the man who places her.

In New York City prostitution is perhaps less open than in Chicago, but the social evil has probably also been more widely spread through all classes of society, from the very wealthy to the very poor. Recently there has been much agitation against it and its more open forms much reduced. According to the report, however, of "The Committee of Fifteen" (1902), in one police precinct, not more than a mile square, there were known to be in 1900 forty houses of prostitution, besides sixty well-known centers of prostitution in tenement-houses.

The Raines Law, requiring saloons to become "hotels," has given opportunity and a cloak of attractiveness and ease to prostitution. The appearance of the "cadet" (who makes money by seducing girls and placing them in houses of prostitution, and receiving from them \$40 or \$50 per week) is but one link between the tenements and

the evil trade. The partnership between some of the police department and the keepers of evil houses has given immunity from arrest in exchange for a share in the profits. Says the report: "When a house containing not more than ten inmates, exclusive of the proprietress, and known as a 'fifty-cent house,' could afford to pay an initiation fee of \$500 to the wardman and \$50 a month for the privilege of continuing in this illegal occupation unmolested, an estimate can be formed as to the amount of trade which must be carried on within."

Of Philadelphia Mr. Goodchild writes (see above):

There are not less than 1,000 houses of ill fame in the city, and as many as 5,000 women live among us by the sale of their bodies. I wish I might have confidence that the estimate is too high; but nearly six years of observation make me fear that the figures are much too low. This does not include, of course, the vast multitude of poor girls whose labor yields scarcely enough to keep body and soul together, many of whom fall victims to the lecherous men who are always on the watch for "new cases."

In many cities like Boston, where there is perhaps less prostitution, there is much evil in society. A responsible reform worker in that city points out a fashionable avenue almost lined with the apartments of the kept mistresses of business men.

But the older cities of Europe are probably even worse. General Booth of the Salvation Army in his "Darkest England" chart estimates the number of prostitutes in London at 30,000.

They have, however, also been put at 10,000. The fact is that no one knows the number of prostitutes in any city. Certainly so far as street solicitation goes, police regulation has of late years much reduced the evil in London, while the fact that any private citizen can set in motion the severe laws against houses of prostitution and their owners has broken up very many such houses, and most of the centers where formerly they multiplied. The believers of the English system of depending on such measures to reduce the evil, and of not attempting medical or legal supervision as on the Continent, point to these successes and prove the decrease of syphilis in the army of Great Britain (not in the empire, in parts of which, as India, conditions are very different).

It must be remembered, however, that London is a world center and that all its evils are not due to local conditions. Critics, therefore, of the English system, in Germany especially, claim that the English system does not work.

A German authority says: "In no country of the world does prostitution assume such a cynical character as in England. In no

Great Britain

country do so many children become its victims as in England; in no country does traffic in girls, especially that of minors, flourish as in England. London is the center for the traffic in girls, the central point for men trading in girls and of their agents. The London houses of ill fame maintain agents of both sexes in every country of Europe, who furnish them with fresh 'goods.' Numberless girls who are enticed to go to England as seamstresses, milliners, servants, governesses, etc., lose their maidenhood in London resorts of ill fame." (See "Freiheit oder gesundheitliche Ueberwachung der Gewerbsunzucht," by Gaston Vorberg, M.D., 1907, p. 43.) This authority goes on to say that some keepers of houses maintain from six to ten houses, and that stock

companies have been formed for this purpose, tho under different names. One of them is said to have a capital of £100,000, and divided £56,389 as profit after the first year. It states as its purpose "the better exploitation of real estate of little value." The company has 128 houses, the rent of which would under ordinary circumstances amount to only £40-£50. Each house has ten girls, of whom each yields a net profit of 5s. per diem. The managers, generally women, are entitled to 25 per cent of the income, and are pensioned after ten years.

In Berlin a commission appointed by the Society of Medicine, with Professor Virchow as president, found 4,364 prostitutes in that city recognized by the police, and estimated the total number at from 40,000 to 50,000. ("Addresses of National Purity Congress," 1895, Baltimore, pp. 250-252.) The prefect of police of Paris is quoted as saying that there were in Paris over 100,000. ("Addresses," as above, p. 310.)

Germany has a strict system of supervision by means of registration, and of these statistics can be given. The number of registered prostitutes in 1900 in cities with a population in 1897-98 was: Berlin, 4,500 with a population of 1,677,304; Breslau, 1,021 with 373,169; Dresden, 250 with 336,440; Hamburg, 733 with 625,552; Cologne, 500 with 321,564; Leipsic, 294 with 399,963; Munich, 60 with 409,307. The number of these women is stated to have decreased since 1900, because a law went into effect that year which enabled the police to send all prostitutes under eighteen years to an institution, and a large number of those between eighteen and twenty-one. The number of non-registered prostitutes is estimated to be about three times that of the registered, and that of mistresses, considerably higher. The registered girls are visited regularly by physicians, about twice a week in some places, and sent to the hospitals for free treatment, where they are retained until cured.

The houses of assignation in Paris have decreased more than 66 per cent since 1872. In that year the city had 138 houses with 1,092 inmates; in 1907, 41 with 390. This

France

change does not, however, of necessity indicate an increase in morality, but simply one of fashion. The registered houses are no longer allowed to admit girls under twenty-one years of age, since experience has proved that if girls can be tided over to that year, they are less susceptible to temptation; statistics show that only 25 per cent have fallen after their twenty-first year. The registered women are visited weekly by a physician, but must report at once if they are ill. The hospital of St. Lazare furnishes free treatment. Owing to this close supervision, syphilis has largely decreased among the inmates, i. e., from 23.9 per cent in 1872 to practically nil in 1906, perhaps because the diseased women go to the provinces for treatment. In 1904 Dr. Hennequin made confidential inquiries in behalf of the Ministry of the Interior among the mayors of the larger cities. Out of eighty-seven answers, seventy-four were in favor of supervised bordels.

All courtzans who live alone must submit to a physical examination twice a month, and have to show their card of health, if requested. Their number has increased in proportion to the decrease of those in houses, i. e., from 2,583 in 1872

to 5,776 in 1906. Syphilis among them has been reduced greatly, from 20 per cent in 1872 to about 4 in 1906.

The secret or unregistered women who solicit in the streets are examined only when arrested; they do not seek medical aid, altho it is furnished free to them, and thus cause infection. Their number has changed little since 1872, i. e., from 2,498 to 2,265 in 1906; but an average of 25 per cent are treated for syphilis. The number of those who solicit in secret is, of course, considerably larger. Among the alarming facts as to these is, that most of them are minors, e. g., from 1878-87 the police caught 12,615 minors; in 1904 alone, 2,439. They are most susceptible to syphilis, and very dangerous to the public health. The number of other women who have "friends" or supplement their scanty earnings for a compensation of one kind or another, is estimated variously from 50,000 to 100,000.

Other cities in Europe have in the main copied the systems of Paris or Berlin, tho of recent years there has been a decided tendency to abolish the supervision of prostitution owing to the steady protest and agitation of the critics

Other Cities

of the system, and the organization of societies to work for its abolition. French cities, however, in the main have followed Paris, and in smaller cities it is usually somewhat easier to enforce effective regulations. German cities as a rule regulate vice. Hungary is said to have an efficient system, Austria a less efficient one. Belgium has in the main copied Paris. The larger Italian cities, down to 1888, copied Brussels. In 1888 the law of supervision was abolished, under Crispi, and an increase of venereal diseases in the army is said to have taken place in one year from 4.25 per cent to 10.25 per cent. The Scandinavian cities usually control vice, tho Norway abolished the system in 1888, and Denmark in 1906. Russia demands the registration of both houses and prostitutes. Switzerland is divided, some cantons still maintaining supervision, others abandoning it.

Of the evils connected with prostitution there is scarcely need to speak. Many careful students are coming to believe that the sexual evil, in its various forms, is greater even than that of intemperance. Says Prof. A. G. Warner ("American Charities," p. 66): "Careful observers believe it to be a more constant and fundamental cause of degeneration than intemperance. It certainly effects degeneration of a more or less pronounced type in a much larger number of persons. It persists almost to the end in the most degenerate stock, while at the same time it is operative among the healthier classes. . . . Intemperance is, however, all but universally the companion of prostitution. It has been frequently said that girls rarely can, and men rarely do, continue a fast life without drink. If the saloon is often literally the entrance to a brothel, the brothel as frequently leads to the saloon. An eminent lawyer is quoted on p. 121 of the published "Addresses of the National Purity Congress" at Baltimore (1895) as saying: "It is my deliberate conviction, based upon facts coming to my knowledge in the course of twenty years' practise, that more boys are converted to drinking habits in houses of ill fame than in the saloons."

Amount of Evil

Of the physical evils attendant upon prostitution, perhaps more than enough has been said.

Yet an evil that at any time may, and repeatedly does, reduce youth to premature, helpless old age; transform the body into a rotten shell; affect not only the sinner, but his posterity; make the kiss of love the means of carrying contagion and foul disease to pure brides and innocent children, it is difficult to describe too strongly.

One of the most atrocious evils connected with prostitution are the abominations of child prostitution. Says the Hon. E. T. Gerry ("Addresses," as above, p. 340):

Few have the remotest idea of the extent to which sexual vice exists among children at the present time. I use the word "sexual vice," as including both self-abuse and prostitution. . . . Nothing but the vigilance of parents and guardians can detect the solitary vice, and hence statistics are very difficult to obtain, excepting when the one vice leads up to the other. But in the other case, the figures show a frightful prevalence, at the present time, of juvenile prostitution. True, under the stringent laws which have been enacted in the various states of our union, at the instance of Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, those who utilize little children for the simple gratification of lust are made to suffer a felon's imprisonment, and while the effect has been to practically denude the brothels of youthful victims, still the vice exists, more especially among the lower classes, to a degree hardly credible in this civilized country. A large number of the brothels, at the present time, are replenished by juvenile prostitutes, rather than by those who have fallen but once. . . . That the disease is spreading is unquestioned.

In a paper on the subject of "Child Prostitution," read at the World's Social Purity Congress in Chicago in 1893, Mr. Gerry states that there is a fearful theory existing in this country, tho more particularly among foreigners, according to which, if any male who has contracted disease through indulgence, can secure a perfectly pure child as his victim, the disease will pass from him to the child. Nor is it only among the poor that these grosser evils exist. If one is to credit the sad whispers of grave officials of the Church as to the morals in boy choirs, or in private and public schools, one finds fearful evidence of the existence, in all ranks of society, of various forms of unnatural vice.

Akin to this evil is that of the organized traffic in girls, which is declared by all who have investigated the subject to be carried on around the world.

Traffic in Girls

A few years ago it was stated to the House committee which was investigating the immigrant question in New York, by the president of the Woman's National Industrial League, that "syndicates exist in New York and Boston, for the purpose of supplying fresh young girls from immigrants arriving in this country, for houses of ill fame; agents of the business go abroad and assist in this nefarious business. Immigrants arriving in New York furnish 20,000 victims annually." Much, however, is now done to protect immigrants and traveling girls. Yet the evil is still real. In very many cities agents of houses of ill fame meet girls coming to the cities on the railroads and on the boats. They advertise for girls wanted for light work and good pay. When the girls come they are detained. Agents go out to solicit boys and men as patrons.

A book, "The Traffic in Girls and Florence Crittenton Missions," exposes many of the traps laid for unwary girls. The schools, private as well as public, are often made the main place for promoting child prostitution, disseminating obscene literature, and obtaining fresh victims.

Mrs. Charlton Edholm said at the Baltimore Congresses ("Addresses," p. 153): "I stand here in the presence of God, to say that of the 230,000 erring girls in this land, three fourths of them have been snared and trapped, and bought and sold."

When one realizes that the average life of a

prostitute is said to be but five years, one can understand what a traffic it must be to obtain the 230,000 for the U. S. alone, while alike in Germany and Japan, in France and in England, the traffic goes on.

It is now necessary to ask what are the causes of prostitution, as a means to asking how the evil can be met. Dr. Sanger, in the book referred to above, attributes, out of 2,000 cases, 525 to destitution, 513 to inclination, 258 to seduction, 181 to drink.

Different writers differ from this. The most thorough statistical study was made by the Bureau of the Statistics of Labor for Massachusetts in 1888. It says:

The statistical method is not the best under which to determine moral conditions; yet, as an auxiliary, it has great efficiency. Statistical science can only be employed to show the results of the lives of the people; it cannot show the inner motives which lead to results. . . .

Observation is not sufficient, and personal interviews might lead to difficulties greater than those belonging to observation alone. The force of statistics in such conditions is rather negative than positive, and this negative quality is brought into use here.

It is often flippantly asserted that the shop-girls, those comprising the class under investigation, recruit the ranks of prostitution. . . . Of course, such a charge cannot be entirely removed when applied to any class. The only question here is, Does it apply to the class against which it is brought?

A few statistics of a negative character have been collected, relating to prostitution. This partial investigation has been made as to how far the ranks of prostitution are recruited from girls belonging to the industrial classes. It should be distinctly borne in mind that this partial investigation was applied only to what may be called professional prostitutes; for no statistical investigation can disclose the amount of immoral conduct of any class of people. So that quiet, unobtrusive, and unobserved prostitution, which exists in all communities, has no place in the present consideration.

Original investigation was made in the following cities: Brooklyn, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Louisville, Newark, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, St. Louis, and San Francisco.

In 1884 the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor made a report as to the previous occupations of 170 professional prostitutes in the city of Boston, and the facts then given have been incorporated in this report.

The number of prostitutes as stated in the following table, for any one of the cities named, falls far below the total number of prostitutes in that city, but the number and variety of those from whom information has been received are sufficient to insure representative results. Thus in Chicago, for example, there are, or were at the time of the investigation of the department, 302 houses of ill fame, assignation houses, and "rooming" houses, known to the police, containing 1,097 inmates. This investigation involved 557 of this number.

The facts as to marriage are shown by the following brief table, which gives the number of prostitutes furnishing information in the cities referred to, the number reporting themselves as having been married, and the per cent of the total number who were married:

CITY	Number of prostitutes furnishing information	Number of prostitutes reported as having been married	Per cent of married of total number
Boston.....	170	13	7.65
Chicago.....	557	143	25.67
Cincinnati.....	382	77	20.16
Louisville.....	263	70	26.62
New Orleans.....	167	4	2.40
Philadelphia.....	100	3	3.00
San Francisco.....	323	81	25.08

It is hardly worth while to take space at this time to give the occupations of all those who have entered prostitution from the different cities involved.

The number of prostitutes giving information was 3,866, and the following summary exhibits the occupations of this number preceding their entry upon their present life. For this purpose, occupations similar in character have been grouped, and no occupation or group containing less than

ten persons has been included in the classification—those numbering under ten being put into the general classification of "various occupations":

Actresses, ballet-girls, circus performers, singers, etc...	52
Bead-trimming makers, embroiderers, lace-workers...	21
Bookbinders.....	18
Bookkeepers, clerks, copyists, stenographers, typewriters, etc.....	31
Candy factories.....	10
Cigarette, cigar, and tobacco factories.....	78
Corset factories.....	16
Dressmakers, seamstresses, employees of cloak and shirt factories, buttonhole-makers, etc.....	505
Hair-dressers and hair-workers.....	15
Housework, hotel-work, table-work, and cooking.....	1,155
Laundry-work.....	70
Milliners and hat-trimmers.....	71
No previous occupation (home).....	1,236
Nurses (hospital and house), and nurse-girls.....	22
Paper-box factories.....	32
Rope and cordage factories.....	12
Saleswomen and cashiers.....	126
Shoe factories.....	43
Students (at schools or convents).....	14
Teachers, governesses, etc.....	23
Telegraph and telephone operators.....	11
Textile factories.....	94
Various occupations.....	211

The following list shows the character of the more important occupations, omitted from the foregoing summary, with the number of women who had been employed in each, and which are included under "various occupations":

Artificial flower-makers.....	9
Button factories.....	9
Farm-work.....	9
Canning establishments.....	8
Necktie-makers.....	8
Housekeepers.....	7
Straw sewers.....	7
Hat and cap factories.....	6
Bag factories.....	5
Canvassers.....	5
Clock and watch factories.....	5
Box factories (wooden).....	4
Chewing-gum factories.....	4
Florists.....	4
Feather curlers and sewers.....	4
Restaurants.....	4

The preceding figures are exceedingly instructive. By them it will be seen that the largest number coming from any occupation has been taken from those doing housework, hotel-work, and cooking; this number, 1,155, being 29.88 per cent of the whole number comprehended in the statement.

The next largest number, so far as occupation is concerned, ranks with the seamstresses, including the dressmakers, employees of cloak and shirt factories, etc., this number being 505.

A fact which strikes one sadly is the large number who enter prostitution directly from their homes. This number is 1,236, being 31.97 per cent of the whole number comprehended.

It cannot be said, therefore, so far as this investigation shows, that the employees in workshops are to be burdened with the charge of furnishing the chief source whence the ranks of prostitution are recruited.

The experience of the writer in making an examination in many cities, both in the U. S. and in Europe, sustains the statement, but more strongly than the figures here given, that working women do not recruit the houses of prostitution.

Nor does the investigation show that employers of labor are guilty of reducing their employees to a condition of prostitution, as is often alleged. Only in the rarest cases can one meet with a whisper that this is the case. And these whispers, followed to their source, have rarely disclosed any facts which would lead to the conclusion that employers make bargains based on the loss of character of their employees. . . .

Working women are not street-walkers. They could not carry on their daily toil and walk the streets, too. A captain of police express the matter well when he said that people who charge the working women with walking the streets at night for evil purposes do not know what they are talking about. Night-walkers are, all of them, hardened professionals. The prostitutes, some of them, may have been hard-working women, but no working woman ever walks the streets as a prostitute. This captain said that, when a girl falls from virtue, she has first to graduate as a "parlor" girl, and then serve some time in a still lower house, before she is hardened enough to take to the streets.

Before, however, drawing inferences from this table, it must be remembered that it is only drawn from the facts as to girls in houses of ill

fame. Shop-girls, working girls, are, as a rule, not there. If investigation was made of girls occupying rooms by themselves, quite another story might be found. Even the bagnios there is another side. Mr. Stead, in his "If Christ Came to Chicago," gives the testimony of Dora Clafin, the "Madam" of a house of ill fame. She says:

Economic Cause

Prostitution is an effect, not a careless, voluntary choice on the part of the fallen. Girls do not elect to cast themselves away. They are driven to the haunts of vice. The more distinctively womanly a girl is—and I mean by that the more she has beauty, delicacy, love of dress and adornment, feminine weakness—the easier a mark she is for the designing. And the designers are not wanting.

Girls, and I say this emphatically, are not seducers. They have innate delicacy and refinement. I say honestly that I do not believe that one woman in 10,000 would cast herself at the feet of lust except under duress or under the force of circumstances.

The recruiting grounds of the bagnio are the stores, where girls work long hours for small pay; the homes that have few comforts, and practically no pleasure; the streets, where girls are often cast, still unknown to sin, but in want and without shelter; in a word, places outside the levee, where distress and temptation stand ever present as a menace to purity and rectitude; behind every effect there is a cause. In the case of prostitution, the real cause lies not in the girls who fall, but in the social conditions that make the fall easy, and the men who tempt to the step and furnish the money to support degradation after the step has been taken. Before reform in the levee is possible, there must be reform in the home, on the mart.

All writers on the subject agree in the fact that poverty leads to much prostitution, and that in stores, factories, and offices, salesgirls, working girls, and typewriters are drawn or lured by the lack of money or the desire for money. One speaker at the Baltimore congress considered the factory a mill for the production of prostitutes. Says the Rev. F. M. Goodchild (*The Arena*, March, 1896):

The money returns furnish a very great temptation to girls to part with their virtue. Some fall because they cannot find work; some because they do not wish to work. Many a girl who is strong, and healthy, and comely, and lazy, learns that there is a market for such as she; that she can earn more in a night by sin than she can in a week or a month by work, and she sells herself accordingly. Mr. Stead reminded the Woman's Club of Chicago that the peculiar temptation of a woman is that her virtue is a realizable asset. This vice costs a man money; to a woman it yields money. Mr. Booth says that the number of young women who receive \$2,500 in one year for the sale of their persons is larger than the number of women of all ages, in all businesses and professions, who make a similar sum by honest industry. In sin the prizes come first; in honest callings only after long and painful toil. Even in the common houses on Bainbridge Street, at a fifty-cent rate, girls often make \$20 or more a week.

Yet, on one point, one must be guarded. Even if it be true that women of impure life average \$20 a week by their vice, it by no means proves that the average woman can get \$20 per week. A few women of the demi-monde, mistresses, and even prostitutes, have hundreds, and thousands of dollars squandered on them in a brief while. This enormously raises the average income of their class, but the great mass of these women get vastly less. At best, their income is but for a few years, and vast, vast multitudes never live in luxury, but in utter want. Many of their homes, many houses of ill fame are not only not attractive, but poorly furnished. It must be remembered that the wages of sin rise and fall with the market, and with the conditions of different countries. If in "good times" men throw money away recklessly, in hard times, when the women are most tempted to prostitution for profit, they do not. Instances are not unknown where girls have left situations with low wages for the reported "high wages" of the prostitute, and have found,

as actual fact, that, as prostitutes, they earned even less than before. Prostitutes starve; prostitutes are "unemployed," even as in any trade. All this must not be forgotten, even while it remains true that an enormous amount of prostitution is due to the economical conditions which often make it next to impossible for a single woman to earn a decent living, and throw thousands of women on the streets, and bring immorality within easy reach of almost any man.

The throwing of the sexes together in factory and in store, and quite as much in private counting-rooms and offices, has its dangers. Coeducation in the halls of learning is winning its way. Working together in communication, where morals are often at their lowest, is another thing. The evil lies not in the mingling of men and women, but in the evil environment.

The stage, the concert hall, and the ball bear a large responsibility. From the spectacular play and from the ball, with underdressed women at the one, and underdressed women and wine at the other, men hurry to the brothel. It by no means follows that the cure lies in the abolition of the theater or the dance (tho some think so), yet the part in this matter played by the present stage and fashionable society cannot be denied. The supreme social cause of prostitution, however, we believe, has not yet been mentioned. This is the crowded tenement. (See OVERCROWDING; TENEMENTS.) When boys and young girls have no attractive home, and no healthy playground, they must be on the streets. A child cannot be kept in the house all day, and live. When a girl comes from a school or from the store, to the crowded living-room or flat, and finds the narrow quarters redolent with the steam of washing and the fumes of cooking, she must (in the cities) go on the street for fresh air. There bad company captures more girls than in any other one way. Not many girls sell themselves, for the first time for money; after the first great downward step, money directly plays its part, but the supreme social cause of prostitution we believe to be the bad housing of the poor, resulting from low wages, and the poverty of the great masses in our cities.

REFORM

In classic and earlier ages prostitution, not being generally considered an evil, was rarely legislated against; adultery on the part of the wife was considered the one social evil. The Germanic tribes, however, Tacitus says, punished an unchaste person by death (later by punishment and beating). The early Christian emperors also made some attempts at repression of the evil. (See CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Gradually, however, the State came to recognize the evil and undertook to control it. The aim was to

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keep the prostitute a class distinct from the community and to prevent the brothel from being a place of disorder. The brothel was therefore licensed and controlled. The prostitute played a recognized part in society, taking part in public festivities, processions, and even sacred festivals. The public women were, as in Nuremberg, organized in guilds of their trade. As later, however, corruption grew, more repression was tried, and sumptuary laws passed controlling these houses, etc. From the medieval customs developed the modern European methods of

"regulation." In 1802 in Paris the prefecture of police proceeded to register public prostitutes and to impose upon them the obligation of submitting to fortnightly examination; a little later prostitutes were confined to houses specially licensed for that purpose. By 1848 the present French system was practically developed; prostitutes being licensed either in houses of prostitution or of accommodation. Those in houses are examined every week; those at large every two weeks; the diseased are sent to the hospital of the prison of St. Lazare and detained there till they are supposed to be cured. The medical service numbers a chief and some fifteen assistants. In Berlin this system began, in essence, as early as 1700. In 1839 the licensed brothels were confined to one street. After various experiments, in 1856 the licensed brothels were closed. In Germany to-day, generally, the prostitutes are registered and examined periodically, and in many cities licensed brothels exist.

This is still the general system in Europe, tho everywhere unregistered prostitutes outnumber the registered, often ten to one.

It was in 1864 that by act of Parliament, supplemented by additional legislation in 1866, and again in 1869, the regulation system was introduced in Great Britain, under the name of the "Contagious Diseases Acts." They were applied to sundry military districts, ostensibly to promote the health of the army, but with the purpose on the part of their projectors, later avowed, ultimately to extend them also to the civil population.

Great Britain

When their real character and object became known, a vigorous repeal agitation was begun, under the leadership of Mrs. Josephine E. Butler, which was continued for twenty years. At the end of the two decades the repeal movement was triumphant, and the acts were swept from the statute-books. During the prolonged contest the battle of statistics was many times fought, and with great earnestness on both sides. Figures were employed to prove both the hygienic success and failure of the acts.

In America there have been attempts to introduce the registration system in almost all the larger cities, but only in St. Louis has it ever been tried for any length of time, and was there given up after about four years.

It was in 1870 that the license system was inaugurated in St. Louis. The authority for it was obtained by a legislative trick: the interpolation, without debate, of the two words, "or regulate," into

United States an amendment of the city charter, intended, as was generally supposed, to suppress prostitution. The legal effect of this amendment, as was subsequently decided by the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri, was to repeal all State laws prohibiting prostitution, so far as St. Louis was concerned, and to give to it a business status as a legitimate industry. A German municipal officeholder was deputed to visit Europe, to familiarize himself with regulation laws there. An ordinance was subsequently adopted, requiring the registry of prostitute women.

The regulationists of St. Louis, especially those connected with its Board of Health, attempted to show by the figures of the earlier registrations, made at intervals of a few months, a diminution in the number of prostitutes. Dr. William G. Eliot, the honored president of Washington University of St. Louis, who made a most thorough, impartial investigation of the whole matter, says of this claim of a diminished number of prostitutes, that: "In fact, they had scotched the snake, not killed it, and in all probability the number of prostitutes had not been diminished at all. To scatter a nest of hornets," he says, "is a very different thing from its destruction."

The results during the progress of the experiment proved an increase of 34 per cent in the number of brothels, and an increase in the number of registered women of more than 35 per cent. There was also an undoubted increase, meanwhile, of clandestine prostitution. Concerning the sanitary

aspect, Dr. Eliot says: "What is still more startling, when the stamping-out process is examined, it appears that while the number of diseased women under treatment in 1871 was 18 out of 480, or 3½ per cent, it has risen now (1873) to an average of 40 out of 653, or over 6 per cent, showing the remarkable fact, to which, however, we can find a parallel in Paris itself, that even among the registered and regularly inspected prostitutes the hateful disease may increase, a result which, tho unexpected, ought not to surprise us so long as the male prostitutes are themselves exempt from medical inspection." How incomplete was the registration, and of how little practical value, in a sanitary point of view, the system of medical inspection, may be seen from the significant figures presented by Dr. Eliot, taken from the reports of the chief of police of St. Louis, for the years 1871 and 1872. He says: "The year 1871, ending March 31st, shows that out of 3,722 females arrested 1,526 were prostitutes, and 218 keepers of bawdy houses (the Board of Health report of the same date shows 480 registered prostitutes and 99 keepers!), being a total of 1,744, or 46 per cent of all females arrested. The year 1872 shows that out of 3,187 females arrested, 2,613 were prostitutes and 71 keepers of houses, or a total of 2,684, being over 64 per cent of all females arrested, and an increase of 940 prostitutes arrested, or 18 per cent more than the previous year."

When it was discovered what had been accomplished by legislative legerdemain, a vigorous agitation for repeal began. A petition for repeal was signed by 4,000 women of St. Louis, and presented to the Missouri Legislature. The archbishop, bishop, and Catholic clergy, nearly all the Protestant clergy, and a majority of the St. Louis bar were enlisted in the cause of repeal, over 150 lawyers and physicians.

The legislature of 1873-74, after a prolonged and embittered discussion, finally voted the repeal by a vote of three fourths of all the members of the Senate, and the House by 90 to 1.

The Philanthropist, to which we are indebted for the above details, thus sums up some of the evils of the license system:

1st. It confers the sanction of law upon the barbarous trade in women.

2d. It subjects these tempted and often coerced helpless women to the atrocity of continuous compulsory examination by men, and the conspicuous posting of their names as having been thus systematically outraged.

3d. It fosters vice instead of "preventing" it, in that it contemplates opportunity, facilities, and safety for the "guests," who are more than equal participants.

4th. It fails to protect health for the community, because it does not adopt any precaution against the spread of venereal contagion by the "guests" for whose indulgence it provides. It makes no provision for their examination and cure, tho they are much more numerous and dangerous than their victims, as transmitters of disease.

5th. It makes a permitted trade of the cruel and dastardly occupation of the procurer and procuress.

6th. It grants permits at a price that will not prohibit the dreadful trade, but will invite to it.

On the other hand there seems little use in the mere effort to suppress houses of prostitution.

In New York City, owing to the agitation conducted by Dr. Parkhurst, hundreds of prostitutes have been turned out of their houses and the houses closed by the police. It is considered a triumph of morals, and other cities are following the example.

But where have the women gone? Have they been redeemed to virtue? If they have, have their male partners in vice been redeemed? If not, even if the women have been redeemed, these men remain to seduce other women to take the place of their victims that have been rescued from them. But no informed mind fancies that closing disorderly houses redeems their inmates to virtue. Where then are they? In the flats of the upper middle class and among the tenements of the poor. Formerly they were brought little in contact with home life and childhood. Now they are scattered among the homes and children of New York. Is this a triumph of virtue? Driving sinful women to continue their trade among homes and children, and letting men go free—is this reform? Dr. Rainsford well says that you might just as well take cases of smallpox, and say they should not be allowed in houses by themselves, and therefore scatter them around among homes.

Nor are these results imaginary. Says the report of the New York Tenement-House Committee of 1894 (p. 88):

The presence of many immoral women in the tenement houses, where they are thrown in contact with respectable people, and, worse than that, with large numbers of ignorant and innocent children, forms a most deplorable condition.

There has been a manifest increase in this condition during the past year or eighteen months, and there is no doubt that the influx of prostitutes into actual residence in tenement-houses is due to the police raids, which have closed most of the houses of ill fame in the tenement-house districts. Under the old order of things, no matter what its evils may have been, the immoral women occupied houses by themselves. At present they form a part of the life of the great tenement-houses, and thus their contaminating influence is felt far more directly by the general public than was formerly the case. The tenements always have had, and probably always will have, their share of immoral women—of a class peculiar to them and separate from the professional prostitutes driven of late into them, from houses of ill fame. Most of this tenement class consists of women who have been abandoned by their husbands, and who, in order to support themselves and their legitimate children, are driven to depend to some extent upon evil sources of income. Such abandonment is distressingly common among certain foreign nationalities. Probably fifty cases have been brought to your secretary's

Mere Raiding a Failure

attention. These women, however, generally work when they can, and turn to prostitution only as a last resource. They are surrounded by none of the glamour of the professional prostitute; do not ordinarily live or dress more elaborately than other inmates of the house in which they live, and are generally regarded with more pity than envy or resentment by their neighbors and their neighbors' children. Thus they are not so especially dangerous to the morals of the house. But an apartment full of such prostitutes as have now been driven into the tenements, where they are surrounded by comparative luxury, and live lives of apparent ease, in the midst of a houseful of adults and children, whose frugal, honest living is obtained only by the hardest of work and the most rigid economy, can scarcely be less dangerous to the moral health of the house than an apartment full of cholera-infected persons would be to the physical welfare.

Some persons, therefore, would not license or inspect houses of ill fame, but simply, if they do not become too bold, allow them within certain limits by themselves and try to fight the evil by lifting up the general standard of the community.

But the complete districting of the evil seems impossible, if desirable. Mr. E. T. Gerry, in *The Philanthropist* (March, 1895), thus describes the results of the two main experiments in this direction:

In the winter of 1886-87, while at the city of Rome, Italy, I had a personal interview with Cardinal Simeoni, which lasted over two hours, chiefly in reference to the course pursued by the Italian Government while in the hands of the Vatican, in the matter of regulating prostitution. The cardinal stated to me that the experiment of attempting to confine sexual vice within a specified district had been most thoroughly tried. A portion of the city, remote itself and not particularly attractive for purposes of residence, had been selected. . . . At the same time a very strict cordon of police was placed around the geographical boundary, and any attempt on the part of females who had once entered the district to escape therefrom was followed by prompt and immediate arrest. The idea was so novel that at first quite a number of registered prostitutes entered the district, hired and occupied the houses, and attempted to ply their vocation

Districting a Failure

there. But the district soon became very notorious. The thieving, the lawless, and the seditious found their way there, and became permanent residents. They brought with them very little money, and as the sole means which the inmates of the district had of supporting themselves was by the sale of their persons, it was obvious that their custom must come from without and not from within, as men generally did not care to be known as inhabitants of the district. And as soon as the fact of its establishment was made public, men were very wary about entering the district for fear of identification. . . . It was not long before the storekeepers complained that they could not make a living. Even the women found that the money did not flow in upon them as it did when they practised their calling unrestricted by geographical limits, and it was not long before escapes from the district became impossible of prevention by the police, and some of the most notorious women in Rome, after having been put there, and sent there, made their escape and were found in other quarters, plying their trade. . . .

The cardinal stated to me that the attempt to district vice was in his judgment a stupendous failure; that the Church had used every effort to reclaim the fallen when so envionred by the police and placed in a locality where it could put its hand upon them, but to no purpose.

One further effort for localization of the social evil deserves

to be noticed, that of the Yoshiwara in Japan. For a long time previous to the contact of Japan with the enlightened nations of the earth, the social evil was looked upon as one necessary and unavoidable, and the government took entire charge of the matter. In a suburb adjacent to the capital (Tokio) large houses were built for the purpose, some of them elaborate in construction, and the whole guarded most thoroughly by the soldiery. The number of prostitutes in Tokio alone is said to be about 5,000. The children of the poor are usually utilized for the purpose and sold by their parents, who receive a stipulated income as the result. It is not an unusual thing for these girls to marry, and they are not looked upon as outcasts or pariahs of society by any means. The girls in these establishments range in age from ten to eighteen, and, owing to the developing influences of the climate, at the latter age they are as mature as most of our women at twenty-five to thirty. These are the regular, so to speak, licensed or recognized prostitutes. The women are permitted to leave and marry when they choose. This number of course does not include the kept mistresses of foreigners or others, who occupy small houses at the expense of their maintainers. Of these districts, which are known as Yoshiwara, there are five in Tokio and two in Yokohama, the latter possessing probably the largest and best known. The government has entire charge of the system, derives extensive revenue as the result, and under the Japanese code of morals, from which sexual morality is practically excluded, it is said to be a success so far as engendering public peace and quietness. Such a course naturally destroys all appreciation of the vice as vice.

Yet, on the other hand, there seems little hope in leaving the evil alone.

In London there is neither license, examination, nor practical restriction. Police regulations of recent years have somewhat kept prostitutes off the streets and certain squares where in former years in the late evening they almost literally blocked the sidewalk. Yet facts (see p. 980) certainly show that lack of restriction is no cure. The police usually limit their attempt to keep the peace to requiring these women to move on, and as passers-by do not care to make complaints against them, they simply do move on. A large number of the brothels are situated on the outskirts of London, in such places as St. John's Wood, Pimlico, and the like, which are easy of access by cabs and the railways. Most of these street prostitutes are said to be discharged from the Continent, because infected with disease.

It is thus easier to show what not to do than what to do. With the means of reaching the evil through personal work, religious or ethical, we are not, in this encyclopedia, concerned. Many, however, believe that this is the main thing to do, to raise a higher standard of personal purity, and, above all, an equal standard of purity for both sexes.

The writer of the article in the *Westminster Review*, quoted above, says:

One aim most, if not all, schemes of reform have in common, and that is the establishment of an equal standard of sexual morality for both sexes. On all sides it seems to be agreed that the existing dual standard of morality is, or will be, doomed, now that society, and especially the female portion of it, is becoming so keenly alive to its evils. It is also felt that unless masculine morality is raised to a higher level, feminine morality may fall from the exalted position it has held for so long, as it awakes to the full value of the fact that its purity is only playing into the hands of the impurity which it encounters in the other sex. The proposed paths toward the desired goal are very wide apart, but there are a few main ideas on the subject which can be briefly described.

First, there is the movement started by those persons who believe that the purification of our social morals can only be attained by setting up for men the same high standard of chastity and pureness of living as that which has been hitherto considered as binding only upon women of the protected and wife-supplying classes. . . .

Then there are those who take an exactly opposite view, and who believe that the end is to be reached by some extension of sexual freedom to all classes of women. They regard the attempt to raise men to that high level of morality hitherto reserved for women as a natural impossibility or Utopian dream, and they would seek for equality by lowering

the standard for women, and thus bridge over the wide gulf which now exists between the average sensual man and the average chaste woman, and still more between the average chaste woman and the woman of the streets.

The writer sympathizes with neither of these extreme views, and favors what he regards as the middle course, viz., reform of sexual morality through more liberal divorce laws. He believes that erring humanity ought to have the opportunity of retrieving even its matrimonial mistakes and failures, and that the sacrifice of individuals to an absolute system is neither moral nor expedient. The current objections to liberal divorce laws he regards as based on religious prejudices rather than on utilitarian social considerations.

For contrary views, see **DIVORCE** and **FAMILY**. Says the Rev. F. M. Goodchild (*Arena*, March, 1896):

The first thing to do, probably, is to arouse the people to a sense of the enormity of the evil as it exists among us. . . . The best mitigation, probably, must come from our homes. Parents have been criminally negligent. Ignorant innocence leads most girls astray. A prudish silence lands many a girl in the brothel, and provides her customers as well. It ought to be possible to impart to our children some instruction about these most important relations of

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life, without mantling the cheeks of parent or child with a blush. It is little short of criminal to send our young people into the midst of the excitements and temptations of a great city with no more preparation than if they were going to live in Paradise.

And I cannot escape the conviction that women hold in their hands the key to the solution of this problem. They are cruel in their severity toward their fallen sisters, but they are criminally indulgent toward the men who cause their fall. The woman sinner is reprobated. But the man sinner is made a hero, is welcomed into respectable homes, is permitted to marry a pure girl and make her the mother of children, cursed before they are born with lecherous appetites. Let woman's attitude be changed.

Yet, undoubtedly, organized society can do something. It can prohibit solicitation on the street alike for men and women. It can arrest and expose men as well as women in disorderly houses, condemning them to punishment and exposure, and not merely to a fine. It can change the laws and make them bear equally on men and women (see **AGE OF CONSENT**; **MARRIAGE**; **DIVORCE**; **WOMAN**). There is no question that fear of exposure does deter many men from visiting these houses.

The report of the New York "Committee of Fifteen" (1902) says:

The better housing for the poor, purer forms of amusement, the raising of the conditions of labor, especially of female labor, better moral education, minors more and more withdrawn from the clutches of vice by means of reformatories, the spread of contagion checked by more adequate hospital accommodations, the evil itself unceasingly condemned by public opinion as a sin against morality and punished as a crime, with stringent penalties whenever it takes the form of a public nuisance—these are the methods of dealing with it upon which the members of the committee have united.

Yet many reformers, all Socialists, all extreme individualists, and a growing number of earnest men and women of all schools of thought, believe that none of these legislative reforms go to the bottom causes of prostitution. These they find in wrong sociological ideas, coupled with unjust economic conditions. Their remedy is education in right living and relief from economic injustice.

Economic Reform

REFERENCES: *The Social Evil* (Report of N. Y. Committee of Fifteen, 1902); Amos, S., *Prohibition, Regulation, and Licensing of Vice*; Report of Mass. Bureau of Labor, 1888; Josephine E. Butler, *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade*, 1898; G. Vorberg, M.D., *Freiheit oder gesundheitliche Ueberwachung der Gewerbsunzucht*, 1907 (favors restriction) For society reports, see **SOCIAL PURITY**.

PROTECTION: An opinion prevails in some circles that, while free trade is scientific and founded upon natural law, protection is artificial,

devoid of philosophy, and but a scheme of selfishness. Protectionists claim that this is untrue; that the theory of protection is, to say the least, as philosophical as that of free trade; that it is more natural, because built upon self-defense, which is the first law of nature; that it promotes, rather than hinders, the development and enjoyment of natural business opportunities; that it coordinates our national existence, and forms the chief reason for it; that it is less selfish than free trade, because it is necessarily cooperative, and that it is more universal, because it is applicable to all the industries of a people, while free trade unavoidably sacrifices some to others.

The history of protection is the history of civilization. Every group of humanity that has risen a degree above barbarism has adopted some form of protection. Preparations for war, tho sometimes provocative of war, are generally regarded as protective to peace. Washington advised this precaution in his farewell address. Anciently a nation's commerce, industry, and existence depended upon its readiness for instant defense; nowadays strength in all the resources for war is more important than weapons in hand. An industrial policy which makes the unit man self-reliant and resourceful, and not dependent upon others, is commended by free traders; it is equally claimed by protectionists in its applicability to groups. The people who purchase ore, or wheat, or wool, because it is temporarily easier or cheaper to exchange for them lumber, or fish, or furs, than it is to raise them, never become strong for either peace or war. A few individuals, engaged in trade or transportation, may thrive. But the laws of business are not confined to the handling of merchandise. Production is more important than distribution. The nations which have attained highest development are those which have made the most of their natural endowments. Without a single exception they have done this by protection in some of its varied forms. The only free-trade nations on the earth to-day, Great Britain and Holland, attained greatness through centuries of protection, and maintain maritime supremacy still by that means.

I. History

Commerce between the nations of antiquity was almost exclusively in dissimilar or non-competing articles. This was natural and friendly commerce and it created no occasion for discriminating duties. The most instructive and eloquent description of this commerce is found in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth chapters of Ezekiel, in which the prophet portrayed the glories of Tyre. The peculiar products of all lands were brought to Tyre—fine linen from Egypt; purple from the Greek islands; silver, iron, tin, and lead from Tarshish; brass from the Taurus; horses and mules from Armenia; ebony and horns of ivory from many isles; wheat, honey, oil, and balm from Israel, and sheep and lambs from Arabia, all of which were traded for Tyrian wares, "by reason of the multitude of thy handiworks," and "when thy wares went

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forth out of the seas, thou filledst many people; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise." So all this commerce appears to have been mutually beneficial; hence there was no occasion for protection against any part of it

by Tyre, or by the other nations. Competition, in the modern sense, was practically unknown. Whenever it appeared war resulted, and one nation or the other was reduced to vassalage.

There is no record of the revenue laws applicable to commerce. When Matthew was called to the discipleship, he was "sitting at the receipt of customs," on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, but whether he collected from the caravans, or whether the term "customs" was used indiscriminately for tax or tribute, external or internal, there is nothing to show.

There is almost equal obscurity as to the customs laws of later Rome. Some of the time, at least, protection was applied on land, along the great roads, where traffic was often competitive. This was the case under the illustrious reign of Theodoric, the greatest of the Gothic kings, whose chief desire seems to have been to "restore to Italy its long-lost material prosperity and plenty."

Reviving prosperity caused extensive importations of luxuries from the East. They were purchased by the upper classes in such quantities as to drain the nation of its gold, sometimes at the rate of \$4,000,000 a year, and thus unemployment and decay set in. The Romans were invaders, settlers, builders, warriors, mariners, farmers, but they did not excel as merchants and manufacturers. When conquest ceased to add to their riches, their economic science was not far enough advanced to supply the deficit from their own resources. So long as they could thrive at the expense of others, their thrift was great; left to themselves, they failed.

Venice and Later Italy.—But after 300 years, those who had fled before the Goths and Huns to the marshes of the Adriatic began to develop the wonderful city and commerce of Venice. Forced to a seafaring life, they became familiar with the productions, and, gradually, with the processes of other peoples. To commerce they added manufacture, and soon became famous for ingenuity. They excelled all but the Orientals in the manufacture of textiles, metals, and glass; and as this brought them into direct competition with the artisans of the East, laws were enacted to encourage home production, and to prevent workmen from carrying their arts to foreign countries. Other Italian cities—Florence, Naples, Genoa, Milan—followed the example of Venice, and became seats of fine production, from which Europe drew supplies. After centuries of unexampled prosperity, Venice became involved in foreign wars, and fell into decay, but United Italy is enjoying greater thrift than ever before, as the result of the wise industrial policy which Venice started, and which, extended and improved, is the national policy to-day. Since 1900 the manufactures of Italy have made rapid progress, and wages have been nearly doubled. Extensive immigration to the United States, where ample employment at high wages has been found, instead of proving an economic loss to the country, has resulted in the return of so much money that the industrial life of the nation has felt its reviving influence. Italy appreciates the value of protection because it promotes the employment of her people both at home and abroad.

The Hanseatic League.—It has been claimed that the manufactures and commerce of the eighty-five free cities of the Hanseatic League,

which flourished in western Europe from 1241 to 1575, were built up without protection, and were greatly promoted by free trade. The fact is otherwise. The league itself was for protection from the cupidity and oppression of the monarchs of those countries; from piracy; from the cornering of raw materials; from trespass upon the field or specialty of one member by another; from the theft of their processes by aliens, and for the encouragement of guilds, apprenticeships, invention, and progress in handicraft. To be sure there was no protective tariff, in the modern sense, but this was because nearly all commerce was an exchange of dissimilar articles, peculiar to different countries.

Flanders and Holland.—What has been said of the Hanse towns applies equally to the Flemish and Dutch a little later. They attained supremacy in manufactures, first, by supplying the home market, and then foreign markets, with goods that were different from what others offered. They did not attempt to compete with Venice in silks, or with India in cottons, but they became the best spinners and weavers of flax and wool in the world, and their cutlery, armor, and leather equaled the famous products of Damascus and Calcutta, which were then more expensive.

Until England had been twice invaded and conquered by foreigners, and until the foreign and domestic trade had all fallen into their hands, no attempt was made to recover for Englishmen their natural opportunities. King after king had sold concessions to aliens, and the native population, almost exclusively farmers and miners, with no home market of any value, and dependent upon other countries for all the products of industrial art, was kept in

Protection in Britain

hopeless poverty and weakness. Finally, the Anglo-Saxon spirit rose. There was a revolt against the aliens. It took the form, under Edward I., of higher duties on goods imported by strangers than by Englishmen. Under Edward II. this policy was abandoned, but in 1337 a statute of Edward III. "laid the foundation of the liberties of the people, by providing for the diversity of their employment, and the development of individual faculties." This famous statute prohibited the exportation of wool and the importation of woollen cloth, and required Englishmen to wear domestic cloth. Such a statute could be called drastic and tyrannical now, but it was absolutely necessary then; in no other way could domestic manufactures have been established in the face of all the advantages held by the aliens. The policy was strengthened in subsequent reigns. Under Richard II. it was "ordered and assented that no merchant stranger alien shall sell or buy merchandise within the realm with another stranger merchant alien, to sell again," and under Edward IV. the first of the corn laws "prohibited the import of foreign-grown grain when the price of wheat at the port of entry did not exceed six shillings and eight pence to the quarter." In 1463 a statute prohibited the importation of sixty-seven manufactured articles in most common use; really more than that, for some of them were classes of articles; in 1488 Henry VII. induced skilled laborers to come from the Continent and instruct his people, and in 1552 a general act was passed for the regulation, control, and encouragement of the woollen industries of the realm. Navigation laws were enacted under Mary and Elizabeth, which gave such preference

to English shipping as to drive foreign ships from the internal, coastwise, and foreign trade of the realm. Thus, in 200 years, by the most rigid policy of protection ever before or since set up by any nation, Britain rose from practical vassalage to one of the most independent, prosperous, and powerful countries in the world, and gained the ascendancy in manufactures, trade, commerce, and wealth, which, in many respects, is maintained to this day, and which in no way has been surpassed, save by other protective nations. Those who attribute Britain's greatness to free trade, which did not begin until 1846, when her industrial primacy was of itself protective, and was sure to remain so for many years, must have forgotten all her earlier history, and must have attached more importance to the cramp and hindrance of the gilds which were a part of the protective policy, and to some of the prohibitions, which, however necessary and useful in the beginning, afterward became a hindrance, than they attached to the great and necessary acts which emancipated the kingdom from industrial, monetary, and commercial servitude, and made her factories and her artisans, her merchants and her ships, the wonder and the envy of the world. Since the Royal Commission of 1887 on the Depression of British Industries made its report, there has been growing in the United Kingdom an opinion that a return to protection will be wise if not necessary. It did not take form in politics until 1903, and even then most of the parliamentary elections turned on other issues, but fully 45 per cent of the electorate voted for the Chamberlain policy. The scheme is to have preferential duties between all parts of the empire, and this implies the abandonment of free trade by the United Kingdom. Economically it means imperial federation. Some call it "fair trade" in contradistinction from free trade. It draws support from all parties and factions, but organized labor opposed it in 1903, through fear that it would increase the cost of living. Its advocates showed, however, that when the duty on sugar was raised the price was not increased; that when the shilling registration duty on corn was taken off in 1869 the price of bread was not lowered; and that when it was put on again in 1902, on account of the cost of the Boer War, it did not raise the price of bread; also that when Italy raised the corn duty in 1888 from 1s. 10d. to 7s. 6d. the cost of food was not increased, partly because foreign growers met the duty by lowering their prices and partly because domestic agriculture was greatly stimulated by the protection; and finally, Mr. Chamberlain promised to remove the duties from tea, coffee, and chocolate, so that the working-man's table as a whole should cost less rather than more. For the first time in more than fifty years literature contrasting the effects of protection and free trade was circulated, the sources of it being a committee at Birmingham and the United Empire Trade League in London. It was admirably prepared, its data authentic, and its arguments so clear that the plainest people could understand them. The end is not yet.

Until near the close of the sixteenth century the condition of the people of France was similar to that of the English a century before. But in 1592 Henry of Navarre became king, and with a purpose to develop the country, Sully, who was appointed Minister of Finance, studied conditions in all parts of the realm, and

soon the nobles were prohibited from taxing the people; the royal treasury became plethoric; roads, bridges, and canals were built; mines were opened, and manufactures were introduced by giving protection to artisans who were induced to come from Holland and Venice. Slow progress was made under the next reign, that of Louis XIII. and Cardinal Richelieu, but in the latter part of the long reign of Louis XIV., with the great Colbert as Minister of Finance, not only was Sully's system of internal improvement continued, but the first general tariff of duties upon imports was enacted. This was in 1664. The principles upon which this tariff was based were: "1. To reduce the duties on the importations of all articles required for the manufactures of the kingdom, and 2, to exclude foreign manufactures by raising the duties." In 1667 duties were much increased on such articles of foreign production as competed with the new industries; towns sprang up where there had been but wastes; the people turned from discontent to occupation, and the country grew great and strong. After the death of Colbert the king committed the fatal blunder of persecuting the Huguenots, with the result that nearly 400,000 of the people, most skilled in industry, fled the kingdom, and spread over countries that soon became rivals in peace and enemies in war. The next century was one of many wars and abuses which culminated in the Revolution. An experiment in fiat money had been tried, with disastrous results, of course. Fully one half of the people belonged to the privileged classes, and paid no taxes. Agriculture, thus doubly burdened, fell into decay. Such conditions had not been favorable to the growth of manufactures, and what protective laws remained were all but inoperative. And what was even more to be deplored, they were confused by a school of French economists which became known as physiocrats, which was formed by Quesnay, the physician of Louis XV., and which first promulgated the free-trade doctrine of *laissez-faire*, "let things alone," with the abuses of power which were tyrannical on the one hand and paternal on the other. These so-called economists failed to see the difference between a government's protecting the natural opportunities of its people and the exemption of favorites from taxation, or between promoting the growth of industries which would afford employment, yield wealth, and reduce the cost of necessities, and the granting of monopolies, farming the collection of revenue at excessive profits, and the placing of duties upon exports as a means of replenishing the plundered treasury. In the presence of so many abuses of power, every act of government that related to revenue, or to the industries of the people, seemed to them alike a wanton interference. It is easy to excuse them for the failure to discriminate, but the motto which they coined for their place and time, and which has been accepted as the fundamental principle of free trade, is seen in the light of the subsequent history of France, and of all other nations, to have its limitations. "Let alone" may well be said to a blacksmith who would tinker a watch, but what man of sense would cry it to a general about to repel an invasion; a board of health re-deeming a marsh, or a government whose people are competing against the export bounties and subsidized ships of other nations? Napoleon Bonaparte, who, if he had known when to stop his foreign wars, would have been

the greatest statesman as well as the greatest conqueror of his time—he of whom Byron wrote

A single step into the right had made
This man the Washington of worlds betrayed—

did not forget the industries of France, and did not neglect the means for their promotion. "Duties," said he to Las Casas, at St. Helena, "which were so severely condemned by political economists, . . . should be the guaranty and protection of a nation, and should correspond with the nature and the objects of its trade. . . . Foreign trade, which, in its results, is infinitely inferior to agriculture, was an object of subordinate importance in my mind. Foreign trade is made for agriculture and home industry, and not the two latter for the former." During and since his reign France made its greatest progress in the arts of peace, for protection has been its policy, with the exception of a partial abandonment, which Cobden persuaded Louis Napoleon to make, and which was one of the causes that led to the downfall of that emperor, and the humiliation of his country. During the twenty years of the Cobden treaty French commerce declined 65 per cent, and many industries barely lived, thanks only to the partial protection that remained. On Jan. 26, 1876, M. Thiers, afterward the first president of the French Republic, and one of the greatest statesmen of any country, ancient or modern, in speaking upon tariffs to the Assembly, drew this instructive and most prophetic contrast between France and England. After complimenting England for its civil liberty, and other great characteristics, he said:

But I may be allowed to say that it has in its industrial greatness that which is not so solid as the situation of France. France has her consumers within itself. Its market does not depend upon a cannon-shot fired in Europe. And for exportation she has her beautiful products. England, on the contrary, has an artificial existence. She depends upon the days of the United States; upon the doings of her colonies, which already oppose her with hostile tariffs. May not the day come when its immense production will find no purchasers? She produces ten times as much as her consumption. This little island, in the words of Fox, embraces the world. True; but when she embraces the world, she is vulnerable everywhere. Such was the situation of Holland in the seventeenth century, which had realized a prodigy almost as marvelous. What was needed to make Holland, which gave laws to France, descend from this lofty place? It needed only fifty years. It needed only a Navigation Act in England; it needed only a Colbert in France. God forbid that I should predict for England such a destiny! But I repeat it, her existence, which depends upon consumers which she seeks everywhere without herself, is less solid than that of France, which has her consumers in her own bosom.

Germany is no less interesting than France. The first progress in manufactures began with the coming of the Protestant refugees from France after Louis XIV. had revoked the Edict of Nantes. Under Frederick the Great, from 1746 to 1786, the economic policy of Prussia embraced duties on imports, bounties on exports, premiums on production, and exemptions of new manufactures from taxation, and the result was an unprecedented development of all the industries of the kingdom. The smaller German states presented a less encouraging picture. Governed expensively, their exactions of revenue were burdensome to industry and restrictive of trade in its natural field. Later their industries were nearly crushed by the Napoleonic wars and the inundation of French and English goods after the battle of Waterloo, but in 1818, Prussia leading, they adopted a vigorous policy of protection. It abolished State monopolies and special privileges

to individuals, gave all citizens equal chances, admitted necessary raw materials free, and adhered to the system of duties and bounties established under Frederick. Subsequently it was found that most of the states were too small for each to set up a national policy of this kind. They needed each other's markets. In 1833 six of them formed a Zollverein, or customs union, with no duties between themselves and with a division of outside duties according to population. By 1842 the other German states had come in. The basis was the Prussian tariff of 1818. The administration was by a Zollverein Parliament, which was succeeded by the German Reichstag when the empire was formed in 1871. From time to time duties had been raised to meet aggressive importation, but the production of fine goods had hardly been attempted, and the classes which consumed them were easily persuaded by Mr. Cobden that they ought to have them free of duty. Those classes were influential. The result was that a free-trade wave swept over Germany, first in the form of lower duties in 1865, then in a commercial reciprocity with Austria in 1868, and by successive annual reductions until the full English policy was reached, when everybody felt rich and grew extravagant and careless under the payment of the French indemnity in 1871. The result of open ports was to close the factories. There was failure upon failure. Wages and prices fell, but taxes rose. Foreign corn depressed agriculture. The people wore the fabrics of England and France, and labor began to starve. A powerful reaction set in. Bismarck, after profound study, began in 1878 to advocate protection. Among his arguments was this:

The success of the U. S. in material development is the most illustrious of modern time. The American nation has not only borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterward disbanded its army, found employment for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debts, gave labor and employment to the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within its territory, and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly due to its system of protective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the U. S.

In 1879 the Reichstag accepted his policy by a vote of 217 to 117. In two years the exports of manufactures increased 33 per cent; in eight years the number of artisans in iron and steel increased 30 per cent, their aggregate wages increased 27 per cent, and the average wages in all industries increased 12 per cent. The payment of a bounty on the exportation of sugar caused production to increase from less than 200,000 tons in 1871 to more than 1,000,000 tons in 1891. There was activity in all employments. Machinery improved and skill increased. Wages, tho from 98 to 226 per cent higher than in 1848, were still so much lower than in England that German goods found an increasing market there, to the depression of many British industries and to the ruin of some, and they were even able to overcome many of the duties of the U. S. and undersell the products of some of the best established industries in this country. From 1875 to 1886 the exports of manufactures of silk increased 884 per cent; woollens, 296; cottons, 302; glass, 264; paper, 322; spirits, 258; beer, 446; and machinery, 260 per cent. Industries became diversified as never before in any country, and from 1878 to 1896 schools for technical and manual training were established in 328 places. All these mar-

Protection in Germany

velous figures utterly disprove the theory of free trade that protection dulls and dwarfs the individual and cramps and curtails the aggregation. On Dec. 25, 1902, the agrarians having obtained ascendancy in the Reichstag, duties were raised on most farm products, dressed meats, live animals, lumber, shoes, sewing-machines, electrical machines, machine tools, automobiles, and railway cars, to go into effect in 1906, but subject to be reduced by treaty. Treaties were made with seven European countries and a provisorium with the U. S., which has been followed by a compact liberalizing our administrative customs practises, so that the higher duties are not yet levied on goods from this country. Germany's industrial progress has continued, and there is very little desire among her people to introduce free trade.

Russia, the wonderland of two continents, affords a most striking example of the influence of protection to convert barbarism into civilization and transform deserts into cities and gardens. Russia entered upon its career as a modern power with the reign of Peter the Great, which began in 1689. That enlightened monarch worked incognito in the shipyards of Holland, that he might

Protection in Russia

teach his people how to build ships. When he visited England, the tendered kingly honors, he took private lodgings and studied the laws and industries. The "dropping pearls and vermin," and leaving evidence in his lodgings that "a barbarian had been there," he took away about all that was to be learned, at that time, of national development. This knowledge was applied at home under the disadvantages of popular ignorance, but in a thousand ways Russia was transformed. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce became established. In treaties and decrees the protective principle was carefully observed. Near the close of the seventeenth century, or contemporaneously with the U. S., Russia adopted a tariff of protection, and in many cases of prohibition. Again, as in the U. S., this policy was relaxed in 1816-19, but returned to in 1822 and maintained until 1840. In the revisions of 1851 and 1854 prohibitions were generally abolished and the duties made discriminating, as suggested by economic changes. The same policy was adhered to in the revisions of 1867 and 1876; the last increasing the protection. A new revision, on the same lines, was begun in 1887 and completed in 1891. In these later and scientific tariffs Napoleon's idea of subordinating revenue to protection prevailed. The general results of a century of protection were progress in every domestic industry, a favorable balance of trade, and a steady gain in employment and wages. In 1894 Russia produced nearly two billion bushels of grain and more than one and a quarter billion pounds of cotton. In 1890 the output of the mines and factories was valued at \$828,000,000. Of the European countries, Russia is second to only England in cotton manufacturing; having 6,000,000 spindles in 1892. Woolen, silk, leather, lumber, flour, and tobacco are all important and growing industries. In 1895 there were 65,000 factories of all kinds, employing 1,000,000 people. From 1884 to 1896 the sugar industry increased 100 per cent; iron, 68; steel, 59; coal, 129; and petroleum, 1,475 per cent. Wages have advanced, but are still low; being from \$80 to \$150 a year for men in the cotton-mills, and but a trifle more than half that for women. Most of the mills are run from nine to twelve hours a day.

During the decade ending with 1906, the greatly disturbed by revolutionary outbreaks, which often took the form of labor difficulties, but which were more political than industrial, and the much retarded by the costly war with Japan, Russia continued to develop. Her manufactures became more varied and extensive, and in 1903 Minister Witte reported a heavy fall in prices "as a consequence of increased competition among producers," and that this was "the very object of our protective policy, i. e., the provision of the country with cheap manufactures of home production." In 1904 the chief articles of import were: foods, \$46,000,000; raw materials for manufactures, \$166,000,000; finished goods, \$78,000,000. The greatest trade was with Germany, France, Great Britain, and the U. S., in the order named, but the internal trade was greatest of all.

Other Europe.—The progress of other European countries under protection compares favorably with that of the great countries named. Apparently protection is their settled policy. Spain has recuperated rapidly from the losses caused by the war with the U. S., and her manufactures are increasing. The loss of her colonies seems to have been more than compensated by the \$20,000,000 received as the price for the Philippines and by the policy of self-reliance and home improvement, resulting from self-respect, emulation, and protection.

Prior to the formation of the Dominion of Canada in 1867 the several provinces had protective tariffs. The need of a uniform system was one of the causes of union, as it was in the

British Provinces

U. S. In 1879 the Dominion Parliament enacted a protective tariff which became known as the national policy. Under it the country prospered and a great variety of manufactures was introduced. Both parties actually favored it, for altho the Liberals had advocated partial free trade, on assuming power in 1897 they made no important changes in the law except to admit imports from British countries under a preference of 12 per cent, which was soon raised to 25—and later to 33½. This was partly in pursuance of a policy discussed in a colonial conference which was held in Ottawa in the summer of 1894 and was attended by delegates from the imperial government, New South Wales, Cape Colony, New Zealand, Victoria, Queensland, and Canada. This was the first practical step taken toward imperial federation. In 1906, after a commission of Parliament had conducted hearings in all the provinces, a new tariff was enacted which it is believed will prove quite as protective as the one it displaced. To be sure it contains a new feature, called the intermediate tariff, with rates about one half way between those of the general tariff and the British preferential, which the governor in council may apply to imports from countries not entitled to the preferential, "in consideration of benefits satisfactory" to him. This is spoken of as a reciprocity feature, but the inducement has not attracted other countries to date. Another feature of the Canadian tariff is a surtax of one third which the governor in council may add to the general tariff on goods "from any foreign country which treats imports from Canada less favorably than those from other countries." This has been applied to German goods. Still another comparatively new feature is an antidumping clause, which authorizes the governor in council to add a special

duty not exceeding 15 per cent to goods with a few exceptions which are sent to Canada at a price below the fair market value when sold for consumption in the country of their production. This is decidedly a protective feature and it is said to work well. There is no little dissatisfaction in Canada with the British preferential, especially among woolen manufacturers, many of whom it has driven out of business, but others accept it as a tribute of loyalty and indulge a hope that the United Kingdom will soon become protective, in which event Canadian products will have an advantage there over those from other countries. Despite the preference, however, during the fiscal year ended March 31, 1907, the increase in Canada's trade with the U. S. was much more than double the increase with Great Britain, which is mainly due to the convenience of proximity. Not only is the domestic trade of the Dominion highly prosperous under protection, but its foreign trade grew in imports in the last six years from \$181,000,000 to \$290,000,000 and in exports from \$177,000,000 to \$235,000,000. The dutiable imports from Great Britain in 1906 were \$52,000,000, and from the U. S., \$89,000,000.

Protection and free trade were tried side by side in Australia before the formation of the Commonwealth in 1901. The province of Victoria had a protective tariff and New South Wales a free-trade tariff. Government reports in 1897-98 showed that while Victoria was smaller in area and population, she made greater progress than New South Wales in productive industries, in intercolonial traffic, in savings-banks and deposits, in public education and the diffusion of wealth, while her annual expenditures were less by £5 per capita. Her success went far to determine the policy of the new union, which adopted protection and has steadfastly maintained it. The country as a whole and the several states have prospered, but chiefly by reason of the mineral output and the revival of sheep husbandry, for manufacturing has been delayed by the prevalence and the high cost of municipal ownership, which has made capital timorous, the rate of interest high, and caused a condition of uncertainty. Imports in 1903 were £37,000,000 and exports £57,500,000. The U. S. has a growing share in this trade, altho lacking regular steamship lines to compete with those of France, Germany and Great Britain.

The tariffs of most of the other British colonies are chiefly for revenue, but not being limited to such articles as the colony cannot produce, they operate to protect such natural industries as exist or may be started.

II. Protection in the United States

The agitation for protection began in the colonial period, partly because of England's oppressive laws to prevent manufacturing in the colonies, and partly because of the depression of industry from the use of foreign goods. In 1767 the inhabitants of Boston voted in town meeting and afterward signed a pledge not to buy the "foreign superfluities" mentioned in a long list. The Articles of Confederation, under which the country was governed from 1781 until the ratification of the Constitution in 1787, permitted each state to regulate its own commerce, and this made a general tariff impossible. The states were deluged with foreign goods. Distress

working men and merchants in the principal cities united in great petitions for protection. To meet this want was one of the chief reasons (Daniel Webster said it was "the leading cause") for forming the "more perfect union" spoken of in the preamble to the Constitution. The second act of the First Congress which assembled under the new Constitution was a tariff, the object of which, as declared in the preamble, was "for the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the U. S., and for the encouragement and protection of manufactures." This passed the House by a vote of more than five to one, and the Senate by a unanimous vote, and was approved by George Washington, July 4, 1789. From that time to 1907 fifty-one general tariff laws were enacted, all of them in some degree protective. There was no departure from the protective

Early History

policy until 1816, and the new duties of that year were intended to be ample, but they proved insufficient against the destructive commercial war which England determined to wage. In a speech in Parliament Lord Brougham declared that "it is worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those infant manufactures in the U. S. which the war has forced into existence." While in 1813 imports were only \$13,000,000, in 1818 they had risen to \$121,750,000. An adverse balance of trade of \$229,000,000 had been created, and industry was everywhere deprest. In 1824 a more protective tariff was passed, and it was strengthened in 1828. Under both tariffs the country prospered. But meanwhile the tariff had become a sectional question. The cotton-planters of the South, whose principal market was in England, were led to adopt the free-trade ideas of Richard Cobden, John Bright, and later of Sir Robert Peel, and under the lead of Mr. McDuffie, of South Carolina, they advanced the strange theory that, by selling cotton to be manufactured in England, they were manufacturers themselves, and as much entitled to government favor by exemption from duties on the imports with which they were paid as the cotton manufacturers of New England were by the imposition of duties upon competing goods. Resentful of Northern hostility to slavery, they favored England instead of New England; reasoned that protection is paternalism; decried the tariff as "a local question," and threatened to secede from the union. Wishing to avert this calamity, Henry Clay, the greatest of the protective statesmen except Daniel Webster, proposed a compromise tariff, which became a law in 1833, which took the form of a sliding scale of biennial reductions to uniform duties of 20 per cent, to be reached in 1842. Of course, such disregard of discrimination which varying costs of production require in a protective tariff, as well as the lower duties, proved disastrous to both revenue and business, and this, complicated with a banking question, produced a great panic in 1837. In the tariff of 1842 the country returned to protection, but in 1846 the South again prevailed, and the "Walker tariff" of that year made heavy reductions in the duties that protected manufactures. The disastrous effects were referred to by Presidents Fillmore in 1852 and Buchanan in 1857, but owing to causes other than the tariff, the country enjoyed some measure of prosperity. Those causes were admirably stated by Mr. Blaine in his "Twenty Years of

Congress." When those causes ceased to operate a panic ensued in 1857, and in 1861 the "Morrill tariff," which returned to protection, was enacted a short time before the outbreak of the Civil War. During the war many duties were increased, the

War Tariff

prime object being revenue, because the war itself proved a great stimulus to industries. When peace was restored free traders raised a clamor for the abolition of the war tariffs. Changes were made in 1867, 1870, and 1872, most of which were extensive reductions. Importations, which had already become large as a result of extravagance, incident to an inflated currency, then increased, the country had an adverse balance of trade, and in 1873 there was another panic. In 1875 a more protective tariff was enacted and prosperity returned. In 1883 what was supposed to be a scientific readjustment of duties, recommended by a commission of experts, was made, but economic changes which they did not anticipate caused it practically to fail, like the tariff of 1816. Again business suffered, but the McKinley tariff, of more discriminating duties, and improved administrative features, was enacted in 1890, and during its three years' operation both production and commerce prospered as never before. More people were employed, and at higher wages, the public debt was reduced \$252,000,000, new industries sprang into existence, there was a favorable balance of trade, the public credit reached its highest figure. But the extensive free-trade propaganda denounced the duties as excessive and misled enough voters with the false statement that "prices had advanced all along the line," to reverse the policy at the next elections. The Democratic Party promised to introduce free trade, but its candidate promised that nothing should be done to hurt the industries. Both promises failed. The Wilson Bill of 1894 did not even pretend to frame schedules on free-trade principles; it was simply a reduced McKinley tariff, but so much reduced that Southern senators from coal- and iron-producing states refused to accept it, and raised certain rates. President Cleveland denounced this as an act of "perfidy and dishonor," and allowed the bill to become a law without his approval. Some of its duties proved fairly protective; others invited increasing imports, and when the market became flooded with foreign goods, domestic industry collapsed. A deficiency in revenue, coupled with an intimation by a Secretary of the Treasury, with an unsound financial record, that public obligations might be paid in depreciated silver, caused a panic in the early summer of 1893, and tho that was soon over, there was no general prosperity until the Republicans were restored to power in 1896 and the Dingley tariff was enacted in 1897. The public debt was increased by nearly \$300,000,000, the public credit fell to a humiliating figure, there was an adverse balance of trade, unemployment increased in nearly all industries, wages fell, trade declined, general discontent prevailed, and the shrinkage in values of property during the four years totaled more than the money cost of the Civil War.

The tariff act of July 24, 1897, called the Dingley Law, in honor of its principal framer, former Governor Nelson Dingley, Jr., of Maine, who was then chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, employed the same schedules as were in the tariffs of 1890 (McKinley)

and 1894 (Wilson), but changed many of the rates and classifications. Some of the duties are lower than those of 1890, and most of them are higher than those of 1894. Its free list is larger than either of the others. The average ad valorem rates on all imports were: McKinley tariff, 24.78 per cent; Wilson, 20.76; Dingley, 26.78. The duties per capita were: McKinley, \$2.42 a year; Wilson, \$2.19; Dingley, \$3.02. Even the last is so small that the tariff would never be complained of as a tax if it were not for the belief, erroneous in most cases, that the duty is added to the cost of domestic as well as imported goods. It is not added to either when there is unrestricted domestic competition, unless, as sometimes happens, and which is the case in 1907, the demand is greater than the supply. Under any tariff it is the law of demand and supply which determines prices. To be sure, it is said that certain trusts have monopolized supply and fix prices at an abnormally high figure. There is but a small measure of truth in this, and it is the same under free trade as under protection. (See vol. 18, U. S. Industrial Commission's Report, 1902, and No. 288 of Monthly Consular Reports, 1904.) This being so, it is not true that trusts are caused by protection, or that repealing protection will abolish trusts. When trusts are international, like the Thread Trust and the Borax Trust, it has not yet been pointed out how a change of duty can compel them to change the price, altho it is easy to see how it might cause them to close their American mills and supply us wholly from abroad.

That there was an increase in prices in the decade from 1897 to 1907 of about 50 per cent is true, but prices had become abnormally low under the Wilson Law, hence what they were in 1897 is not a fair standard. A fairer comparison is between the last seven years and a period of twenty years before 1890. Dun's index number shows that the first of January prices for a year's necessities averaged in the earlier period \$100, 54 cents and 8 mills, and for the latter only \$90, 69 cents and 1 mill. This proves that under the development and economies of production incited by protection the tendency of prices in long periods of time is downward. But should it still be thought that a comparison with the Wilson period is fair, another factor is to be considered and that is the gain in the production of gold and in our money in circulation. During seven years before 1900 the average U. S. production of gold per capita was 74 cents, and since 1900 it has been 120 cents, an increase of 62 per cent. The money in circulation in the former period was \$23.82 per capita and in the latter period \$29.57—a gain of more than 24 per cent. Economists of all schools recognize that the more gold there is and the more money in circulation, the higher must be the prices of commodities measured by these standards. Taking this into account and also the extraordinary demand for all products owing to a high state of prosperity, it cannot be said that prices are excessive.

In all the industries there have been repeated increases of wages, nearly or quite equal to the advance in prices, and as labor is fully employed and the demand greater than the supply, it is doubtful if the industrial population ever before enjoyed equal prosperity. June 30,

Duties Not the Cause of Higher Prices

Unexampled Prosperity

The Dingley Tariff

1906, there were 8,027,192 depositors in the savings-banks, and the average deposit was \$433.79—a gain of more than 600,000 depositors in a year and of more than \$10 each—a gain of more than 3,000,000 of depositors since 1896 and of \$51.71 in the average deposit. What more conclusive evidence could there be of general thrift and of conditions which permit accumulation? In all other respects the progress of the people in the Dingley period has been unprecedented in this or any other country. Lands have been drained, irrigated, and fertilized; buildings and machinery improved and increased, many thousands of miles of permanent roads built, most of the older cities extensively rebuilt, railroads and railways extended, double-tracked, and electrified as never before, motor boats and carriages introduced, mines and quarries and factories enlarged and increased in number, schools and religious and charitable institutions built, improved, and paid for, islands acquired and helped with a generous hand, a powerful navy and hundreds of public buildings built, mortgages paid, municipal and national debts reduced, and the total wealth increased from \$77,000,000,000 in 1895 to \$108,000,000,000 in 1905.

Meanwhile foreign commerce has enjoyed a corresponding growth, to the confusion of those who believed that protection was calculated to cripple it. As a whole it increased 71.2 per cent from 1895 to 1905. Imports increased 52.7 per cent and exports 88 per cent, thus giving the country a handsome merchandise balance of trade. A lesson is found in an analysis of this commerce.

Growth of Foreign Commerce Also

While imports of food and live animals grew only 16.9 per cent, showing the adequacy of our home supply, and finished goods for consumption increased only 19 per cent, crude articles for domestic industry increased 93.3 per cent and articles wholly or partially manufactured for use as materials in mechanic arts increased 72.4 per cent, showing the scientific adjustment of the tariff to the promotion of domestic manufactures. At the same time imports of articles of voluntary use, luxuries, etc., increased 57.8 per cent, showing that the duties are anything but prohibitory and that the forehanded classes must have enjoyed good incomes from investments in domestic industry to enable them to purchase so many imported luxuries. At the same time our exports of agricultural products grew 48.4 per cent and of domestic manufactures 196.1 per cent, which has a healthy look. Other exports increased as follows: mining products, 175.4; forest products, 117.4; fisheries, 35.9; and miscellaneous, 66.4. The statistics of the Department of Commerce and Labor show that our trade increased with all the grand divisions of the world and that our exports to Europe increased 62.6 and to North American countries 140 per cent.

During 118 years the U. S. has had about eighty years of effective protection. In every protective period it prospered. In every free-trade or compromise period there was business distress. Every period of excessive foreign buying ended with a crisis. Even before the Dingley triumph, the U. S. had become first in agriculture, first in mining, and first in manufactures, and its population is the best conditioned of any in the world.

In view of all this, people who believe that protection is needed for only "infant industries" now very naturally inquire if the time has not

come when it can be dispensed with. If our industries have become giants, so have their foreign competitors. Alexander Hamilton stated in his Report on Manufactures in 1791 that the freight charges on goods from Europe to America at that time ranged from 15 to 25 per cent of the cost of the goods. In these days of 20,000-ton steamships, one cargo from which will load ten miles of freight-cars, the cost of ocean freight is often less than 1 per cent of the value of the goods. The cost of transportation therefore no longer protects. Besides, Germany and France, which own railroads, make rates on goods for export at one half their rates on goods for home distribution. Moreover, many European manufacturers combine to capture foreign markets and pool the losses sustained in cutting prices to accomplish that purpose. These are wholly new and powerful conditions which prove the necessity of continuing protection by tariffs. Furthermore, while many industries have grown great, there are always new or infant industries. It is necessary that they should be protected in order that there may be domestic competition. And as the Constitution requires that duties shall be uniform throughout the U. S., protection cannot be withdrawn from one establishment and kept for another in the same line of business. The tariff that protects trusts cannot be abolished without destroying the domestic competitors of trusts and playing into the hands of foreign trusts. The advocates of repealing or greatly reducing duties fail to take note of these facts and when they talk about "adapting a tariff to changed conditions" they never recognize the necessity of raising as well as lowering duties, to meet new forms of foreign aggression. When they think of Japan as a modern military power they readily assent to large appropriations for a powerful navy, and yet they fail to see the greater danger to American labor in the fact that Japan is rapidly becoming a first-class manufacturing nation, with wages below forty cents a day, and that it costs less than four mills a yard to bring cotton cloth from Osaka to New York.

III. The Principles of Modern Tariffs

These are easily understood. The difference between a free-trade tariff and a protective tariff is not so much one of low or high duties as it is the choice of articles to which duties shall be applied. Britain's free-trade tariff raises more revenue per capita than the protective tariff of the U. S. raises. But free trade applies duties to articles which must be imported, because they are wanted and are not produced in the country; protection admits such articles free, so as to cheapen their cost, and applies duties to articles which do not need to be imported, because they are or can be produced in the country. Britain derives a large revenue from tea and coffee, not a pound of which is raised at home; the U. S. has admitted them free of duty since 1872. Britain admits cotton and woolen goods free, altho producing them; the U. S. subjects them to duty, so that more of them may be produced here. If Britain's need of revenue requires a duty to be placed upon an imported article like what is produced in the country, an excise is put upon the domestic product to countervail the duty, so that the duty will not be protective. In the U. S., if duties fail after due trial to develop a domestic supply in quantities adequate

to reduce the price to a fair level, they are removed, so as not to increase the cost of living. It is claimed by protectionists that the duty is not added to the price, except when the people are dependent upon foreign supply. When they are not dependent the duties on goods sent here to compete are paid by the foreigners in form of a lower price. This claim is not only admitted by exporters to protective countries, but is proved by prices, most of which are as low as those abroad, all of which are lower after than before protection, and many of which are actually lower than the duties themselves. In the last case the duty might be dispensed with, but it does no harm to consumers and protects producers from bankrupt stocks or from the destructive prices that Lord Brougham advised to make and that combinations of European manufacturers now make on exports.

There has been much misleading talk about "high tariff" and "low tariff." A tariff may be very high and yet not in the least protective, or very low and yet sufficiently protective. All this depends upon the objects to which duties are applied and the conditions of production and distribution. And since the duty cannot be added to the price when there is strong domestic competition, no consumer need care how high it is. But if it falls below the line of protection, domestic competition is crushed, and then the importer can add the duty to his price. In countries of comparatively small population low duties are quite as protective as high duties in the U. S., because there is not the same pressure to gain the market.

Under both free trade and protection duties are either specific or ad valorem, and sometimes both. A specific duty is so many cents per pound or yard, or other unit of quantity. An ad valorem duty is such a percentage of value. The former requires only counting or weighing at the custom-house, but the latter requires appraisement. It is difficult to ascertain the value of foreign goods, and they are often invoiced far below their true value, so as to cheat the customs and enable the importer to undersell others in the market. This deprives the Treasury of part of its expected revenue and deprives domestic producers of a part of their promised protection. The tariffs of all foreign countries are now almost wholly specific. In America protectionists favor specific duties, but free traders generally favor ad valorem.

The effect of tariff upon wages has long been a subject of dispute. Perhaps the most accurate statement is that they neither raise nor lower wages except as they increase or diminish employment. If the goods we consume are made abroad, we do not make them ourselves, therefore labor suffers. Wages in Europe average from one fifth to two thirds those in the U. S.; in India, China, and Japan, from one tenth to one fifth the rates paid here. These comparisons are based on the relative productivity of labor and machinery. And as the cost of ocean transportation is now but a small percentage on the cost of the goods, the only way to secure employment and good wages in this country is to have duties that will at least equal the difference in the labor cost of production in general industries between those countries and this. Thus the tariff question is largely a labor question. It is often contended by free-trade advocates that the ability of a U. S. manufacturer to export to Europe at a profit proves that he no longer

needs protection. If this were true of a few, which is doubtful, it is not true of the 500,000 manufacturers of this country. Our exports of manufactures in 1905 were only 9.11 per cent of the whole product, and most of the export is due to some peculiarity of make or material, which foreigners soon imitate or equal. Foreign markets are hard to gain and hold, even with superior goods produced at lower cost, as may sometimes but rarely happen. All our gains in foreign markets do not equal the growth of the home market, and the greater should not be endangered for the less.

ALBERT CLARKE.

REFERENCES: There are many works on protection, but the latest, which also states the free-trade contention, is *Tariff Controversies of the Nineteenth Century*, by Edward Stanwood (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York); *Protection and Prosperity*, by George B. Curtiss (The Pan-American Publishing Company, New York); *Protective Philosophy*, by David Hall Rice (George B. Reed, publisher, Boston); *History of the Protective Tariff*, by ex-Secretary of the Navy, R. W. Thompson (R. S. Peale & Co., publishers, Chicago); *A Short Tariff History of the United States*, by David H. Mason (Chicago); *Manual of Social Science*, by Henry C. Carey (H. C. Baird & Co., Philadelphia); *Political Economy*, by Prof. W. D. Wilson (same publishers); *Protection to Home Industry*, by Prof. Robert Ellis Thompson (D. Appleton & Co., New York); *Rudimentary Economics*, by George M. Steele, LL.D. (Leach, Shewell & Sanborn, Boston); *Political Economy for American Youth*, by Prof. Jacob Harris Patten (A. Lovell & Co., New York); *Wealth and Progress*, by Prof. George Gunton (D. Appleton & Co.); *Principles of Social Economics*, by George Gunton (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York); *Conversations on Political Economy*, by William Elder (H. C. Baird & Co., Philadelphia); *The Political Economy of Natural Law*, by Henry Wood (Lee & Shepard, Boston); *Political Economy*, by Horace Greeley (*The Tribune*, New York); *Farm and Factory*, by J. R. Dodge, ex-Statistician of the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.; *Records of the Fifty-first and Fifty-third Congresses*; files of the *Protectionist*, the *American Economist*, and the *Manufacturer*, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; and free pamphlets of the Home Market Club, Boston, and American Protective Tariff League, New York; also the lives and speeches of Madison, Jefferson, Clay, Webster, Harrison, and McKinley.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM (for a statement of the activities of the Protestant Episcopal Church in social reform, see CHURCH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF LABOR; CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION; INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES): The Protestant Episcopal Church probably leads the religious societies of the United States in its activities in social reform. The existence of the above-mentioned societies, the activities and utterances of such men as the late Bishop Huntington of Central New York, Bishop Potter of New York, Bishop Sessums of Louisiana; with such clergymen as the late William Augustus Muhlenberg, D.D.; Rev. W. S. Rainsford, D.D.; Rev. R. Heber Newton, D.D.; Rev. R. H. Holland, S.T.D.; Rev. James Huntington, O.S.; Rev. J. D. Peters, D.D.; Rev. W. D. P. Bliss; Rev. Philo Sprague; with such laymen and women as Professor Ely, Miss Vida D. Scudder, and many others, go far to substantiate this view. Referring to the above-named articles for details, we give here a significant extract from the pastoral letter of the bishops of the Church in 1889:

In a country such as ours, distinguished among the nations by institutions which presuppose the liberty, intelligence, and civic virtues of the citizen, it is of the utmost importance that men should feel and recognize their political responsibility. And while the Church of God—the kingdom not of this world—does not undertake to wage the warfare of the partizan, it is nevertheless charged with the duty of establishing and maintaining principles which shall find expression in the political as well as in the social and family life. The Incarnation would be emptied of a large part of its sig-

nificance if it were supposed to leave untouched and uninfluenced the life of men under the ordered polity of the commonwealth. To render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's is surely more than the due payment of the tribute money which supports the public action of the State. It is, no less, the righteous and godly exercise of all the functions of the citizen. On account of the dangers which beset all government, the far-seeing founders of the republic rested their hopes for its welfare and success upon the civic fidelity of the people—not upon the excellence of our governmental methods. Those methods make possible among us gross and shameful perversions of political right and authority. It has come to pass, in the heat and eagerness of party struggle, that vicious and corrupt conduct is largely condoned, and the standards of political morality are sensibly and dangerously lowered. We are confronting a great peril—and one which must excite the fears of Christian men—lest character fashioned in the working of free institutions be irretrievably damaged, and the poison, entering here, spread itself throughout the entire life of the nation. Purity and integrity in the administration of public affairs are strenuously demanded by the religion of Christ, as well as by all patriotic aspiration. Official place, in morals and in politics, is not the prize won by a vulgar selfishness, nor the refuge of patronized incompetence, nor yet the barter price promised or paid for political influence, but the place in which a righteous man may serve his fellow men and advance the reputable interests of his country. The emoluments of office are derived from a fund

Morals

contributed to the State by the loyal obedience and patient toil of the industrious masses; to say the very least, it should be distributed so as to secure the most efficient and economical conduct of public affairs. The honors of office are legitimate rewards bestowed by popular confidence upon upright citizenship. It must be an evil day for our country when both emoluments and honors are made the prey of a partizan activity which often discards all honesty in its methods and renounces all shame in its corrupt and corrupting success. The religion of Christ is "for the healing of the nations" sick with sin and wrong; and the Church of Christ, while holding itself aloof from the strife of faction and party, is yet called upon, in the persons of its members, to guard jealously the great heritage which God's providence has bestowed, and to maintain earnestly the beneficent ideals of political life and action. To answer that call with ready mind and will is the becoming office of faithful men who would promote the righteousness which "exalteth a nation," and invite still further blessings from Him who "hath brought us forth into a wealthy place" among the peoples of the earth.

We pass on to a kindred topic. It is inevitable that the Church of God shall be profoundly concerned at the disturbed relations of what are commonly called the "industrial classes"—the wage-workers and the employers of human labor. The spirit of our holy religion forbids indifference, on our part, to any actual trials, oppressions, or sufferings of men, and its due practical operation has tended always to do away with jealousies, suspicions, and antagonisms between the children of the one Father of us all. We may confidently claim for the Church of Him who by His presence consecrated the carpenter shop of Nazareth that, however, at any time or place it may have been tempted to shelter itself under the patronage or protection of earthly power and wealth, nevertheless its deep, constant purpose has been to soften asperities of feeling, to promote mutual good-will, to curb injustice, as between man and man. And if there be, as unhappily there often is, a forgetfulness by many of the blessed changes wrought in human conditions by Christ's religion, we may not ignore the significant truth that the unchallenged claim of men of our day to considerate justice and all righteous recognition by their human brothers rests finally and completely upon the dignity and sacredness of the humanity taken into the Godhead by the Word made Flesh, and by Him redeemed unto the liberty of the children of God.

It is painfully evident that the existing industrial system is subjected not only to vehement criticism, but to perilous strain; and one of the most discouraging elements of the situation seems to be the hopeless or despairing tone of those who deal with the overshadowing questions which throng so persistently upon the mind and heart of our generation. It seems scarcely to be expected, by many, that a solution of the problems can be reached by applying to them any devices of human sagacity or any reconciling principles of economic science.

It is often assumed without question, alike by reckless passion and thoughtful earnestness, that there is no soothing for the uneasy world; that opposing interests and aims are here met in mortal strife. We do not venture to intimate that we have any swift and potent cure for the evils which we must and do deplore. But we are confident that it is a fallacy in social economics, as well as in Christian thinking, to look upon the labor of men, women, and children as a mere commercial commodity to be bought and sold, as an inanimate and irresponsible thing. It is the employer who seeks and finds the inner soul of the operative, who respects his manhood, and perhaps translates for him into fact the inarticulate longings of his better nature; it is the master whose watchful sympathy finds room and play in the cottages of his wearied workmen, and in all the life which has its centers there—it is

he who has found the open secret of a wisdom that is "peaceable," because it is "from above," and is "pure," "gentle," and "easy to be entreated." Any social philosophy which eliminates from its consideration the value and significance of human feeling or human susceptibility to the influence of kindness, justice, and loving manliness has surely left itself fatally maimed and incomplete. The heart and soul of a man cannot be bought or hired for money in any market, and to act as if they were not needed in the doing of the world's vast work is as unchristian as it is unwise. We may not therefore omit to urge upon all those to whom our words may come, the profound need of a righteous and full appreciation of the moral and spiritual factors which enter into industrial questions. To bear in mind the hardships and heavy cares of our brother men; to remember our common kinship in the great family of God; to ponder their necessities; to stand ready and glad to plead their cause; to brighten their lot and comfort their distresses—this is the exalted office of Christian men—it is the hopeful method of peace and good-will. And let it never be forgotten that there is here a reciprocal obligation laid upon labor—a duty defined by every principle of righteousness and truth. That duty—a duty fully and fitly recognized by large numbers of Christian working men—plainly is to treat the employer, in his most difficult position, with all consideration and thoughtful regard. His legitimate interests may not be ignored, and it should be the steadfast will and purpose of his working associates to protect those interests and defend them against all unjust aggressions. He is frequently placed in situations of great embarrassment, and the kindly patience and sympathy of his workmen may bring relief. He is always entitled to that, and there is grave injustice when it is withheld. Combinations which cripple or hinder his rightful freedom of action, unreasonable demands concerning the hours and compensation and division of labor—these are not in the way of substantial right, and any temporary or passing triumph for them is but the delusive promise of a method bad in morals, which really invites and compels disaster. The stars in their courses through God's sky of truth fight against ungodliness and wrong, and they who would claim equity must do equity. In considering these relations between employer and employed, we desire to express our profound interest in the provisions that may be and should be made for penetrating the life of the great masses of men with positive Christian influence. If the world's exacting labor is to be done in any accord with the principles of the kingdom of God, there must of necessity be, on the part of employers, a distinct and unqualified recognition of the spiritual needs and claims of the workmen whose toil they control or direct.

Wage Question

In the law of God there is a day which He calls His own, and by the declaration of the Lord Jesus Christ it was "made for man." It is doubly protected then by the sovereignty of God and by the everlasting sanctity of a human right; the Holy Day—thus guarded and shielded against invasion—is the day for worship and for rest. To rob it of its character at the demand of greed; to make labor so weary under its daily burden that it is tempted and almost forced to change its day of high and holy refreshment into a day of reckless indulgence or soulless apathy, is grievous sin. We are enabled to thank God for the good examples of some of our brethren who have been forward to minister graciously and helpfully to large bodies of operatives in their employ. They have provided for needed rest, for helpful and elevating recreation, for due demands of human frame and human spirit. Let the examples be multiplied, and let the Church of God interpose its protest against oppressive wrong.

Since this pastoral letter was written, the Church has greatly extended her activities in various ways along lines of social reform. A recent report ("Church Philanthropy in New York," by Floyd Appleton, Ph.D., 1906) enumerates among remedial institutions six hospitals, besides numerous clinics and dispensaries—six for the incurable, blind, and deaf; thirteen for the aged and orphaned; five for the delinquent—aside from a large number of local and smaller institutions. The Church has done as well in other parts of the country in proportion to her means and membership.

Officially, the Church has reiterated, emphasized, and clarified her position in various pastoral letters, both on the part of the House of Bishops and of individual bishops. At the recent general convention at Richmond, Va. (Oct., 1907), the report on "Capital and Labor" recommended a more intelligent study of these questions; deprecated the ignorance of clergymen of the real issue, and that of laboring men concerning the true mission of the Church;

deplored the employment of children in mills and factories; urged the coordination of the various existing societies within the Church under a central committee; and called for systematic efforts to arouse interest in these matters on the part of Church people in general.

The convention adopted the report, and created a permanent Committee on Capital and Labor with authority to speak in the name of the Church in these matters. *Secretary*: Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Berkeley, Cal.

PROUDHON, PIERRE JOSEPH: French philosophical anarchist; born 1809, Besançon, France. He early displayed a love of study, and, borrowing books from the town library, he read, and went to the day-school when his work allowed. At sixteen he entered the college of his native place, but could not buy the necessary books, and had to borrow them from his mates in order to copy the lessons. There is a story of young Proudhon returning home laden with prizes, to find that there was no dinner for him. At the age of nineteen he worked in a printing-house, correcting proof, and acquired knowledge on many lines, particularly in theology; learning Hebrew, as well as Greek and Latin. He was thus enabled to contribute some articles to an "Encyclopédie Catholique." In 1836 he established a small printing-office in Besançon, but, his partner committing suicide, he had to wind up the business in 1838. In 1837 he had written an "Essay on General Grammar," and obtained a pension of 1,500 francs. This enabled him to go to Paris and to compete for a prize essay on the subject of "The Celebration of Sunday," in which he first broached liberal social ideas.

In 1840 he published his first work, "Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?" giving his famous answer to the question, "La Propriété, c'est le Vol" (Property is Theft). It attracted little notice; the sole results to its author were the withdrawal of his pension by the Academy, and the threat of a prosecution. In 1842, for a repetition of offense in his "Avertissement aux Propriétaires," he was prosecuted before the Cour d'Assises of Besançon, but was acquitted. From 1843 to 1847 he was employed at Lyons, in the superintendence of a scheme of water-transport on the rivers Saône and Rhône, publishing during this time at Paris the two works entitled "De la Création de l'Ordre dans l'Humanité" and "Système des Contradictions Économiques," his most important works, and written under the influence of Hegel, Adam Smith, and the Bible. In 1847 he finally settled in Paris, where he was becoming celebrated as a leader of innovation. The revolution of February (1848) found the social reformers unprepared. But Proudhon threw himself with ardor into the conflict of opinion, and gained national notoriety. He was editor of the *Représentant du Peuple* and other journals, in which the most advanced theories were advocated; elected member of Assembly for the Seine department, by 77,094 votes, he brought forward a proposal to exact an impost of one third on interest and rent, which was rejected. He had various struggles with the Mountain and other political factions, whom he accused of favoring socialism only in pretense. He fought a duel with Félix Pyat and denounced Louis Bonaparte, who was already preparing his *coup d'état*. For this he was condemned to a fine of 10,000 francs and three years' imprisonment, and fled to Bel-

gium. Proudhon only remained in Belgium a few days, and returning to Paris in disguise, was discovered, and imprisoned three years. He wrote during these years his "Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire" (1849), "Actes de la Révolution" (1849), "Gratuité du Crédit" (1850), and "La Révolution Sociale Démontrée par le Coup d'État." In June, 1852, he was set at liberty, and lived, writing, in comparative quiet, till the publication of his work, "De la Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Église" (1858), in which he attacked the Church and other existing institutions with unusual fury. This time he fled to Brussels to escape imprisonment. On his return to France his health broke down, tho he continued to write. Died at Passy, 1865.

Thomas Kirkup says of Proudhon (article "Proudhon," "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th ed.):

Personally Proudhon was one of the most remarkable figures of modern France. His life was marked by the severest simplicity and even Puritanism; he was affectionate in his domestic relations, a most loyal friend, and strictly upright in conduct. He was strongly opposed to the prevailing French socialism of his time because of its utopianism and immorality; and, tho he uttered all manner of wild paradox and vehement invective against the dominant ideas and institutions, he was remarkably free from feelings of personal hate. He all that he said and did he was the son of the people, who had not been broken to the usual social and academic discipline; hence his roughness, his one-sidedness, and his exaggerations; but he is always vigorous, and often brilliant and original.

It would, of course, be impossible to reduce the ideas of such an irregular thinker to systematic form. Yet the

Principles

groundwork of his teaching is clear and firm; no one could insist with greater emphasis on the demonstrative character of economic principles as understood by himself. He strongly believed in the absolute truth of a few moral ideas, with which it was the aim of his teaching to mold and suffice political economy. Of these fundamental ideas, justice, liberty, and equality were the chief. What he desiderated, for instance, in an ideal society was the most perfect equality of remuneration. It was his principle that service pays service; that a day's labor balances a day's labor—in other words, that the duration of labor is the just measure of value. He did not shrink from any of the consequences of this theory, for he would give the same remuneration to the worst mason as to a Phidias; but he looks forward also to a period in human development when the present inequality in the talent and capacity of men would be reduced to an inappreciable minimum. From the great principle of service as the equivalent of service is derived his axiom that property is the right of *aubaine*. The *aubain* was a stranger not naturalized; and the right of *aubaine* was the right in virtue of which the sovereign claimed the goods of such a stranger who had died in his territory. Property is a right of the same nature, with a like power of appropriation in the form of rent, interest, etc. It reaps without labor, consumes without producing, and enjoys without exertion. Proudhon's aim, therefore, was to realize a science of society resting on principles of justice, liberty, and equality thus understood; "a science absolute, rigorous, based on the nature of man and of his faculties, and on their mutual relations; a science which we have not to invent, but to discover." But he saw clearly that such ideas, with their necessary accompaniments, could only be realized through a long and laborious process of social transformation. As we have said, he strongly detested the prurient immorality of the schools of Saint-Simon and Fourier. He attacked them not less bitterly for thinking that society could be changed offhand by a ready-made and complete scheme of reform. It was "the most accursed lie," he said, "that could be offered to mankind." In social change he distinguishes between the transition and the perfection or achievement. With regard to the transition he advocated the progressive abolition of the right of *aubaine*, by reducing interest, rent, etc. For the goal he professed only to give the general principles; he had no ready-made scheme, no utopia. The positive organization of the new society in its details was a labor that would require fifty Montesquieus. The organization he desired was one on collective principles; a free association which would take account of the division of labor and which would maintain the personality both of the man and the citizen. With his strong and fervid feeling for human dignity and liberty, Proudhon could not have tolerated any theory of social change that did not give full scope for the free development of man. Connected with this was his famous paradox of anarchy, as the goal of the free development of society, by which he meant that through the ethical progress of men government should become unnecessary. "Govern-

ment of man by man in every form," he says, "is oppression. The highest perfection of society is found in the union of order and anarchy."

Proudhon is considered the father of the school of the philosophical anarchists (see ANARCHISM), tho he held their views only in the germ and not in their developed form, and he has found, as he predicted, his chief following in the United States. Author: "Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?"; "De la Création de l'Ordre dans l'Humanité"; "Système des Contradictions Économiques"; "Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire"; "Actes de la Révolution"; "Gratuité du Crédit"; "La Révolution Sociale Démontrée par le Coup d'État"; "De la Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Église." A complete edition, including posthumous writings, was published at Paris in 1875. Sainte-Beuve gave us in 1875 "P. J. Proudhon: La Vie et la Correspondance." In 1876 Mr. B. R. Tucker published a translation of the work on property. (See ANARCHISM.)

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS: The movement for public employment bureaus, which under different forms are now being started in almost all progressive countries, has been occasioned mainly by the evils attendant so frequently upon private bureaus. These evils have developed, and upon the same general lines, in all countries, evils of charging somewhat heavy registration fees from those seeking work, holding out hopes and promises, and then sending them here and there with all sorts of baseless stories, without doing anything for them, except get their money; evils to employers of recommending employees or servants of whom they really know nothing; evils to girls of sending them to places of whose moral character they do not know, and not seldom of deliberately alluring them into houses of ill repute.

Public employment bureaus have grown out of these evils, by a natural evolution, through various grades. It is therefore necessary to exactly understand the different kinds of employment bureaus. These may be said to be six:

In the first place we put the labor bureau connected with some trade-union. These in all countries do a large and important work, but of course only for the members of the trade-union with which they are connected.

Akin to these, but in most countries slightly developed, are labor bureaus established by working men, but not in connection with any one trade-union.

A third class consists of labor bureaus established by employers. In some countries these play a somewhat large part and are able to find work for many men.

A fourth and more important class is the regular commercial employment bureaus, altho in almost all countries these seem to be mainly for domestic servants, waiters, and the like.

A fifth class of employment bureau which in some places has developed a large activity is the bureau established by some form or other of charitable or philanthropic association.

The last kind of employment bureau is the bureau established by the municipality or state, which in Europe at least has been frequently very successful and seems on the increase and will demand careful study.

I. Europe

We commence with France, not because the French bureaus are the most important or the most successful, but because France first attempted public efforts in this line, and upon her experience to some extent has been based the action of other countries.

In France as early as 1848 the French provisional government of the day voted to establish a free information bureau in each of the municipalities of Paris. These were by no means success-

ful owing to political considerations and their want of success long discounted the idea of municipal bureaus.

Employment bureaus carried on for gain have as a result been by far the most numerous and at least until recently the most successful of the agencies for securing situations in France. The number of situations obtained by them runs over a million every year. But these are very largely limited to obtaining situations in domestic service or for waiters in hotels and restaurants, and many complaints against them are made so that there is a movement for their suppression by law.

A small class of French bureaus has at present little influence—the old Gild Registries, over fifteen of which still remain from the old French gild system.

France

Much more important in France are the trade-union employment bureaus. In 1903 1,017 trade-unions maintained labor bureaus or registries out of a total of 3,934 trade-unions existing in France. These, however, tend to become connected with the labor exchange, or "Bourse du Travail," an institution somewhat peculiar to France, altho to an extent copied in Italy and other countries. The first labor exchange was that created by the municipality of Paris in 1887, of which an employment bureau was to have been from the start one of the important features. (See LABOR EXCHANGE.)

Somewhat similar labor exchanges were started in Nîmes the same year, in Marseilles and Saint Étienne in 1888, Toulon in 1889, Bordeaux and Toulouse in 1890. In 1903 the total number of labor exchanges in France was 94 to which there were affiliated 1,871 trade-unions with a membership of 288,036.

In that year sixty-six of these exchanges made returns reporting finding employment for 75,175 persons, not two thirds of which were permanent.

French municipal employment bureaus have been more successful. They were, however, slow in development, because of the want of success attending the 1848 experiments. The attempt, however, was revived in 1886, and by 1900 there were 52 municipal employment bureaus in France. In 1902 30 of these reported finding situations for 58,752 people, of which over 50 were permanent.

German Public Employment Bureaus are undoubtedly the best of any country in the world, but were not the first kind to be developed.

The ordinary commercial employment bureaus of Germany, as in other countries, occupy themselves mainly in placing domestic servants. They are much criticized, and some of them, as in other countries, for immoralities connected with them.

Germany

This is one of the reasons why Germany is turning to the Public Bureaus. For the bureaus in connection with the Relief Stations, see RELIEF STATIONS.

The trade-unions of Germany, as elsewhere, maintain in many instances employment bureaus. Several employment bureaus are maintained in Germany in connection with the Chambers of Agriculture.

The characteristic employment bureau of Germany is, however, as we have said, the Public Bureau, often commenced by some private voluntary association and occasionally so continued, but almost always at least subsidized by the municipality (sometimes by the commune), and, in most cases, coming to be a Municipal Bureau,

managed by the municipality (sometimes the commune).

The first employment bureau of this kind in Germany was founded in Stuttgart, in 1865, by a workman's improvement society. It was later joined by other societies, and in 1895 became the Stuttgart Municipal Employment Bureau. The example of Stuttgart was followed by Cologne in 1874; by Berlin, 1883; Hanover, 1889; Düsseldorf in 1890; Carlsruhe, 1891; Freiburg, 1892. They then became common; 5 such public or municipal bureaus were established in 1893; 8 in 1894; 23 in 1895; 12 in 1896 (all the largest cities already having them); 8 in 1898; 9 in 1899; 11 in 1900; 5 in 1901; 2 in 1902. By 1904 there were 136 bureaus. In 1898 an association of such bureaus was established for the empire. This association has an organ, the *Arbeitsmarkt*, a bimonthly edited by Dr. Flesch, and first published in 1887. Many conferences on the subject have been held. The Berlin bureau is a type of many. It found places in 1904 for 67,000 persons. It is conducted by various united societies, but receives a subsidy of \$5,000 from the municipality and is under its strict supervision. It is free to all employees. Workmen who register pay a fee of 20 pfennig (five cents). Several of the skilled labor-unions use the bureau instead of maintaining bureaus of their own. Employers and employees are equally represented in the management. Such is the type. But Berlin is not generally supposed to have the best public employment bureau. This honor is usually given to Stuttgart or Cologne.

Characteristic of all of them, however, is the fact that they are managed by committees on which employers and employees are equally represented. The Germans consider this fact so vital that they have coined a word to express it — *parität*, or the equal representation of employer and employed. Second, however, only in importance to this is the importance they give to the bureaus by having at the head of the committees the foremost citizens.

In Frankfurt the burgomaster or mayor nominates the president of the employment bureau Committee. In Elberfeld a committee of the "Arbitration Court" also manages the bureau. In Munich the president of the "Arbitration Court" is also president of the bureau. In Nuremberg the bureau is under the superintendence of the city magistracy. In Breslau a member of the magistracy is the head of the bureau. Upon the Berlin committee are an official from the Imperial Ministry of the Interior, well-known professors and publicists, as well as employers and employees. In Cologne the municipality bears all the costs, but, while keeping a general control, leaves the actual management to a committee of various unions, including the trade-unions, the union of Independent Handicrafts, the guilds, and a number of religious and labor societies.

In Bavaria the decisive step has been taken of making the communes by law responsible for the labor bureau. In Bavaria, too, the system of distinctive municipal bureaus has been most developed into a complete system. There are seven central employment bureaus in the eight largest Bavarian cities, and these have forty-five outlying bureaus connected with them. This systematization of course enormously increases the value of each bureau in hearing of situations and therefore in supplying them to applicants. The constitution of these bureaus is usually similar. No fees are charged; the entire cost is defrayed by the

municipality (assisted by grants from the Bavarian Government).

That these municipal bureaus have succeeded is seen in the increase of the work done. In Munich the bureau filled 25,586 situations in 1896, 51,664 in 1903. In 1896 47,008 people applied for situations, and 79,505 in 1903. In 1896 30,057 positions were offered by employers, and in 1903, 67,429. Indeed, the municipal bureau at Munich exceeds the work done by all other employment bureaus in the city taken together. Of every 100 applications for work it receives, 65 per cent are successful, a much higher percentage than any other form of employment bureau. The expenses of the municipal bureau in 1903 amounted to \$8,705, of which \$5,820 went in salaries. There was a grant from the Bavarian Government of \$1,025 and not including the grant the cost of each situation procured was fourteen cents per situation. Indeed, one of the marked characteristics of the German public bureaus is this cheapness of operation. In Carlsruhe, in 1903, it was 13 cents for each of 11,496 positions filled; in Mannheim, 11 cents for each of 10,939 positions filled; in Cologne, in 1904, it was 9 cents for each of the 28,200 positions filled.

At first the labor-unions were suspicious of these bureaus, but being public and managed equally by employers and employees, this suspicion has given way to confidence.

II. Other Countries

Other European countries have little new to offer. Belgium and Italy have developed some labor exchanges like the French bourses de travail, and with employment bureaus attached, yet with little success. They are therefore turning now to the German type. Austria and Denmark have followed the lead of Germany directly, notably at Vienna, Basel, Bern, Zurich, and Copenhagen. Switzerland is developing a federal system of employment bureaus. In England, out of the recent agitation of the question of unemployment has come the recent establishment of a system of public employment bureaus called labor bureaux, too recent, however, yet to show results either favorable or unfavorable.

(For the interesting work of the New Zealand Government in obtaining work for the unemployed through the cooperation of the police, see NEW ZEALAND.)

From a study of the German bureaus Dr. Varlez, of Ghent (Belgium), an authority on the subject, lays down the following principles for their management:¹

III. Principles

1. The employers and the employees should have an equal right in the management of the bureaus. They should also have equal rights in the administration of the bureaus.
2. The presidency should be in the hands of men not interested in industrial conflicts.
3. A purely bureaucratic management is irreconcilable with an effective management of the bureaus.
4. The management should not be placed exclusively in the hands of philanthropic institutions.
5. The expenses of the organization and administration of bureaus, in which employers and employees are equally interested, should fall upon the public authorities; principally upon the local community.
6. The placing of laborers outside of the community should be in charge of a central bureau rather than in that of the district bureau.
7. The procuring of work should be free of charge.

¹ Report on the Reorganization of the Ghent Labor Exchange, Ghent, 1906.

8. The placing of laborers should not be purely a local matter; it should extend to the surrounding district.
9. The bureau should try to keep in touch and, if possible, to cooperate with all agencies which undertake to find employment.
10. The public authorities should control all employment bureaus so as to prevent commercialism on their part and hostile action toward the public bureau.
11. The statistics of the bureaus should be kept with the greatest care.
12. The public bureaus should be for both sexes.
13. The public bureaus should endeavor to place both working men and domestics.
14. Women clerks should be used in placing women applicants.
15. Direct contact between employers and employees, and also between persons of different sexes, should be avoided in the office of the bureau.
16. Strikes and lockouts should be reported immediately to the employment bureau, and should be announced there, but it should not be necessary to close the office to the trades implicated.
17. All the transactions of placing people should be carried on within the office of the bureau.
18. Managers of offices should try to satisfy their clients, both employers and working men, without following the strict order of application, which is more or less a matter of chance.
19. Officers should energetically combat the practise of working men in applying directly to employers who are patrons of the bureau, for positions.
20. To make known their work the public employment bureaus should use all the different methods of advertising which are used by commercial institutions.
21. The labor bureau should be interested in placing of apprentices and in the form of their contract, because the future of the labor market depends upon the proper management of apprenticeships.
22. Employment bureaus of neighboring villages should as far as possible cooperate with each other.
23. Bureaus in villages should try to interest themselves in the question of the depopulation of the country districts and the poverty of farm-laborers.

IV. The United States

We abridge here the account of free public employment offices in the U. S., by J. E. Conner, Ph.D., in the *U. S. Bulletin of Labor* (Jan., 1907):

1890. Ohio, 5 offices, Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Dayton, and Toledo; salaries paid by cities at first, now by state.
1893. Los Angeles, Cal., a municipal office, founded and maintained by labor-unions, later assumed by municipality and county, now by municipality.
1894. Seattle, Wash., a municipal office, founded by an amendment to the city charter.
1895. Montana, first legislative attempt at a mail-order system. Changed by a substitute act of March 6, 1897, to a law permitting municipalities to act for themselves. Butte office, 1902; Great Falls, 1905; both founded by city ordinances and virtually municipal offices.
1896. New York, 1 office, New York City; act repealed and office discontinued, 1906.
1897. Nebraska, mail-order system, only 1 office, state capitol at Lincoln.
1899. Illinois, 4 offices, 3 in Chicago and 1 in Peoria; original act declared unconstitutional, present one passed May 11, 1903.
1899. Missouri, 3 offices, St. Louis, Kansas City, and St. Joseph.
1901. Connecticut, 5 offices, Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, Norwich, and Waterbury.
1901. Kansas, mail-order system; only 1 office, state capitol at Topeka.
1901. West Virginia, 1 office, Wheeling.
1901. Wisconsin, 4 offices, La Crosse, Milwaukee, Oshkosh, Superior.
1901. Duluth, Minn., municipal office; founded by city ordinance.
1902. Maryland, 1 office, Baltimore.
1902. Sacramento, Cal., municipal office; founded by city ordinance.
1904. Tacoma, Wash., municipal office; founded by city ordinance.
1905. Minnesota, 1 office, Minneapolis; municipal office at Duluth continues as organized.
1905. Michigan, 2 offices, Detroit and Grand Rapids.
1905. Spokane, Wash., municipal office; founded by city ordinance.

The conclusion to which Dr. Conners comes concerning these bureaus is as follows:

The free public employment office must be regarded thus far as an experiment with some failures, many mistakes,

and several successes to be recorded as its briefest summary. The failures have not been upon fundamental points and the mistakes are believed to be preventable. The history of this movement has been one of progression and not retrogression, tho the progress must be looked for as a whole rather than within any one of the several states. The individual states have shown but little inclination to modify their earlier enactments or to profit by the experience of others.

The offices have not uniformly followed the practise of giving their services without the payment of a fee. The experience where a fee has been charged indicates that perhaps the best results would be obtained from a small fee which each applicant for employment should pay for each position he secures, following the principle of making the service pay its own expenses. This fee could be collected subsequent to employment.

The offices should be located whenever practicable in the city hall or the court-house. This is desirable for two reasons: First, that the burden of the support of the office may be distributed between the state and the locality, the latter accounting at least for the item of rent, the former assuming responsibility for all remaining expenses; second, in order that the office may be as closely as possible associated with other social services, and be placed incidentally on an equal footing with other public offices.

That those seeking employment should be protected from the schemes of the unscrupulous has been urged more than any other motive as a reason for the establishment of free public employment offices. The experience of the various states does not justify the belief that free competition by the state can be relied upon alone to drive out the unscrupulous private agencies or correct their abuses. To accomplish this object the first requisite is a law covering the specific abuses. Following the system developed in Illinois, the free public employment office may be used as a valuable adjunct in the administration of such a law.

A second motive advanced is the need of a public agency to furnish all possible assistance to the unemployed seeking employment. Private initiative cannot be relied upon to do this for the reason that it must make merchandise of men's necessities to an extent that is socially harmful, even when conducted as a legitimate business and entirely free from extortionate practises.

The economic motive is a third reason advanced in justification of the free public employment office. This may be analyzed into the saving of money to those for whom it is needful that money should be saved, and the bringing together the laborer in search of work and the employer seeking help, thus with the least possible expense reducing unemployment to a minimum and supplying the demand for workers to the fullest extent.

The private employment offices in large cities have become highly differentiated and, while the cost is sometimes excessive and exorbitant, in many cases they render a higher grade of service than the public office. As a rule it is safer to trust the public offices for the lower grades of employment, but in the higher grades it is possible in many cases to get better service through the private offices.

Specialization of the free employment office is theoretically possible, but by reason of the expense to the state it is impracticable save in an elementary degree, namely, the separation of the skilled from the unskilled labor market by the establishment of two corresponding grades of offices. Whether the state offices, if on a self-supporting basis, could equal the private agencies in efficiency is altogether problematic.

There is often a large unsatisfied demand for unskilled labor. On the other hand there is at times a large supply of this grade of labor outside of the larger industrial centers, in the towns and small cities where there is no great industrial activity. Bringing these two factors of the labor market together would be a great economic gain and much more desirable than the encouragement of immigration to satisfy the labor demand.

The "mail-order" system of free employment offices has furnished most of the instances of failure. This system is simply a labor registry for employer and employee and necessitates a correspondence bureau at the state capital, where the real work of fitting the man to the job is essayed by correspondence. In the light of American experience this system is successful only in the supplying of harvest hands in the wheat belt.

It is evident from the above how far the American free public employment bureaus fall below the German. No such bureaus can expect to make a large success. Until public bureaus be given the importance and standing and size of the German, failure must follow. Nor until they are managed as in Germany by employers and employees equally will they have the confidence of the labor-unions necessary to their success. Con-

cerning the New York public employment bureau which was discontinued, Dr. Connors says:

The New York statute of 1896, creating the one free employment office in New York City, while not primarily designed upon the mail-order plan, was scarcely less parsimonious in relation to the field it occupied. In the light of experience in New York City and elsewhere, the attempt to counteract the abuses of the private agencies by the competition of one state office set down in the midst of the city without sufficient advertising, assistance, or anything else, could hardly be expected to succeed.

REFERENCES: See UNEMPLOYMENT.

PUBLIC LANDS: The public domain of the United States—lying principally in the western half of the country—now amounts, in round numbers, to a little less than half a billion acres. Uncle Sam is yet by far our largest landowner.

The first landed operations in America consisted, in the early colonial days, in the granting, by the British, French, and Spanish crowns, of immense tracts of land in the provinces to titled and influential individuals. With the formation of the republic, the principle prevailed of the government selling its public land to the highest bidder. Later, the preemption law was enacted by which the nominal price was fixed at \$1.25 an acre, and under this fairly beneficent act of Congress great home-making areas were carved out of the middle-western states, the intent of the law being that settlement and residence should accompany and follow purchase. Subsequent to this, various other land-acquiring laws were enacted, the principal one being the homestead law, which enabled a man to take up 160 acres of public land and, by residing upon and improving it for five years, to acquire title without other cost than a small fee.

The general sentiment of the nation has always favored a liberal land policy, but the underlying motive has been to induce and require settlement to the end that the country might become rapidly peopled. From the very beginning, however, practices and modifications crept in under which land could be obtained without actual settlement, but for speculative purposes, usually, however, under the guise of promoting instead of defeating settlement. Thus, shortly after the passage of the homestead law, what is known as the "commutation clause" was enacted. This provides

Homestead Law

that after a residence upon a homestead claim of fourteen months the entryman may, by the payment of \$1.25 an acre, secure immediate title to his land. Under this law hundreds of thousands of acres of the best of the government lands of the West have been entered with but a mere semblance of improvement and settlement, commuted to cash, and transferred to speculators and syndicates, the entryman receiving a small bonus for the exercise of his right.

Then also was enacted the desert land law, supposed to be in the interest of the settlement of desert lands. Under it a man could enter 640 acres of "desert land," and upon irrigating a portion of it and paying \$1.25 an acre, secure title thereto. This law has likewise been flagrantly abused and vast areas of rich lands, many of them absolutely non-desert, have been entered, patent secured from the government and immediately transferred by the entryman to some live-stock syndicate or speculative corporation. In several of the grazing states tracts can be seen to-day of 10,000 or 20,000 acres, or even greater areas of

contiguous land, acquired from the government under the desert land law, but which have never been settled upon, and never been irrigated. This law also is still in force, except that its unit has been reduced from 640 to 320 acres. The great defect in the law is that it does not require actual settlement.

In the "seventies" the timber and stone law was passed by Congress. It was supposed to be for the benefit of the individual homesteader or settler, in that it allowed him to buy from the government for his own use 160 acres of timber land at \$2.50 an acre. This law has probably been even more flagrantly abused than any of the public-land-acquiring laws. Under it, entire train-loads of people—Eastern school-teachers—have been transported by lumber syndicates into the finest timber regions of the West, and furnished the money to buy, each his 160 acres, and then immediately transfer it to the syndicate. Vast tracts of land worth, according to government agents, \$100 an acre, have thus been sold by the government for \$2.50 an acre.

Recent investigations of the General Land Office have shown that almost equally great frauds have crept into the disposal of government coal lands, through the manipulation of dummy entrymen and the acquirement of the land under other than their rightful classification.

Various other laws have been enacted from time to time, in the main detrimental to the nation, and through which the great public domain has gradually, in large measure, passed into the hands of speculators and syndicates—at least not into the hands of bona-fide settlers. At the present time there are four principal land-acquiring laws which are conceded to be a detriment to

Present Laws

the actual development of the country—the commutation clause of the homestead law, the desert land law, the timber and stone law, and the coal land law. During the past five or six years a considerable agitation has arisen looking to land law reform or repeal by Congress, and in 1903 President Roosevelt appointed a special public lands commission, consisting of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, the chief engineer of the Reclamation Service, and the chief of the Forest Service, to personally investigate the land question and present proper recommendations. The two succeeding annual reports of the commission brought to light a condition of unparalleled fraud and non-compliance with existing laws. At the same time the Secretary of the Interior was unearthing gigantic land frauds, involving men in high official positions. The report of the commission was called to the attention of Congress by the president in several unusually forceful messages. The repeal of the timber and stone law was recommended by him, and such amendment of the desert land law, the commutation clause of the homestead law, and the coal land law as to entirely nullify their bad features. Congress unfortunately turned a deaf ear, and in Dec., 1906, the president sent to that body a still more urgent recommendation along the same lines, and in a later message urged the retention of the vast body of coal lands of the West which he asserted were being fraudulently entered and transferred to coal monopolies. It is a most regrettable circumstance that Congress has paid no heed whatever to these suggestions of the executive.

No better statement of the present public land

situation can be made than to quote from these messages of the president, briefly as follows:

¹ The timber and stone act has demonstrated conclusively that its effect is to turn over the public timber lands to great corporations. It has done enormous harm, it is no longer needed, and it should be repealed. The desert land act results so frequently in fraud and so comparatively seldom in making homes on the land that it demands radical amendment. That provision which permits assignment before patent should be repealed, and the entryman should be required to live for not less than two years at home on the land before patent issues. Otherwise the desert land law will continue to assist speculators and other large holders to get control of land and water on the public domain by indefensible means.

The commutation clause of the homestead act serves, in a majority of cases, to defeat the purpose of the homestead act itself, which is to facilitate settlement and create homes. In theory the commutation clause should assist the honest settler, and doubtless in some cases it does so. Far more often it supplies the means by which speculators and loan and mortgage companies secure possession of the land. Actual—not constructive—living at home on the land for three years should be required before commutation, unless it should appear wiser to repeal the commutation clause altogether. . . . The present coal law, limiting the individual entry to 160 acres, puts a premium on fraud by making it impossible to develop certain types of coal-fields and yet comply with the law. It is a scandal to maintain laws which sound well, but which make fraud the key without which great natural resources must remain closed. . . . Mineral fuels, like the forests and navigable streams, should be treated as public utilities. This is generally recognized abroad. In some foreign countries practical control of a large portion of the fuel resources was allowed years ago to pass into private hands, but the existing governments are endeavoring to regain this control in order that the diminishing fuel supply may be safeguarded for the common good, instead of being disposed of for the benefit of the few—the mistake of the preceding generation in disposing of these fuels for a nominal return cannot always be corrected by the present generation, as the cost may be so enormous as to be prohibitory. . . . Already probably one half of the total area of the high-grade coals in the West has passed under private control. Including both the lignite and the coal areas, these private holdings probably aggregate not less than 30,000,000 acres of coal-fields. With the remainder of the lands containing mineral fuels reserved and leased by the government, there will be ample opportunity to determine, in the near future, which of the two systems—private ownership or the leasing system with general government supervision—will best protect the interests of the people and thus promote the permanent development of the West. . . . I wish to express my utter and complete dissent from the statements that have been made as to there being but a minimum of fraud in the actual working of our present land laws. I am exceedingly anxious to protect the interests of bona-fide settlers and to prevent hardship being inflicted upon them. But surely we are working in their interests when we try to prevent the land which should be reserved for them and for those like them from being taken possession of for speculative purposes or obtained in any fraudulent fashion.

GUY ELLIOTT MITCHELL.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP (for the facts of public ownership, see articles **LIGHTING**; **RAILROADS**; **STREET-RAILROADS**; **TELEGRAPH**; **TELEPHONE**, and **WATER-WORKS**. For public ownership in Great Britain, see **MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP** and **MUNICIPAL TRADING**. For public ownership on the Continent, see the separate subjects, also **MUNICIPALITIES**, German):

We present in this article the arguments for and against public ownership, largely made up of quotations from representative authorities on both sides, and close the article with the final report of the Public Ownership Commission of the National Civic Federation, which investigated both private and public plants and systems in the United States and Great Britain and has presented the most recent and undoubtedly up to date the most authoritative statement of final conclusions.

¹ For complete report of the Public Lands Commission and the president's message, see Senate document No. 154, 58th Congress, 3d session; also president's messages to Congress on public land matters of Dec. 17, 1906, and Feb. 13, 1907.

I. Advantages of Public Ownership

In this section we largely quote from Prof. Frank Parsons's "The City for the People," as generally considered the best general authority in favor of public ownership. Professor Parsons finds the following arguments for public ownership:

I. It lowers rates to the community. The main reasons for this are as follows:

1. A public plant does not have to pay dividends on watered stock.
2. It does not have to pay dividends even on the actual investment.
3. It does not have to retain lawyers or lobbyists, or provide for the entertainment of councilmen, or subscribe to campaign funds, or bear the expenses of pushing the nomination and election of men to protect its interests or give it new privileges, or pay blackmail to ward off the raids of cunning legislators and officials, or buy up its rivals, etc.
4. It does not have to advertise or solicit business.
5. It is able to save a great deal by combination with other departments of public service. Speaking of the low cost of electric light in Dunkirk, the mayor of the city says: "Our city owns its water plant, and the great saving comes from the city's owning and operating both plants. No extra labor is required but a lineman. The same engineers, firemen, and superintendents operate both plants, and the same boiler-power is used." So in Bangor, Marshelltown, and a number of other places, the municipal lighting system is run in connection with the public water plant. In Wheeling the gas and electric plants are operated together. In La Salle the fire, water, and light departments are consolidated. A great saving in the cost of labor and superintendence results.
6. Public ownership has no interest to pay.
7. Even where public ownership is incomplete, the people not owning the plant free of debt, they still have an advantage in respect to interest, because they can borrow at lower rates than the private companies have to pay.
8. As cities usually act as their own insurers, public ownership is free of tribute to the profits and agency commissions of private insurance companies.
9. There is often a large saving in salaries. A public plant pays its chief well, but does not pay the extravagant salaries awarded by millionaire monopolists to themselves or their substitutes in office.
10. Public plants frequently gain through the higher efficiency of better treated and more contented labor, still further energized in many cases by the noble motives and sentiments that go with public service in the minds of patriotic men.
11. The losses occasioned by costly strikes and lockouts do not burden the ledgers of public works.
12. Damages and costs of litigation are likely to be less with public than with private works. Accidents are fewer in a system that aims at good service and safety, and treats its employees well. When they do occur, the claims are often compromised or settled fairly and amicably without suit.
13. The civic interest of the people leads to other economies through the increase of patronage and the lessening of waste. The larger the output, the lower the cost of production per unit of service, other things equal, and the tendency to waste electricity, water, etc., is much less when the people know that the service is a public one, the profits of which belong to them and the loss in which, if any, must be paid by them, than when they know that the service is rendered by a private corporation charging monopoly rates and making big profits for a few stockholders. These economies are intensified as education and experience with public ownership develop the understanding and the civic patriotism of the people.
14. The diffusion of wealth and elevation of labor accompanying public ownership tend to diminish the extent and the cost of the criminal and defective classes.
15. The cost of numerous regulative commissions and interminable legislative investigations into the secrets of private monopolies would be saved by the extension of public ownership.
16. The elimination of conflict and antagonism carries with it the cost of all the useless activities prompted by that antagonism. Legislation would cost us less, for example, were it not for the private monopolies. For a large part of the time and attention of our legislatures is given to them.

Illustrations of the lowering of rates are as follows:

Street Cars.—When Glasgow took over the tramways, fares were reduced one third at once, and reductions have been continued till now the average fare is less than half the average fare collected by the private company.

Telegraph and Telephone.—When England bought out the private telegraph companies, in 1870, and made the telegraph part of the postal service, she reduced the rates one third to one half.

experienced by the cities, amounting to practical impossibility of securing a reasonable regard to the public interest, or even the fulfilment of actual contracts. He gives the following table in the report of the Public Ownership Commission:

EXTENSION OF LINE BEFORE AND AFTER MUNICIPALIZATION

City ¹	No. of years	Period before municipalization. Miles of line increased—		Date of municipalization	Period since municipalization. Miles of line increased—		No. of years	Per cent of increase for period—		Annual average per cent increase	
		From	To		From	To		Before	After	Company period	City period
Glasgow	12	22.2	30	'94	30	80.5	12	35	168	2.7	14
Leeds	12	13.7	14.2	'94	18	54.2	12	3.7	201	.3	16.3
Liverpool	9	41	43.7	'97	43.7	63.4	9	6.7	45	.7	5
Sheffield	10	9.4	9.4	'96	9.4	35.5	10	...	275	...	27.5
Manchester	4	80.5	87.5	'01	55.7	87	4	8.7	56	2.2	14
Municipalities— Group averages										1.2	15.8
				Dividing date						Earlier period	Later period
Dublin	12	31.3	33.3	'94	33.3	49.5	12	6	48	.5	4
Edinburgh	12	13.3	18.4	'94	11.7	22.7	12	38	94	3.1	7.8
Belfast	10	15.1	23	'96	23	39.1	19	52	79	5.2	7
Bristol	9	11.2	19.6	'97	10.6	28.2	9	75	44	8.3	4.8
Norwich				'01	18.8	14.5	5	...	6	...	1.2
Companies— Group averages										4.0	5.5

¹ The first five cities, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield, and Manchester, changed from private to public operation at dates ranging from 1894 to 1901, and the rate of extension in the period of company management is compared with the rate under public management. The last five cities, Dublin, Edinburgh, Belfast, Bristol, and Norwich, have had company operation during both the earlier and later periods, except that the last two or three years in Belfast the city has been taking over the lines, completing the process Dec. 31, 1904. The London United Tramways Company was not organized till 1901, and made no returns for 1902. Moreover, the data available do not enable us to distinguish between extensions and the increase of mileage by consolidations of companies, so the company has not been included in this table.

In the U. S. the story is the same.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING

CITIES	MUNICIPALIZATION	
	Before	After
Aurora, Ill.	\$325	\$72
Elgin, Ill.	228	62
Fairfield, Iowa ..	375	95
Marshalltown, Iowa ..	125	40
Bay City, Mich.	100	67
Detroit, Mich.	132	83
Allegheny, Pa.	180	86
Bangor, Me.	150	58
Lewiston, Me.	182	58
Peabody, Mass.	185	73

II. Public ownership gives a fuller service. Private companies supply only those services which pay, public ownership supplies services which are needed. This is eminently so as between the Western Union Telegraph and the U. S. Post-office. It has been so in Great Britain. Indeed dissatisfaction with the growth of the private systems has been one of the main causes of the extension of municipal ownership in Great Britain.

As to street-cars, the principal reasons, according to Professor Parsons, were poor service by the companies; their ill treatment of employees; their refusal to assent to the adoption of electric traction, extension to suburban districts, and other vital improvements; the constant difficulty

III. Public ownership treats the public impartially. Secret rebates and discriminations have been one of the main evils of the privately owned railways of the U. S. (For a discussion of this, see RAILWAYS.)

IV. Public ownership favors safety to life (see RAILWAYS), showing that it is six times as safe to travel on the State-owned railroads of Germany as on the privately owned railroads of the U. S.

V. Public ownership tends to diminish fraud and the corruption of government. (See Mr. Steffens's testimony, article CORRUPTION.) Professor Parsons's "City for the People," pp. 154-155, gives the following testimony:

Professor Commons says: "I maintain that nine tenths of the existing municipal corruption and inefficiency result from the policy of leaving municipal functions to private parties; and that an essential part of the present unparalleled awakening of civic conscience on the part of all classes of the people is the desire for municipal ownership of franchises. As the people become aroused to the degradation of their politics and to the need of reform, their attention is concentrated on the chief source of that degradation, the underhanded and often high-handed domination of city officials and machine politics by the corporations whose life is maintained by city franchises."

Professor Ely says: "Our terrible corruption in cities dates from the rise of private corporations in control of natural monopolies, and when we abolish them we do away with the chief cause of corruption. 'But,' it is said, 'we must take natural monopolies out of politics.' It never has been done, and it is an impossible thing to do—absolutely impossible. No gas-works, no water-works, no street-car lines, no steam-railways, are so thoroughly in politics as those in the United States. Our American railroads are incomparably more 'in politics' than the German railroads. Not only this; those

German railroads which have been bought by the State, I believe, are less 'in politics' than they were when they were private property. . . . I unhesitatingly advocate public ownership and management for gas-works, and I challenge any one to instance a single American city—or, for that matter, any city, wheresoever situated—which has gone over to public ownership and which regrets it; which, indeed, has not found that a corrupt political influence was thereby removed and political life purified."

Dr. Albert Shaw says: "The pressure that would be brought to bear on the government to produce corruption under municipal ownership of monopolies like gas, electric light, transit, etc., would be incomparably less than the pressure which is now brought to bear by the corporations."

Governor Pingree says: "The corporations are responsible for nearly all the thieving and boodling with which our cities suffer. . . . Good municipal government is an impossibility while valuable franchises are to be had and can be obtained by corrupt use of money in bribing public servants."

Say the defenders of public ownership in the report of the Civic Federation Commission:

We were told by leading men in England that the abolition of the old régime of corruption in British cities was largely due to the development of municipal ownership; that the companies behave well now, because they know their works will be municipalized if they do not and because the growth of municipal ownership has evolved a public sentiment and a type of character that will not tolerate civic abuses; that public spirit and civic patriotism have grown as the increase of public business enlarged and intensified the demand for them; and that the way for America to secure the civic honor and devotion that underlie the clean management of both public and private plants in Great Britain is to develop public ownership of public utilities.

For example, the Right Hon. John Burns, the famous progressive leader in the London County Council and in Parliament, and now president of the Local Government Board, and one of the highest authorities in the world on questions of municipal policy, said to the commission:

"Some of you may be asking yourselves the question whether you can do in America what has been done in England. I have been in America several times and am somewhat familiar with your political and municipal conditions, and if some of you are thinking, 'Can America do what England has done?' let me say that if you want to develop a public spirit (of which I think you possess more than your detractors would have us believe), you cannot do better than to develop a new school of civic statesmanship through municipal undertakings. In the laboratory of public ownership, from the social crucible there will emerge a new statesmanship that may solve your problems of government in the best way."

"If you are ever going to have such a public spirit as we have in England, you must make a beginning, and you cannot make a better beginning than by undertaking those forms of municipal trading which are so successful here. In their administration will be developed a new sphere of public activity for your young men. In that work scope will be found for their activities in adding to public comfort, profit, and elevation."

VI. *Better treatment of labor* is one of the chief recommendations of public ownership. The tendency shows itself in shorter hours and longer wages, better provision for safety and comfort, larger liberty, and care for accident and old age. Public ownership puts labor above capital. Private ownership puts capital above labor.

Says Professor Parsons, "City for the People," p. 160:

"The Brooklyn Bridge record of \$2.75 for trainmen for an eight-hour day on the public cars (while it was under public management), while the private companies, running over the same bridge, pay \$1.50 to \$2.30, or an average of less than \$2 for ten hours, shows the tendency of public ownership in this regard."

"Years of careful study of the attitude of public and private corporations toward laboring people led me, in a series of articles on street-railways in 1897, to make the following comparative statement of

Insecurity of employment—arbitrary discharge at the whim of a petty boss.

Strikes, boycotts, blacklists.

Carelessness of the conditions of labor, men bought as commodities at the lowest market price and thrown away like old clothes when the value is worn out of them; no protection from cold and storm; no provision for the worker in case of sickness and old age, nor for his family in case of his death; no sympathetic treatment of the workers as partners and brothers or even as valuable live stock, but merely as money-making tools that can be replaced at little if any cost.

High fares, curtailing the use of the roads by the working people, and compelling them to live in crowded tenements near their work.

Large profits to a few, adding to the disturbance of wealth diffusion which constitutes the main grievance of labor to-day.

Mastership and moneyed aristocracy.

Public Ownership Means

Short hours and high wages for workers.

Reasonable hours and moderate salaries for managers.

Full recognition of the rights of organization and petition.

Moderate regulations for the public good.

Greater security of employment and a growing movement toward making it absolutely secure.

Petition, investigation, redress, with the ballot as the final resort.

A definite and persistent policy of improving the conditions of labor, appointing and promoting for merit and service, protecting employees from storm and injury, providing for sickness, old age, and death; recognizing that a contented, well-fed citizenship is of the first importance; that men are worth more than money; that 4,000 happy homes in moderate circumstances are better than twenty luxurious palaces and 3,980 tenements pinched by poverty.

Low fares, enabling the working people to live at a distance and relieving the pressure in the tenement districts.

Profits for the people—no overgrown fortunes for the few; tendency to wealth diffusion and removal of the greatest danger of present industrial conditions.

Partnership, democracy, fraternity."

The Public Ownership Commission report (see above) gives the following statement of Professor Parsons:

Next to the wish to obtain a better service at lower fares, the predominant motive in the municipalization of British tramways has been the desire to improve the condition of labor. The companies worked the men eleven to fourteen hours a day for seven days, while the cities have made the hours of labor from nine to ten per day, with one day's rest in seven. Increases in wages were made also, amounting to 50 per cent in Liverpool, from 43 to 63 per cent in Manchester, and to 42 per cent in London. Notwithstanding these benefits to labor the reductions in fares were considerable, and the total savings from reduced rates for the twelve years under municipal management at Glasgow are estimated at \$23,000,000, as compared with the old company basis. The benefits to labor under city management at Glasgow are computed at \$515,000.

Says Professor Commons in the report:

In none of the American enterprises investigated were the common laborers organized. In the municipal undertakings they are paid higher wages and given shorter hours than in the case of private employees of the same locality. They are also in all cases citizens of the U. S., and residents of the locality. The common laborer of the private companies, except in Indianapolis and the Southern cities, where they are colored, is composed largely of immigrants and no attention is paid as to whether they have secured citizenship papers or not. . . .

The policy of all the British municipalities is to place the minimum wages of common labor at the level paid by the best private employers for similar work. This is about 15 per cent to 40 per cent higher than other private wages for the same class of labor in the same locality.

In the U. S. the minimum paid for common labor by the private companies is, in all cases, except Atlanta, lower than that of the municipality, and the minimum paid for common labor by municipal undertakings is higher than that of private companies of the same locality.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST PUBLIC OWNERSHIP ANSWERED

It is said that public ownership fails to develop the great public services which require large investment of capital which can only be attracted by the possibility of large returns and long franchises. It is shown how in every public utility the U. S., where capital has had this inducement,

LABOR'S INTEREST IN PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Private Ownership Means

Long hours and low wages for workers.

Short hours and big salaries for managers.

Denial of the rights of organization and petition.

Oppressive regulations for private interest and caprice.

has developed very much larger and fuller public service than has Europe under public ownership.

The answer to this is that it is not public ownership which lacks progress, but Europe. Say the defenders of public ownership in the Public Ownership report, speaking of the U. S. in comparison with Europe:

Our buildings, telephones, factories, farms, commercial enterprises, etc., also show a decided superiority, altho these things are subject to private ownership in both countries. The per capita use of typewriters, sewing-machines, automobiles, elevators, and telephones is greater in the U. S. than in Great Britain, as well as the per capita use of electricity and mileage of tramways. The habits of the people and their economic conditions are widely different in the two countries. The best method of arriving at a conclusion in regard to the effect of the form of management upon the service is to compare public and private plants in the same city or in the same country under similar conditions otherwise than as to ownership.

Making this comparison we find in the U. S. (see POSTAL SERVICE) the Western Union Telegraph Company much less progressive than the Post-of-

There is little about municipal trading to attract men of the first class. Mr. Edgar and Mr. Clark unite in saying: "We have not found evidence in the U. S. that the personnel of the city government of Chicago (referring to Mayor Dunne's administration) or Wheeling is superior to that of Atlanta or Norfolk, or that the introduction of municipal water and electric plants in Detroit has brought a higher type of citizenship into the governing body than we find in New Haven, which has neither."

Illustrations of the truth of this argument are abundant. Illustrating how far the development of public utilities in the U. S. under private ownership have outstripped those in Great Britain under public ownership, the defenders of private ownership in the Public Ownership report (see above), Mr. Charles L. Edgar (president of the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston, Mass.) and Walton Clark (vice-president of the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, Pa.), give the following table:

ELECTRIC LIGHTING DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES

	United Kingdom, 1905	United States, 1903
Total cities of 8,000 population and over.....	586	545
Total population of such cities.....	26,780,531	25,947,404
Total public arc lights in such cities.....	24,368	166,313
Average population per arc light.....	1,099	150
Number of cities having no public arc lighting.....	351	7
Number of cities having central lighting stations.....	333	545
Cities having a population of 300,000 or over.....	11	14
Total population of such cities.....	9,577,373	11,449,463
Total public arc lights in such cities.....	9,128	54,859
Average population per arc light.....	1,049	208
Number of such cities having no public arc lighting.....	1	None
Number of such cities having central lighting stations.....	11	14
Cities having a population of 100,000 to 300,000.....	34	25
Population of such cities.....	5,320,184	3,920,346
Total public arc lights in such cities.....	4,653	27,552
Average population per arc light.....	1,143	142
Number of such cities having no public arc lighting.....	5	None
Number of such cities having central lighting stations.....	32	25
Cities having population of 50,000 to 100,000.....	57	43
Total population of such cities.....	3,998,226	2,058,710
Public arc lights in such cities.....	4,118	13,651
Average population per arc light.....	971	150
Number of such cities having no public arc lighting.....	11	None
Number of such cities having central lighting stations.....	55	43
Cities having population of 25,000 to 50,000.....	112	94
Total population of such cities.....	3,838,814	3,252,371
Public arc lights in such cities.....	3,663	26,653
Average population per arc light.....	1,048	122
Number of such cities having no public arc lighting.....	38	None
Number of such cities having central lighting stations.....	94	94
Cities having population of 8,000 to 25,000.....	372	369
Total population of such cities.....	4,045,934	5,266,514
Public arc lights in such cities.....	2,806	43,598
Average population per arc light.....	1,798	121
Number of such cities having no public arc lighting.....	296	7
Number of such cities having central lighting stations.....	141	362

fice Department, and in Europe all publicly owned services (see above) to have been almost universally more progressive than private ownership.

Similarly so with the argument that labor is better paid and better off under private ownership in the U. S. than under public ownership in Europe. This is true, but it is still more true that labor is better paid and better off under public ownership in the U. S. than under private ownership in Europe. The only fair comparison is between the two systems in the same country.

II. Advantages of Private Ownership

I. A strong argument for private ownership is its economic as well as its productive efficiency compared with public ownership.

Three American gas-plants were examined by the Public Ownership investigating committee experts. These were at Wheeling, where the plant is operated by the city, and Atlanta and Norfolk, where there is private ownership and operation. In addition the committee visited the Philadelphia gas-works and the labor investigators visited the Richmond, Va., gas-works. As to the price charged the consumers, it was found to be seventy-five cents per thousand feet net at Wheeling, \$1 net at Atlanta, and \$1 net at Norfolk, the municipal plant thus selling at the lowest price. To offset this, however, Messrs. Edgar and Clark point out that in Atlanta there is free installation of service, at Norfolk partially free installation, while at Wheeling charge is made for the service pipe from

the curb to the meter and for the setting of the meter.

In comparing the public and private gas service, the writers against public ownership in the commission say:

If we consider together the price the Wheeling consumer pays for gas and the character of the service rendered, we may not doubt that he gets less of net result per dollar expended than does the gas consumer in Atlanta or Norfolk. Low and varying pressure, uncertain candle-power, influenced at times by a dash of natural gas (at Wheeling), will bring troubles to studying children that, while not factors in financial calculations, have a proper place in this inquiry. Wheeling's gas-plant is not an important factor in the well-being of Wheeling's citizens. What with fast meters, charges for service and meter-setting, absence of any gratuitous work, the admixture of 15-cent, eight candle-power natural gas, insufficient and irregular pressure, and general inefficiency in the complaint department, Wheeling gas is a dear commodity at any price. Our experts found nothing to praise in Wheeling's service and little to criticize in the service of the companies at Norfolk and Atlanta.

In general, it may be said, so far as condition of plant and operating efficiency are concerned, there could not well be a worse condition of affairs than the engineers report as existing at Wheeling. In the other two cities the record regarding condition of plant, and regarding the various points of practise mentioned above in the case of Wheeling, while it contains a few points of criticism, is on the whole satisfactory. In both cases the plant is pronounced to be modern and kept in an orderly condition.

II. One of the strongest arguments against public ownership, especially as applied to the U. S., is the corruption and inefficiency of our city governments, which are notoriously below the level of those in Europe, so that if public ownership has not been a success there, it would be a far worse failure here. The Philadelphia gas-works are an example.

Referring to the Philadelphia gas-works as an instructive comparison of the results of municipal and private operation, Dr. L. S. Rowe is authority for the statement that the quality of the gas supplied has been improved by the company now operating the service, and that through the rental paid the city has received for eight years an average profit of \$491,674 annually, while for the last few years under city operation there was a loss of \$245,398 per year. The private company, however, charges no more than did the city, but supplies better gas. "The commission's records," say Mr. Edgar and Mr. Clark, "indicate a high degree of efficiency in the company operation of the Philadelphia gas-works, and kindly and liberal treatment of employees."

III. Private ownership being financially so much more successful than public ownership, it can and often does pay more in taxes to the government than public-owned plants bring in to the city. Messrs. Edgar and Clark say (see above):

We venture to believe that the loss to the communities whose municipal industries we have investigated from bad management and lack of enterprise, resulting in restricted service of modern utilities, is many times the profit these cities claim to have realized from their Rip Van Winkle methods of serving the public.

It is not worth while to discuss the effect on the finances of American cities of the municipal operations of the industries that we have here investigated. Properly audited, they have, with one or two exceptions, lost money, and their plants are all inadequate to good service and have, with the exception of the water plants, little more than a scrap value in view of the present state of the arts. What effect could such poor efforts as we have witnessed have on public wealth or public comfort? It cannot fail to be bad.

OBJECTIONS TO PRIVATE OWNERSHIP ANSWERED

In his review in the report of the National Civic Federation Commission on Public Ownership Mr. Clark compares the tramways of Great Britain

with the private enterprises of the U. S. He declares that the American traction systems under private ownership are far more progressive than those of England, Scotland, and Ireland; that they give far better suburban service, that cars are less crowded, and that lines are being extended with far greater rapidity. This he attributes to the absence of restrictions in the U. S. as compared with Great Britain, where, he says, private traction enterprises are given franchises only on almost prohibitive terms. The difference of rate of fare in the two countries, Mr. Clark says, is more than offset by the greater number of free transfers given by the American systems. He says that while on the fact of reports it would appear that municipal operation of lines in some of the cities of Great Britain had been a success, that as a matter of fact just the opposite is true. He says the private companies in the United Kingdom give a superior service as compared with the municipally operated lines.

Mr. Clark points out that no American street-railroads were investigated by the commission, and the only tramway installations directly investigated in Great Britain were those owned by the municipalities of Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and the London County Council and those owned by the following private companies: London United Tramways, Dublin United Tramways, and the Norwich Electric Tramways. The writer calls attention to the fact that the entire development of street-railways in the U. S. has been accomplished by private enterprise and that this has permitted the construction of extensive systems serving entire communities and linking them together irrespective of municipal boundary lines. On the other hand, since 1894, at least, municipally controlled traction systems have been confined, to a great extent, within the narrow limits of their respective municipalities. Mr. Clark here enters into a statistical statement of the facilities enjoyed by the urban inhabitants of Great Britain as compared with the town and city population of the U. S. In 1902 the town and city population to each mile of tramway track was 12,476, while in the U. S. there was a mile of track to each 1,516 of town and city population. In Great Britain there was one car for each 3,760 of population, while in the U. S. there was one car to 574 city residents. Thus, the urban resident of the U. S. had comparatively more than six and a half times the number of cars available for his use than were available to the British inhabitant. The British systems carried 1,394,452,983 passengers and the American 5,521,509,521, and of these 1,062,403,392, or practically 90 per cent of the British total, were transported free on transfers.

Mr. Clark takes up the charge that the traction cars in the U. S. are overcrowded and declares that the figures given above show that on the basis of passengers carried per car per year, the American car averages only 93,585 passengers per year, as against 182,463 per year carried by the average car in the United Kingdom. While the Briton paid an average of 2.26 cents, against an average of 3.76 cents in the U. S., the writer points out that the former's facilities for travel were from 12 to 15 per cent of those enjoyed by the American passenger. In 1902 there were two British cities of more than 100,000 population, seven with populations of from 50,000 to 100,000, and thirty-nine with from 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, without street-railways, but in the

U. S. there was no city of more than 25,000 people without traction service.

From 1890 to 1902 the length of tramway line (not track) in the United Kingdom increased 536 miles, or from 948 to 1,484 miles, while in the U. S. in the same period there was an increase of 10,755 miles, or from 5,783 to 16,538 miles.

A point of great advantage in American street-railways, according to Mr. Clark, is that they are operated on the average eighteen hours per day, with all-night service in the larger cities, while in Great Britain the average is fifteen hours and there is no all-night service.

FINANCIAL

Mr. Clark estimates that the British municipalities and local governments enjoy a total of possible financial benefits from tramway operations of about \$8,679,176, but that American traction enterprises and their stockholders pay a total of \$43,054,433, constituting a government revenue more than \$34,000,000 per year greater than the return to the State from similar traction systems in Great Britain. The writer here takes up what he terms the inaccuracies of British municipal accounting. According to the Parliamentary Report on Tramways for 1906 the allowance for depreciation on the municipally owned tramways of the United Kingdom was 1.83 per cent. It is Mr. Clark's contention that every practical man realizes that at least 5 per cent should be allowed for depreciation, and if this had been done it would have meant a reduction of \$5,565,963 in the \$8,679,176 shown as the returns to the local and municipal governments of the United Kingdom from tramways, leaving net only \$3,113,213. Evidence that serious risks exist from municipal enterprises is found in the fact that forty British cities, according to the Parliamentary Return for 1906, show direct loss from operation of tramways, or an actual deficit when sinking-fund payments and reserves for depreciation are considered.

The British municipalities omit from the capital account of their tramways large sums which should be charged thereto and cause these expenditures to be "unjustly carried into the general accounts of the cities."

LABOR

A comparison of rates of wages per hour paid by British municipal traction systems and by certain companies in New York State is made by Mr. Clark, showing a range of from 7.2 to 15 cents per hour for conductors and from 8.4 to 15 cents per hour for motormen in Great Britain, against 20 to 25 cents per hour for conductors and motormen in the State of New York. "So it is seen," declares Mr. Clark, "that American street-railways pay practically double the rate for salaries and wages that are paid in the United Kingdom. In the State of New York a decrease of wages to British standard would reduce the operating expenses of local transportation lines about \$14,000,000 per annum, an amount equivalent to about 38 per cent of their gross receipts."

POLITICAL

Few Americans realize the obstacles which British private companies meet in attempting to obtain franchise rights, says Mr. Clark. The fact

that the consent of local authorities is required is used by the local authorities to force the companies, to make excessive payments, and even when a franchise is obtained, it is for a brief term of years, scarcely long enough to warrant the heavy expenditures required for modern electric-railway construction. Against this the municipalities at comparatively slight expense, obtain their parliamentary rights to perpetual and monopolistic franchises.

III. Conclusions

We give here, as the latest word thus far said upon the questions, the final conclusions of the Report of the Committee on Investigation of Public Ownership of the National Civic Federation. It is worthy of note that of the committeemen all but one, Walton Clark, of Philadelphia, who presented a separate paper, signed the report.

The members of the committee who signed the report are:

Melville E. Ingalls, chairman; Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, vice-chairman; Edward A. Moffett, secretary; Edward W. Bemis, superintendent of Water-Works, Cleveland, Ohio; William J. Clark, general manager of the Foreign Department of the General Electric Company; Prof. John R. Commons, of Wisconsin University; Charles L. Edgar, president of the Edison Electric and Illuminating Company, of Boston; Walter L. Fisher, president of the Municipal Voters' League, of Chicago; Prof. Frank J. Goodnow, of Columbia University; Prof. John H. Gray, of Northwestern University, Illinois; Timothy Healy, president of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; Daniel J. Keefe, president of the International Longshoremen's Association; Milo R. Maltbie, member of the new Public Service Commission for the Greater New York; H. B. F. Macfarland, president of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia; Frank J. McNulty, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Springfield, Ill.; Prof. Frank Parsons, president of the National Public Ownership League, Boston; J. W. Sullivan, editor *Clothing Trades Bulletin*, New York; Talcott Williams, editorial writer of the *Press*, Philadelphia; and Albert E. Winchester, superintendent of the South Norwalk, Conn., Electric Works.

THE REPORT

"It is difficult to give positive answers of universal application to the questions arising as to the success or failure of municipal ownership as compared with private ownership. The local conditions affecting particular plants are in many cases so peculiar as to make a satisfactory comparison impossible, and it is very difficult to estimate the allowance that should be made for these local conditions. For instance, in making deductions from the financial conditions of Wheeling, as affected by its gas-plant, as compared with those of Atlanta and Norfolk with their private plants, allowance must be made for the presence of natural gas in Wheeling. Again, in comparing the public water-works of Syracuse with the private water-works of Indianapolis from the point of view of the success or failure of municipal operation, geographical conditions must be taken into consideration. The situation at Syracuse is extremely favorable to the establishment of an efficient plant with comparatively little effort on the part of its management. At Indianapolis the conditions are unfavorable. In Syracuse the water flows to the city by gravity; in Indianapolis it must be pumped. So we might go through the various cities here and abroad that have been visited and show that the results were affected favorably or unfavorably by special conditions applicable to each city.

"Further, the difficulty of reaching satisfactory results by the comparative method is not con-

fined to special or local conditions. It is true, as well, of much broader questions. Thus any attempt to compare municipal with private electric-light plants in the United States would be fruitless if allowance were not made for the fact that in most cases such municipal plants are confined to street lighting and may not do commercial business. Allowance must be made also for the fact that many municipal plants have had a struggle to exist in the face of unsympathetic public opinion. Again, in England consideration must be given to the fact that the municipal electric-light and street-railway plants have permanent rights, while the rights of the private companies operating these particular utilities are limited as to the length of their existence, many street-railway franchises expiring twenty-one years after they were granted.

"Finally, not only must it be borne in mind that the social and political conditions which characterize the two countries find expression in their private and public systems, but we must consider the difference in the nature of the two peoples which causes them to adopt different ideas and views as to the expediency of certain things. In other words, a measure of success in the municipal management of public utilities in England should not be regarded as necessarily indicating that the municipal management of the same utilities in this country would be followed by a like measure of success. Conditions are quite different in the two countries.

"There are some general principles which we wish to present as practically the unanimous sentiment of our committee.

"First, we wish to emphasize the fact that the public utilities studied are so constituted that it is impossible for them to be regulated by competition. Therefore, they must be controlled and regulated by the government; or they must be left to do as they please; or they must be operated by the public. There is no other course. None of us is in favor of leaving them to their own will, and the question is whether it is better to regulate or to operate.

General Principles

"There are no particular reasons why the financial results from private or public operation should be different if the conditions are the same. In each case it is a question of the proper man in charge of the business and of local conditions.

"We are of the opinion that a public utility which concerns the health of the citizens should not be left to individuals, where the temptation of profit might produce disastrous results, and therefore it is our judgment that undertakings in which the sanitary motive largely enters should be operated by the public.

"We have come to the conclusion that municipal ownership of public utilities should not be extended to revenue-producing industries which do not involve the public health, the public safety, public transportation, or the permanent occupation of public streets or grounds, and that municipal operation should not be undertaken solely for profit.

"We are also of the opinion that all future grants to private companies for the construction and operation of public utilities should be terminable after a certain fixed period, and that meanwhile cities should have the right to purchase the property for operation, lease, or sale, paying its fair value.

"To carry out these recommendations effect-

ively and to protect the rights of the people, we recommend that the various states should give to their municipalities the authority, upon popular vote under reasonable regulations, to build and operate public utilities, or to build and lease the same, or to take over works already constructed. In no other way can the people be put upon a fair trading basis and obtain from the individual companies such rights as they ought to have. We believe that this provision will tend to make it to the enlightened self-interest of the public utility companies to furnish adequate service upon fair terms, and to this extent will tend to render it unnecessary for the public to take over the existing utilities or to acquire new ones.

"Furthermore, we recommend that provision be made for a competent public authority, with power to require for all public utilities a uniform system of records and accounts, giving all financial data and all information concerning the quality of service and the cost thereof, which data shall be published and distributed to the public like other official reports; and also that no stock or bonds for public utilities shall be issued without the approval of some competent public authority.

"We also recommend the consideration of 'the sliding scale,' which has proved successful in some cases in England with reference to gas and has been adopted in Boston. By this plan the authorized capitalization is settled by official investigation, and a standard rate of dividend is fixed, which may be increased only when the price of gas has been reduced. The subway contracts and their operation in Boston and New York are also entitled to full consideration.

"In case the management of public utilities is left with private companies, the public should retain in all cases an interest in the growth and profits of the future, either by a share of the profits or a reduction of the charges, the latter being preferable as it inures to the benefit of those who use the utilities, while a share of the profits benefits the taxpayers.

"Our investigations teach us that no municipal operation is likely to be highly successful that does not provide for:

"First. An executive manager with full responsibility, holding his position during good behavior.

"Second. Exclusion of political influence and personal favoritism from the management of the undertaking.

"Third. Separation of the finances of the undertaking from those of the rest of the city.

"Fourth. Exemption from the debt limit of the necessary bond issues for revenue-producing utilities, which shall be a first charge upon the property and revenues of such undertaking.

"We wish to bring to your consideration the danger here in the U. S. of turning over these public utilities to the present government of some of our cities. Some, we know, are well governed and the situation on the whole seems to be improving, but they are not up to the government of British cities. We found in England and Scotland a high type of municipal government, which is the result of many years of struggle and improvement. Business men seem to take a pride in serving as city councilors or aldermen, and the government of such cities as Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, and others includes many of the best citizens of the city. These

conditions are distinctly favorable to municipal operation.

"In the U. S., as is well known, there are many cities not in such a favorable condition. It is charged that the political activity of public-service corporations has in many instances been responsible for the unwillingness or inability of American cities to secure a higher type of public service. This charge we believe to be true. However, there seems to be an idea with many people that the mere taking by the city of all its public utilities for municipal operation will at once result in ideal municipal government through the very necessity of putting honest and competent citizens in charge. While an increase in the number and importance of municipal functions may have a tendency to induce men of a higher type to become public officials, we do not believe that this of itself will accomplish municipal reform. We are unable to recommend municipal ownership as a political panacea.

"In many cases in the U. S. the people have heedlessly given away their rights and reserved no sufficient power of control or regulation, and we believe that corruption of public servants has sprung, in large measure, from this condition of things. With the regulations that we have advised, with the publication of accounts and records and systematic control, the danger of the corruption of public officials is very much reduced."

The committee sums up its more important conclusions as follows:

"Public utilities, whether in public or private hands, are best conducted under a system of legalized and regulated monopoly.

"Public utilities in which the sanitary motive largely enters should be operated by the public.

"The success of municipal operation of public utilities depends upon the existence in the city of a high capacity for municipal government.

"Franchise grants to private corporations should be terminable after a fixed period and meanwhile subject to purchase at a fair value.

"Municipalities should have the power to enter the field of municipal ownership upon popular vote under reasonable regulation.

"Private companies operating public utilities should be subject to public regulation and examination under a system of uniform records and accounts and of full publicity."

On the general broad subject of municipalization, the committee reports that the general expediency of either private or public ownership is a question that must be determined by each municipality in the light of local conditions. "What may be possible in one locality may not be in another. In some cities the companies may so serve the public as to create no dissatisfaction, and nothing might be gained by experimenting with municipal ownership. Again, the government of one city may be good and capable of taking charge of these public utilities, while in another it may be the reverse. In either case the people must remember that it requires a large class of able men as city officials to look after these matters. They must also remember that municipal ownership will create a large class of employees who may have more or less political influence."

No. 62, 1906); Meyer, H. R., *Municipal Ownership in Great Britain* (Anti, 1906); Meyer, Hugo R., *Municipal Ownership in Great Britain* (Journal of Political Economy, Nov., 1906); Parsons, Frank, *The City for the People* (1900), and *The Railways, the Trusts, and the People* (1906); Shaw, G. Bernard, *The Common Sense of Municipal Trading* (1904); Shaw, Albert, *Municipal Government in Great Britain* (1895), *In Continental Europe* (1895); Wilcox, D. F., *The American City, a Problem in Democracy* (1904); *Municipal Year Book*, Great Britain; R. C. Ely, *Monopolies and Trusts* (1902); Report of Joint Parliamentary Committee (1903) on *Municipal Trading*; *Dangers of Public Ownership*, by Robert P. Porter; F. Millar, *Socialism, its Fallacies and Dangers* (1906, England); *Municipal Ownership as a Form of Governmental Control*, by F. A. Cleveland, and *American Municipal Services from the Standpoint of the Entrepreneur*, by Chester Lloyd Jones (in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for Nov., 1906); *Municipal Trade: The Advantages and Disadvantages Resulting from the Substitution of Representative Bodies for Private Proprietors in the Management of Industrial Undertakings*, by Major Leonard Darwin (1903); *Public Service*, a monthly magazine devoted to electricity, gas, water, telephones, tramways, \$2 a year; *Municipal Ownership and Operation*, a symposium by twenty-three leading authorities on both sides (in *Moody's Magazine* for Oct. and Nov., 1906).

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP, PHILOSOPHY OF:

If it is a good thing for ten or fifteen hundred people constituting a private company to own a street-railway or lighting system, why is it not a good thing for 10,000 or 15,000 or 100,000 people constituting a city or town—if it is a good thing for a private corporation, why is it not a good thing for a public corporation?

Under public ownership the public gets the profits and control and other benefits that under private ownership go to a few stockholders.

By "public ownership" I mean real public ownership, not the sham variety or make-believe public ownership. Government ownership is

Public Ownership Definition

often confused with public ownership. Government ownership is not public ownership, unless the people own the government. For instance, Russia has government ownership of railroads, but not public ownership of railroads, because the government itself is a private monopoly. So, if a boss or ring controls a city, the government is in fact a private monopoly, and if a street-railway or lighting plant is put in the hands of such a government, you would not get real public ownership, but one of the worst forms of private ownership—ownership by political grafters, corporation tools and corruptionists, masquerading as public servants. Municipal ownership has not as yet had a fair chance in the United States. Adverse laws, the prevalence of the spoils system, and the political influence of private corporations have handicapped the movement in this country. More

In the United States

than a thousand towns and cities own and operate electric-lighting plants, but very few of them are allowed to do commercial lighting, which, if permitted, would very greatly reduce the cost of the service. Only twenty-nine gas plants of any size are operated by municipalities, and in a number of cases the fullest success is prevented by the interference of partizanship politics and the spoils system. Only one street-railway in this country, that of Munroe, La., is operated by the public. In water-supply alone have our cities and towns been able to overcome the obstacles placed by law, politics, and the corporations in the way of municipal ownership. If the companies are allowed to water their stock, they are willing that the municipalities should water their streets. Municipal owner-

ship of water-works in the U. S. grew from 6 per cent in 1800 to more than 60 per cent in 1900. Of our fifty largest cities, twenty-one originally built and now own their water-works, twenty have changed from private to public ownership, and only nine are now dependent on private companies for their water-supply.

In Great Britain the laws have been far more favorable to municipal ownership, and the political influence of the private corporations far less. The result has been a marvelous development of public ownership. More than half the gas-supply outside of London is in public hands.

Nearly two thirds of the electric-lighting plants belong to the municipalities, and about half the street-railway undertakings are owned and operated by municipalities, with nearly 60 per cent of the total track mileage.

After long experience with both public and private ownership, public sentiment in Great Britain is overwhelmingly in favor of the public operation of street-railways and lighting-plants. There is still some opposition, of course, chiefly from those who are, directly or indirectly, connected with public-service corporations. It is not easy for a man who holds stock in a street-railway, gas or electric-lighting company, to see the benefits of public ownership.

Careful and disinterested investigation shows public ownership of public utilities, under fair conditions, to be far superior to private ownership, both on principle and on the facts. The facts fall into six groups: The economic group, including service and finance; the labor group; the political group; the social group; the ethical group; and the civilization group.

Looking first at the economic facts we find that public ownership makes lower rates than private ownership in the same country and operating under similar conditions.

Economic Facts
In 1895 Detroit was paying \$132 a year for a standard arc lamp of 2,000 candle-power, burning all night and every night, and Boston was paying \$126 per arc. Detroit, under Mayor Pingree's lead, established a municipal street-lighting system which cut the cost at once to \$83 and has now reduced the cost to \$52.87, including interest depreciation and lost taxes, according to the report for 1907. The lowest bid a company would make for a ten-year contract was \$102. The city made its light at an average total cost of \$65 per arc for the ten years and made a saving which is estimated by the department at about a million dollars, and amounts to at least \$500,000 on the basis of estimate least favorable to the city. Boston did not establish municipal ownership and is still paying almost as much for street arcs as she paid twelve years ago—\$124 per standard arc; while Detroit is getting her light for \$52.87, or a great deal less than half the Boston rate.

On the average, water rentals per family served are 43 per cent more for private works in the United States than for the public systems.

When the government took over the telephones in France, the price was cut from \$120 to \$80 in Paris and from \$80 to \$40 in other cities. The government returns for electric-lighting works in Great Britain show average charges of 4.88 cents per unit for the public plants, against

6.24 cents for the companies, or 30 per cent more than for the public works, and the gas returns for the United Kingdom show a charge of sixty cents per thousand for the public plants and sixty-six cents per thousand for the private plants, or 10 per cent in favor of the municipalities. The municipalization of street-railways in Great Britain has resulted in a great reduction of fares—50 per cent in Glasgow and Manchester, 40 per cent in Leeds, 60 per cent in Sheffield, 50 to 60 per cent in Liverpool, etc.

The savings to the public through reduction of fares in Liverpool are estimated at \$1,600,000 a year, and in Glasgow at \$4,000,000 a year; the total savings and net profits for twelve years of municipal ownership in Glasgow are estimated at \$29,000,000.

The extension of lines and increase of facilities are among the marked characteristics of the change from private to public operation. In Glasgow, for instance, during twenty-three years of company management of street-railways the lines were extended in suburban areas only 1.8 miles, while during twelve years of municipal management the suburban extensions amount to 27.9 miles.

Municipal plants aim at fair capitalization, while private companies are prone to water stock and inflate their capital. The investigation by the Public Utilities Commission now in progress in New York has furnished

Evils of Private Capitalization
some excellent examples of the methods of our public-service corporations. The Fulton Street line, a double-track horse-car road, is capitalized at \$2,553,000 a mile, or more than ten times its actual cost. The Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Street single-track horse-car lines are capitalized at \$1,214,000 a mile, or again substantially ten times the cost of duplication. The Thirty-fourth Street cross-town double-track electric underground is capitalized at \$6,472,000 a mile, or 150 times fair value, judging by the capitalization of the Ninth Avenue Railroad, which is also underground electric double-track and is capitalized at \$43,920 a mile. The Fulton, Wall & Cortlandt Street Ferries Railroad is capitalized at \$965,607, tho the road was sold in 1898 for \$25,000 and not a car has ever been run nor a rail laid—a phantom road with its capital all in the air.

Municipal systems pay higher wages as a rule and work employees shorter hours than private systems. Glasgow's tramways, for example, have raised wages 65 to 100 per cent above the former company level. Manchester has increased wages 43 to 63 per cent. Sheffield doubled the hourly wage; and Liverpool lifted wages 50 per cent.

The following table shows how great a reduction in the hours of labor of conductors, drivers, motormen, pointsmen, and inspectors has been accomplished by the change from private to public ownership of street-railways in Great Britain.

HOURS OF LABOR—BEFORE AND AFTER

CITIES	Company management	Municipal management
London.....	77 to 91	60
Liverpool.....	91 to 105	60
Manchester.....	70	54
Glasgow.....	77 to 98	54
Leeds.....	81	60
Sheffield.....	102	60
Birmingham.....	90 to 100	60

In spite of high wages and reduced charges public plants in many cases are able to realize large profits for the people; the State railways of Prussia, for example, and the tramways of Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, and other British cities. The Glasgow tramways alone make a profit of \$2,000,000 a year (1907 report) above the cost of operation, and \$1,125,000 net above interest, depreciation, and all other costs.

Some public plants do not make or expect to make a profit, any more than a profit is expected from public roads, parks, schools, etc. Many electric-lighting plants, for instance, have only power to light the streets, and can of course obtain no profit. Many public lighting and transit systems also are in small places where no profit can be made and where private companies would not establish a service at all.

Public ownership not only tends to make low rates—rates closer to cost than private companies are likely to make—but public operation under fair political conditions tends also to reduce the cost, the normal public plant being able to secure considerable economies in production.

1. A public plant does not have to pay dividends on watered stock.

2. It does not have to pay dividends even on the actual investment.

3. It does not have to retain lobbyists, or provide for the entertainment of councilmen or legislators, or subscribe to campaign funds, or bear the expenses of pushing the nomination and election of men to protect its interests or give it new privileges, or pay blackmail to ward off the raids of cunning legislators and officials, etc.

4. It does not have to advertise or solicit business.

5. Public plants are able to save expense through coordination with other departments of public service.

6. Municipalities can borrow money at lower rates of interest than the private companies have to pay.

7. There is often a large saving in salaries. A public plant pays its chief well, but does not pay the extravagant salaries awarded by millionaire monopolists to themselves or their substitutes in office.

8. Public plants frequently gain through the higher efficiency of better treated and more contented labor.

9. The losses occasioned by costly strikes and lockouts do not burden the ledgers of public works.

10. Damages and costs of litigation are likely to be less with public than with private works. Accidents are fewer in a system that aims at good service and safety, and treats its employees well.

11. The civic interest of the people leads to other economies through the increase of patronage and the lessening of waste.

12. The cost of numerous regulative commissions and interminable legislative investigations into the secrets of private monopolies would be saved by the extension of public ownership. And legislation itself would cost us less were it not for the private monopolies. For a large part of the time and attention of our legislatures is given to them.

Private ownership may claim an advantage through the payment of lower wages, but on broad grounds of public policy this is a very dubious advantage. It is like saving money by wearing paper clothes, or eating only one meal a day.

Even on economic grounds the evidence is that in many lines of business the efficiency of well-paid labor is so great that the cost per unit of product is less than with poorly paid labor.

Moreover, it would be fair in many cases to compare municipal ownership with private ownership on the basis of the private wage, subtracting from the operating expenses of the municipal plant the excess of the public wage above the company wage for the same work, on the ground that the increase of pay under public ownership is not really a payment for gas or electric light or transportation, but an investment in manhood and civilization.

But whether this is done or not, the experience of Glasgow, Liverpool, and other English and German cities with municipal and private tramways in the same localities, and the experience of hundreds of cities and towns in this country and in Europe with municipal water-works, gas and electric plants, etc., abundantly confirms the conclusion pointed to by the above considerations as to the superior economy of public ownership wherever it is tried under reasonable conditions that permit it to work out its natural and legitimate results.

Public ownership of public utilities widens the sphere for civic activity and develops a higher type of citizenship, whereby political conditions have been much improved in communities sufficiently advanced to respond to the impulse of the increased weight and importance of public business. The public-ownership movement in Great Britain has formed a very important part of the causes that have abolished the corruption and inefficiency which formerly marked municipal government in that country.

In the United States the political argument is one of the most powerful reasons for public ownership. It removes one of the principal causes of corruption in our larger cities. It transfers to the side of good government the financial interest of rich and influential men who, as stockholders in public-service corporations, are led to aid and abet, or at least wink at the election of men who can be controlled by the corporations.

The social argument for public ownership rests upon its tendency to improve the conditions of labor, secure a better diffusion of wealth and power, and develop finer relationships among men. The interests of the stockholders and managers of public-service companies are, in large measure, opposed to the public interest under private ownership, while under public ownership they are in harmony, for the owners and the public are one and the same.

The ethical argument for public ownership is already foreshadowed in what precedes. A system which develops thought and action antagonistic to the public interest is not in accord with ethical principles.

See articles MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP and PUBLIC OWNERSHIP. FRANK PARSONS.

PULLMAN STRIKE, THE: This strike, sometimes also called the Chicago strike because, tho it began in Pullman, it extended very widely and centered mainly in Chicago, is declared by Mr. Carroll D. Wright ("Industrial Evolution of the United States," p. 313) to be "probably the most expensive and far-reaching labor controversy which can properly be classed among the historic controversies of this generation."

This account of the strike is based upon the findings of the report of the commission appointed by the president July 26, 1894, to investigate the strike.

It began May 11, 1894, and grew out of a demand of certain employees of the Pullman Company for a restoration of the wages paid during the previous year. During 1893 the wages of the employees had been considerably reduced. How much is a matter of dispute. According to the statement before the commission of Mr. T. H. Wickes, the second vice-president of the company:

The average reduction of wages between April, 1893, and April, 1894, for journeymen mechanics was 22½ per cent, and the average reduction for all other shop employees, excluding all the superintendents, foremen, and shop-office force, was 11½ per cent. The average reduction for all shop employees, excluding all the superintendents, foremen, and shop-office force, was 19 per cent.

According to the finding of the commission the cut in wages averaged 25 per cent on an average pay for the year ending July 1, 1893, of \$613.86 for 4,497 employees. At the company's figures the reduction was a very serious one. Says the report: "Some witnesses swear that at times

Cause
of Strike

for the work done in two weeks the employees received in checks from four cents to \$1 over and above their rent. The company has not produced its checks in rebuttal."

The cause for the cut-down assigned by the company was the deprestate of business. Said Mr. Wickes before the commission:

From Aug. 1, 1893, to May 1, 1894, our net loss on accepted bids was \$52,069.23, and the net estimated loss on unaccepted bids was \$18,303.56. We had tried to get work for our employees by bidding for work the estimated shop cost of which was \$2,775,481.81, and we only got contracts for work the estimated shop cost of which is \$1,421,205.75. We had been underbid on work the estimated shop cost of which was \$1,354,276.06, notwithstanding that our bids on \$1,057,355.97 of that amount not only excluded all profit, but showed a loss, based as they were on the reduced scale of wages.

Says the commission's report:

Some reduction of wages in all departments was of course proper under the circumstances, but a uniform reduction as between departments so differently situated in reference to revenue as the car-building and repair departments was not relatively just and fair toward the repair-shop employees. . . .

During all of this reduction and its attendant suffering none of the salaries of the officers, managers, or superintendents were reduced. Reductions in these would not have been so severely felt, would have shown good faith, would have relieved the harshness of the situation, and would have evinced genuine sympathy with labor in the disasters of the times. . . . While reducing wages the company made no reduction in rents. Its position is that the two matters are distinct, and that none of the reasons urged as justifying wage reduction by it as an employer can be considered by the company as a landlord.

The company claims that it is simply legitimate business to use its position and resources to hire in the labor market as cheaply as possible, and at the same time to keep rents up regardless of what wages are paid to its tenants or what similar tenements rent for elsewhere; to avail itself to the full extent of business depression and competition in reducing wages and to disregard these same conditions as to rents. No valid reason is assigned for this position except simply that the company had the power and the legal right to do it.

The company, as a whole, was prosperous. The commission's report says the corporation was

organized in 1867, with a capital of \$1,000,000. It has grown until its present paid-up capital is \$36,000,000. Its prosperity has enabled the company for over twenty years to pay 2 per cent quarterly dividends, and, in addition, to lay up a surplus of nearly \$25,000,000 of undivided profits. From 1867 to 1871 dividends ranging from 9½ to 12 per cent per annum were paid. For the year ending July 31, 1893, the dividends were \$2,520,000, and the wages \$7,223,719.51. For the year ending July 31, 1894, the dividends were \$2,880,000, and the wages \$4,471,701.39.

The reply of the company was that it did allow rents to accumulate in arrears, and that as to the business depression and loss it did bear

its full share by eliminating from its estimates the use of capital and machinery, and in many cases going even below that and taking work at considerable loss, notably the fifty-five Long Island cars, which was the first large order of passenger-cars let since the great depression, and which was sought for by practically all the leading car-builders in the country (statement of Mr. Pullman, Chicago *Herald*, June 26, 1894).

This leads us, however, to consider the relation of the strikers at Pullman to the American Railway Union and the general railway strike that resulted.

THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION (q. v.)

This is an association of railroad employees, organized at Chicago on June 20, 1893, for the purpose of including all railway employees born of white parents in one great brotherhood. Under the leadership of Mr. Eugene V. Debs, it had grown very strong, particularly by winning a strike on the Great Northern. In March, 1894,

the Pullman employees voted to join the American Railway Union. The commission report says this was not wise, but adds:

It is undoubtedly true that the officers and directors of the American Railway Union did not want a strike at Pullman, and that they advised against it, but the exaggerated idea of the power of the union, which induced the workmen at Pullman to join the order, led to their striking against this advice. Having struck, the union could do nothing less, upon the theory at its base, than support them.

There was, however, to say the least, some excuse for the American Railway Union to secure the Pullman men. The railways around Chicago were banded together. Wages were being systematically reduced. If all railroad employers were to band together, it seemed necessary for all railway employees to band together. To the Pullman employees, to join the American Railway Union seemed their one chance of victory. Alone they were helpless and hopeless. Wages were being steadily reduced, below the level of existence. Those who criticize the general strike must remember that it was a battle for life, and the one hope of success. A mere local strike was absolutely without hope, and therefore more foolish than a general strike. The General Managers' Association, representing twenty-four roads centering or terminating in Chicago, was organized in 1886, long before the American Railway Union.

Beginning its "active life" in 1886, its main business was to determine a common policy toward the public as to freight rates, etc., but it dealt incidentally with wages.

Strengthened thus by mutual aid, various roads made reductions of wages here and there.

Thus, to say the least, there was some excuse for the railroad employees of the country banding together. It was not a question of Pullman alone. The strike affected the interests of every railroad man in the country. Without the general resistance they made, wages everywhere, under the deprestate condition of business, would have been lowered much more than they were.

The Pullman Car Company, however, refused to recognize the American Railway Union.

Between June 9th and June 26th a regular convention of the American Railway Union was held with open doors at Chicago, representing 465 local unions and about 150,000 members, as claimed. The Pullman matter was publicly discussed at these meetings before and after its committees above mentioned reported their interviews with the Pullman Company. On June 21st the delegates, under instructions from their local unions, unanimously voted that the members of the union should stop handling Pullman cars on June 26th unless the Pullman Company would consent to arbitration. On June 26th the boycott and strike began. The strike on the part of the railroad employees was a sympathetic one. No grievances against the railroads had been presented by their employees, nor did the American Railway Union declare any such grievances to be any cause whatever of the strike. To simply boycott Pullman cars would have been an incongruous step for the remedy of complaints of railroad employees. Throughout the strike the strike was simply over handling Pullman cars, the men being ready to do their duty otherwise. . . .

After June 26th the officers and agents of the union managed and urged on the strike at every available point upon the railroads centering at Chicago, until it reached proportions far in excess of their original anticipations, and led to disorders beyond even their control. Urgent solicitations and appeals to strike and to stand firm continued in the many public meetings held each day in and about Chicago, and appeared in the telegrams sent about the country. . . .

The General Strike

Bradstreet's estimated the losses to the country at large to be about \$80,000,000. The city police, the county sheriffs, the state militia, United States deputy marshals, and regulars from the

U. S. army were all brought into the controversy. The U. S. troops were sent to Chicago to protect federal property and to prevent destruction in the carrying of the mails, to prevent interference with interstate commerce, and to enforce the decrees and mandates of the federal courts. They took no part in any attempt to suppress the strike, nor could they, as such matters belong to the city and state authorities. The police of the city were used to suppress riots and protect the property of citizens, and the state militia was called in for the same service. The total of these forces employed during the continuance of the strike was 14,186. It was claimed by some that the calling out of the federal troops was unnecessary and an invasion of state rights; they being called out simply to please the corporations and intimidate the strikers.

Another element that entered into the matter was the issue of injunctions (*q. v.*). Says the report:

On July 7th the principal officers of the American Railway Union were indicted, arrested, and held under \$10,000 bail. Upon July 13th they were attached for contempt of the U. S. Court in disobeying an injunction issued on July 2d and served on the 3d and 4th, enjoining them, among other things, from compelling or inducing by threats, intimidation, persuasion, force, or violence, railroad employees to refuse or fail to perform their duties. It is seriously questioned, and with much force, whether courts have jurisdiction to enjoin citizens from "persuading" each other in industrial or other

matters of common interest. However, it is generally recognized among good citizens that a mandate of a court is to be obeyed until it is modified and corrected by the court that issued it.

As a result, Debs and his comrades were convicted of contempt of court, and, without jury trial, imprisoned (see DEBS); the friends of the railroads believing that it "served the strikers right"; others believing it a dastardly and dangerous attack on the right of every man to trial before jury.

July 26, 1894, the president appointed a commission consisting of Carroll D. Wright, John D. Keenan of New York, and Nicholas E. Worthington of Illinois, who heard evidence and testimony as to the causes, facts, and lessons of the strike. The report so favored the strikers that it was described in *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 24, 1894, as "Revolutionary Statesmanship." As a result a bill for arbitration in railway strikes was laid before Congress, for an account of which, see STRIKES.

REFERENCES: *Report on the Chicago Strike of June and July, 1894*, by the U. S. Strike Commission, 1895; *The Pullman Company's Statement* (1894). Both of these, and an analysis by Prof. W. J. Ashley of Harvard, with a complete bibliography of the strike, were collected and published by the Church Social Union in 1895.

(See also STRIKES; RAILROADS; INJUNCTIONS; LABOR LEGISLATION, etc.)

Q

QUELCH, HENRY: English Socialist; editor of *Justice*; born 1858, Hungerford, Berkshire. He went to London in 1872. Worked in various occupations. In connection with the great dock strike of 1889, he organized and was the first secretary of the South Side Labor Protection League, resigning the secretaryship in 1892 in order to take the position he at present occupies. Has several times been unsuccessful candidate for Parliament. He has been arrested and prosecuted for his connection with strikes and labor agitation. Has been a member of every International Socialist Congress since 1889. Mr. Quelch is a Social Democrat and Marxist, and from its formation in 1881 has been a member of the Social Democratic Federation in England. Author: Various pamphlets, "Trades-Unionism, Cooperation, and Social Democracy"; "Economics of Labor"; "Social Democracy and the Armed Nation," etc. Address: 37A Clerkenwell Green, London, E. C., England.

QUESNAY, FRANÇOIS: Political economist; born Mérey, France, 1694. Studying medicine at Paris, became first physician to Louis XV.; was even more famous as an economic thinker, and one of the principal founders of the school of the physiocrats (*q. v.*) and coiner of the term political economy. He died at Versailles in 1774. Dr.

Ingram says of Quesnay in his "History of Political Economy":

The publications in which Quesnay expounded his system were the following: Two articles on "Fermiers" and on "Grains" in the "Encyclopédie" of Diderot and D'Alembert (1756, 1757); a discourse on the law of nature in the "Physiocratie" of Dupont de Nemours (1768); "Maximes Générales de Gouvernement Économique d'un Royaume Agricole" (1758), and the simultaneously published "Tableau Économique avec son Explication, ou Extrait des Économies Royales de Sully" (with the celebrated motto, "pauvres paysans, pauvre royaume; pauvre royaume, pauvre roi"); "Dialogue sur le Commerce et les Travaux des Artisans"; and other minor pieces. The "Tableau Économique," tho on account of its dryness and abstract form it met with little general favor, may be considered the principal manifesto of the school. It was regarded by the followers of Quesnay as entitled to a place among the foremost products of human wisdom, and is named by the elder Mirabeau, in a passage quoted by Adam Smith, as one of the three great inventions which have contributed most to the stability of political societies, the other two being those of writing and of money. Its object was to exhibit by means of certain formulas the way in which the products of agriculture, which is the only source of wealth, would in a state of perfect liberty be distributed among the several classes of the community (namely, the productive classes of the proprietors and cultivators of land, and the unproductive class composed of manufacturers and merchants), and to represent by other formula the modes of distribution which take place under systems of governmental restraint and regulation, with the evil results arising to the whole society from different degrees of such violations of the natural order. It follows from Quesnay's theoretic views that the one thing deserving the solicitude of the practical economist and the statesman is the increase of the net product; and he infers also, what Smith afterward affirmed on not quite the same ground, that the interest of the landowner is "strictly and inseparably connected with the general interest of the society."

R

RAIFFEISEN, FRIEDRICH WILHELM:

Founder of cooperative savings and loan associations in the country districts of Germany. (See COOPERATION.) Born 1818 in Hamin, he chose the military career, but entered the civil service, and became successively mayor in several small towns. In 1846-47 he established a *Konsum-Verein* in Weyerbusch. In 1865 he was pensioned, and devoted himself entirely to the expansion of savings and loan associations. He established the first one in 1849 at Flammersfeld to free the peasants from the tyranny of usurers. During the "sixties" he established many new societies, and coordinated them in a central bureau at Neuwied. Under his management the institution spread rapidly over Germany. (See COOPERATION.) In 1879 he founded a paper for the furtherance of his plans, which still exists. He died March 11, 1888, at Heddesdorf. Author of several works on savings and loan associations, e. g., "Die Darlehnskassenvereine als Mittel zur Abhilfe der Not der Ländlichen Bevölkerung," 1866.

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS. See RAILWAYS, page 1091; also AMERICAN RAILWAYS VS. THE PUBLIC, page 1054.

RAILWAY LABOR LEGISLATION (see also RAILWAYS and RAILWAY PROBLEMS).

THE UNITED STATES

The railway labor laws enacted by the various states and by the federal government have, with few exceptions, the object of protecting the health and safety and the rights of employees, and of reducing to a minimum the liability of the traveling public to accidents and inconvenience on account of acts of employees. They may be considered under five groups, namely: Laws (1) regulating the employment of certain classes of persons, (2) prohibiting certain acts of railway employees, (3) protecting the rights of railway employees, (4) requiring certain mechanical equipment on railways for the protection of the health and safety of employees, (5) concerning the reporting and investigating of accidents to employees.

Some of the laws included in the third, fourth, and fifth groups have received the attention of the federal Congress, and apply to all railways engaged in interstate commerce. In all other cases the laws apply only to railway labor within the borders of those states in which the laws have been enacted.

Most of the railway labor laws apply only to steam-railways, but there are others which apply, or may be construed as applying, also to street-railways. Others apply only to street-railways. In this outline these laws are considered together.

The laws concerning employment are enacted to secure the appointment of proper persons in positions of responsibility and to prevent them from becoming incapacitated from overwork while on duty.

To this end the law of Alabama requires the examination and licensing of train dispatchers, conductors, firemen, flagmen, brakemen, trackmen, and switchmen. In Massachusetts and Ohio employees in positions which require them to distinguish form or color signals must be examined for color-

blindness or defective sight, and be supplied with certificates of qualification. In Georgia telegraph operators must be examined and obtain certificates of competency. In Ohio conductors of trains must have had at least two years' experience as conductors or brakemen, locomotive engineers three years' experience as locomotive firemen, and flagmen two years' experience as brakemen. In New York persons employed as motormen or gripmen must be examined and thoroughly instructed, and in Washington they must have at least three days' instruction before being permitted to take charge of cars. In Minnesota and New York illiterates are prohibited from being employed or from accepting employment as locomotive engineers. In Colorado, Georgia, and New York telegraph operators who are entrusted with the transmission of orders for the movement of trains must be at least eighteen years of age and have one year's experience as telegraph operators.

Statutes limiting the hours of labor of railway employees have been enacted in twenty-three states. The states of Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas,

**Hours
of Labor**

Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, and Texas, and the Territory of Arizona have laws limiting the hours of labor on steam-railways. These laws take the form of prescribing the number of hours of rest that must be allowed conductors, engineers, firemen, and other trainmen on railroads, exceptions being generally made in cases of extraordinary emergencies. In Colorado and Georgia 10 hours' rest must be permitted after 16 and 13 hours of continuous service, respectively. In Arizona and Minnesota the period of rest is 9 hours. In all the other states it is 8 hours. In Florida the prescribed period of rest must be granted after 13 hours of continuous service; in Minnesota after 14 hours; in Ohio after 15 hours; in Arizona, Arkansas, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, and Texas after 16 hours; in Nebraska after 18 hours, and in Michigan and New York after 24 hours.

In New York 10 hours constitute a legal day's labor in the operation of steam-railways, extra compensation being required for overtime. This provision does not apply where the mileage system of running trains is in operation.

The second group consists of laws passed for the purpose of protecting the railroad companies and the public from such acts of carelessness, violence, or inattention to duty on the part of employees as might endanger life or property or cause inconvenience to the public. The penalties in these cases are usually severe, the offenses being sometimes regarded as felonies.

Twenty-three states and territories have passed laws providing penalties of from a few months' to fifteen years' imprisonment, or fines ranging from \$50 to \$5,000, for acts of negligence, carelessness, want of skill, disobedience of orders, etc., on the part of engineers, conductors, brakemen, switch-tenders, train dispatchers, telegraph operators, motormen on street-railways, or other persons in the railway service, resulting in death or injury to persons or property. In Illinois a penalty is provided for negligently injuring or frightening horses, etc., or destroying or injuring trunks and other baggage by baggage-masters, express agents, stage-drivers, etc.

Of the various subjects considered under this head that of intoxication of railway employees has received the most attention by the different legislatures, twenty-seven states and territories having passed laws on this subject. In most of these states the laws provide that locomotive engineers, conductors, switch-tenders, train dispatchers, or other persons in charge of locomotives, trains, cars, or switches who are intoxicated while on duty are guilty of a misdemeanor. In Mississippi and Vermont this act is made a felony. In California and Missouri it is a felony if an accident results or life or property is endangered. In Illinois, Michigan, and Vermont the employment as conductors, engineers, etc., of persons addicted to drinking intoxicating beverages is prohibited. In a number of states the laws concerning intoxication also apply to motormen and drivers on street-cars.

The remaining laws coming within this group are directed against acts of employees in furtherance of strikes or other labor disputes which might result in injury to property or danger or inconvenience to the public. In seven states it is a misdemeanor for persons in charge of locomotives, cars, or trains to abandon them at any point other than their destination. In nine states it is a misdemeanor to obstruct, injure, or delay transportation by violence, intimidation, or other interference with employees. In four states it is a misdemeanor for employees in furtherance of strikes or other

**Acts of
Railway
Employees**

disputes on other roads to refuse to move the locomotives or cars of those roads.

A number of states have enacted special laws for the safeguarding of the interests of employees.

Twelve states make the railroad companies liable for the wage debts of contractors.

The statutes concerning the wages of railway employees are considered in the chapter on wages.

**Rights of
Railway
Employees**

A federal statute of June 1, 1898, relating to the arbitration of labor disputes between common carriers engaged in interstate commerce and their employees, has the following provisions concerning the rights of employees:

SEC. 9. Whenever receivers appointed by federal courts are in the possession and control of railroads, the employees upon such railroads shall have the right to be heard in such courts upon all questions affecting the terms and conditions of their employment, through the officers and representatives of their associations, whether incorporated or unincorporated, and no reduction of wages shall be made by such receivers without the authority of the court therefor upon notice to such employees, said notice to be not less than twenty days before the hearing upon the receivers' petition or application, and to be posted upon all customary bulletin boards along or upon the railway operated by such receiver or receivers.

SEC. 10. Any employer subject to the provisions of this act, and any officer, agent, or receiver of such employer who shall require any employee, or any person seeking employment, as a condition of such employment, to enter into an agreement, either written or verbal, not to become or remain a member of any labor corporation, association, or organization; or shall threaten any employee with loss of employment, or shall unjustly discriminate against any employee because of his membership in such a labor corporation, association, or organization; or who shall require any employee or any person seeking employment, as a condition of such employment, to enter into a contract whereby such employee or applicant for employment shall agree to contribute to any fund for charitable, social, or beneficial purposes, to release such employer from legal liability for any personal injury by reason of any benefit received from such fund beyond the proportion of the benefit arising from the employer's contribution to such fund; or who shall, after having discharged an employee, attempt or conspire to prevent such employee from obtaining employment; or who shall, after the quitting of an employee, attempt or conspire to prevent such employee from obtaining employment, is hereby declared to be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof in any court of the United States of competent jurisdiction in the district in which such offense was committed, shall be punished for each offense by a fine of not less than \$100 and not more than \$1,000.

In Arkansas and Missouri it is a misdemeanor for any person to make false charges against a railway employee with regard to the receipt of money for fare, etc.

The State of Kansas has a statute making special provision by which railway employees may be enabled to vote in any part of the state when absent from the legal residence on railway business on election day.

In Massachusetts it is unlawful to divulge the names of railway employees who make complaints concerning safety appliances, etc.

The statutes coming within the fourth group are intended for the protection of the health and safety of railway employees. The dangerous character of their employment calls for legislation requiring such mechanical appliances as will reduce their liability to injury to a minimum. For this reason considerable attention has been given to this kind of legislation both by the federal Congress and by the different state legislatures.

The federal government has a law requiring all common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to supply their trains with automatic couplers and power brakes and certain other safety appliances, for minimizing danger.

**Health and
Safety**

In addition to the federal statute which governs common carriers engaged in interstate commerce, ten states have laws requiring automatic couplers on railway trains, fourteen states have laws requiring air or power brakes on locomotives and cars, three states have laws requiring grab-irons on sides of box cars, and one state has a law regulating the height of draw-bars on cars. These laws apply in some cases only to passenger trains, in some only to freight trains, and in others to all trains.

Thirteen states require the blocking of frogs, switches, and guard rails; eleven states require bridge guards or telltales at approaches to bridges, tunnels, etc.; ten states regulate the height of bridges and wires over railway tracks or trolley wires over street-car tracks; New York requires safety switches on main line tracks, and prohibits the use of "coal jimmies," and Vermont requires ladders or steps to be placed at the end or inside of cars. In Ohio full crews are required on freight and passenger trains, and in South Carolina there must be at least one brakeman to every two cars on passenger trains, except when power brakes are used, and one brakeman on the last car of every freight train. In Arizona, on grades of over ninety-five feet to the mile on mountain divisions, there must be at least one brakeman for every 600 tons. In Michigan printed copies of rules and regulations must be furnished to employees, and in New York and Ohio railroad companies are required to make reports to the railroad commissioners showing the number of safety appliances with which their roads have been equipped. Ohio prohibits the erection of any crane, chute, etc., within eighteen inches of the nearest point of contact with the cab of any locomotive. Arkansas requires the construction of shelters for workmen at division points.

Twenty-seven states have laws requiring street-railway companies to have enclosed platforms on the front of cars for the protection of motormen, gripmen, or drivers.

A federal law requires common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to make regular reports of accidents to the Interstate Commerce

Commission. In Alabama, Connecticut, Michigan, Mississippi, South

Carolina, and Vermont accidents must

be reported to the railroad commissioners. In Mississippi accidents causing delay or injuries must be telegraphed and a written report made afterward to the railway commission. In South Carolina accidents causing injury to persons must be reported immediately to an accessible physician and notice given in writing to the railway commissioners within twenty-four hours.

Four states have laws requiring railroad commissioners to investigate accidents to railway employees. Massachusetts has a law requiring railroad companies to run workmen's trains at specified hours of the day.

GREAT BRITAIN

In Great Britain the conduct of railway employees while on duty is regulated by an act passed in 1840 which provides that any engine-driver, guard, porter, or other employee of a railway company is liable to arrest for intoxication while on duty, or for committing any offense against the regulations, or for wilfully, maliciously, or negligently doing or omitting to do

any act whereby life, limb, or the works of the railway are endangered. The penalty may be imprisonment, either with or without hard labor, for a term not exceeding two months, or a fine of not more than £2 (\$9.73).

The hours of labor of railway employees are not fixed by law, but an act passed July 27, 1893, provides that the Board of Trade is authorized to investigate representations that the employees of any railway company are required to work for an excessive number of hours, or that sufficient intervals of rest are not allowed, or that insufficient relief is afforded in the matter of Sunday labor. If the investigation discloses reasonable grounds for complaint, the Board of Trade may direct the company to submit a schedule of service such as will bring the actual hours of labor within reasonable limits, regard being had for all the circumstances of the traffic and the nature of the work.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE

With regard to the conditions of employment on railways the German Empire has from time to time promulgated special decrees and ordinances. The following regulations fixing the minimum requirements for applicants for positions in the State railway service were promulgated by the imperial chancellor, March 8, 1906:

Employees entering service for the first time must be not less than twenty-one nor more than forty years of age. Males more than forty years old who are partially incapacitated may be employed as watchmen, porters, platform attendants, and gatemen; and females more than forty years of age may serve as gatekeepers and station attendants. Technically skilled machinists may act as locomotive firemen before completing their twenty-first year. Other exceptions are allowable only on action by the local authorities.

The general requirements for employment include physical capacity, good hearing and sight, ability to distinguish colors, and satisfactory character. Officials must be able to read German and Roman print and script, to write legibly in German, and, where necessary in their employment, to compute in the four elementary operations. Detailed provision is made in the case of each class of employees, as watchmen, porters, brakemen, engineers, etc., giving the specific requirements as to knowledge of particular duties and of the appliances with which each must work; and for the higher classes of employment, the length of preliminary employment in the lower grades, and the periods of training and of probationary service that must precede permanent appointments. The restrictions as to probationary employment and age limits do not apply in the case of those officials and employees who are connected with the military branch of the railway service.

On the State railways of Prussia and Hesse, as prescribed by a law of April 1, 1902, the personnel is classed either as officials of the State or as employees for wages. Nominations are, in general, for a probationary period, followed by a revocable contract, and subsequently, in proper cases, by a permanent appointment. Until permanent appointment, unless in exceptional cases, all engagements are made under conditions of monthly wage payments.

Applicants for positions definitely provided for in the budgets must meet the required conditions, especially those as to prescribed examinations. Ticket stampers and other station employees, locomotive and train employees, switchmen, watchmen, road employees, and the like are not enumerated in the budgets, and are employed under revocable contracts. Agents of the lower and middle grades employed in budget positions may take permanent appointments after they have served satisfactorily for at least five years.

A law of July 14, 1888, contains the provision that employees on Prussian State railways must have no affiliation with societies opposed to law and order.

A decree of the Prussian Minister of Public Works issued Dec. 17, 1894, and subsequently amended in various points, forbids workmen employed in the State railway service to engage in their leisure time in work in the private interests of railway officials, and especially of those to whom are entrusted the employment and discharge of workmen or the inspection and management of the service. Written permission is required for specific persons and occasions, if exceptions are at all allowed.

Provisions as to the termination of the labor contract of railway employees in Prussia were made in the law of July 14, 1888, which provide that such contract may, in the absence of special agreements to the contrary, be terminated by either party without notice within the first four weeks of

service, and after this time, but without preventing an earlier release in cases of mutual agreement, on notice by either party given fourteen days in advance. If any other than the prescribed term of notice is agreed upon, it must be the same for both parties.

Dismissal without this notice of fourteen days may take place when an employee has used deception in the matter of the labor contract; if he is guilty of theft, embezzlement, immorality, etc.; if he leaves work without authority, or

Employment

persistently neglects his duty; if he is careless with lights or fire in the face of warnings; if he is guilty of violence or gross acts of injury to his superiors, their deputies, or members of their families, or of deliberate and illegal acts which cause injury to the management or to his fellow workmen. Such discharge is not allowable after the facts have been known to a superior for more than one week. Before the discharge takes effect the employee is to have opportunity to make a statement and to establish the facts in the case at a hearing. Witnesses may be brought in where needful, and proofs may be submitted in writing.

A workman may leave the service without notice if he becomes unable to work; if his wages are not paid when due, or if his superior defrauds him; if the work exposes life or health to discovered dangers not known at the time of entering into the contract; if his superiors or members of their families are guilty of acts or attempts of an illegal or immoral nature against him or his family, or if they or their deputies commit acts of violence or gross injury to him or members of his family. For the last-named cause action must be taken within one week after the facts come to the employee's knowledge, in order to justify withdrawal without notice.

Damages for unwarranted discharge without notice may be allowed only in so far as actual injury results, and only to the amount of the consequent loss in wages for the period of notice. This will not be allowed where other employment was immediately secured.

With regard to the hours of labor on railways in Germany, a law of the Confederated States, enacted in 1899, prescribes for locomotive employees (engineers and firemen) a workday of not more than ten hours' length on a monthly average.

If the service is light, however, as on secondary roads, it may be 11 hours long. No single day of work may exceed 16 hours in length. In case of such length, service must be broken by rest periods and followed by a prolonged rest, to be passed at home and to be at night if possible. The time of route service may in no case exceed 10 hours, including stops at stations where employees cannot leave their posts, and including also the time for taking up and turning over their work and for coming from their homes and returning. If the work is continuous or exhausting, the average day is reduced to 8 hours and the maximum to 10.

The provisions as to train employees are practically identical with the above, except that the average workday is given a length of 11 hours.

Where station service is exacting and continuous, 8 hours constitute the average day's work, with a maximum of 10 hours. In other cases the average may be 12 hours, with a maximum of 14; or, if the service is light and broken by long rests, it may be extended by

Hours

way of exception to as long as 16 hours. Gatekeepers and guards at minor stopping places may be employed for not more than 14 hours daily, unless where the service is light, when the day may be fixed at 16 hours. If gatekeepers can reside only at a distance from their posts, the time required to go to and from work is included in the work-time.

The rest periods include only the time when employees are exempt from duty and from preparation therefor, and must continue without interruption, in order to be counted as such within the meaning of the law, for at least 8 hours in the case of station employees and gatekeepers, and for 8 hours for train and locomotive employees, if the time is spent at home, or 6 hours if away from home. For these latter classes, however, the 6- or 8-hour period will be counted as rest only when falling between periods of service which are preceded or followed by a rest of at least 10 hours' length at home. Shorter periods than those designated above are to be included in the account of the time spent in service.

Every active employee in regular service is entitled to two holidays per month; or, if service is light, to one holiday. These days must be not less than 24 hours in length.

Night-work may be engaged in for not more than 7 nights consecutively.

In Prussia it is provided that employees whose duties require labor on Sundays and feast-days must be given opportunity to attend worship every second, or at most every third, Sunday. If the semimonthly holidays prescribed by the general law cannot be so arranged as to suffice for such attendance, other time is to be allowed therefor without being counted as absence from service or as rest-time.

As regards the wages to be paid railway employees, a Prussian regulation of July 14, 1888, lays down the general rule that wages of State railway employees will be paid for only the time actually worked. In cases of temporary cessation from work, however,

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without fault of the employee, he may, if married or having a dependent family, receive two thirds pay for not more than fourteen days, after the manner of a military furlough, provided he has been in the service for at least one year. Workmen absent on account of the performance of military or civic duties receive wages for the period of necessary absence. In cases where personal concerns cause absence the allowance of wages rests with the management. Time lost without excuse may be adjusted for by deductions from pay, the management retaining the control of such matters entirely in their own hands, as well as that of adjustments for overtime work. Workmen regularly entrusted with the duties of subordinate officials receive pay for lost rest-days. Pay for the allowed rest periods and for the time granted for attendance at church is also given to such employees as are regularly employed in duties requiring them to work on Sundays and feast-days.

Railway employees in Germany do not have the right of making agreements or combinations among themselves for the purpose of procuring better wages or conditions of work, as are enjoyed by other classes of workmen by virtue of section 152 of the imperial industrial code. Section 182 of the Prussian industrial code prohibits railway employees from making agreements for the purpose of stopping or delaying work.

FRANCE

In France the employment of engineers and firemen is restricted by a decree of March 1, 1901, to such persons as have procured certificates of capacity in a form determined by the minister of public works.

The hours of labor and rest of engineers, firemen, and employees engaged in train service were fixed by decrees bearing date of Nov. 4, 1899, amended May 20, 1902, and May 9, 1906. An order applying to station employees was issued on Nov. 23, 1899, while the hours of labor of those engaged in the supervision and maintenance of way are regulated by an order of Oct. 10, 1901. All the above were issued by the minister of public works and are applicable to the railroads controlled by the State and by the companies operating the principal systems of the country. The enforcement of the regulations as to the hours of labor of engineers, firemen, and train and station employees on State railways is entrusted, by an order of Feb. 13, 1901, to "committees of labor," made up of the head of the various departments concerned and of representative employees.

From 1883 to the dates named above the hours of labor of engineers, firemen, conductors, and brakemen had been fixed at not more than 12 hours daily, including the time of their obligatory presence at duty points before and after actual employment, while the hours of labor of switchmen had been fixed at 12 per day as early as 1864.

According to the later provisions the hours of labor of engineers and firemen must not exceed an average of 10 per day in actual employment. On no day may they exceed 12, nor may the total on 9 consecutive days, counting from midnight to midnight, exceed 90 hours of actual work. This period must also include principal rest periods to an amount of 90 hours. Each period of labor is to be preceded and followed by principal rest periods, which may be separated from each other by intervals of not more than 17 hours.

Principal rest periods are only those that have an unbroken duration of at least 10 hours if passed at the home of the employee or of not less than 7 hours if away from home. The reduction of two consecutive rest periods to less than 10 hours each is forbidden and the sum of two consecutive periods must amount to at least 17 hours. A rest of not less than 30 hours' length is to be allowed all engineers and fire-

men engaged in road service once in 10 days, on an average. Where the engineer or fireman is not required to sleep away from home at any time the 30-hour rest periods may be reduced in number to one per fortnight. Such rests are to be reckoned at their length, less 20 hours, in making up the 9-day average mentioned above. Employees will be regarded as not having to sleep away from home only in case their daily duties allow them an unbroken rest of 10 consecutive hours at home between 6 P.M. and 12 M.

For locomotive employees in yard service, a rest of at least 30 hours is to be allowed every 15 days on an average; out of 24 hours every 10 hours and the principal rest period be reduced to 9 hours. Only such employment is regarded as not requiring employees to sleep away from home as permits unbroken rest at home of at least 9 hours, between 6 P.M. and 12 M.

Rest periods must be at least 9 hours in length if spent at home, and 7 hours if away from home. No two consecutive rest periods may be of less than 9 hours' length, nor make a total of less than 16 hours. A holiday of at least 24 hours is to be granted every 15 days on an average, and not more than 30 days may elapse between two such holidays. These holidays are to be reckoned at their actual length, less 14 hours, in making up the 14-day average.

The schedule time of through freight and passenger trains is to be diminished by 10 per cent in making up the total of the working-time. In other respects the regulations are the same for the trainmen as for locomotive employees, except that in the case of trainmen no mention is made of reserve periods spent at home.

Depot and station employees may be required to work 12 hours per day with periods of unbroken rest of at least 9 hours' duration, tho these may be reduced to 8 hours where

Employees

the employee is lodged on the premises. Shorter rest periods are to be allowed for the taking of meals near the middle and toward the close of the day. One holiday or 2 half-holidays per month must be allowed employees of this class. The holidays for 2 months may be allowed to accumulate, but not more than 2 months may pass without a holiday. Such a day includes the entire interval between 2 consecutive nights of rest. A half-holiday begins or ends at the middle of a customary day of labor, and must be immediately preceded or followed by a night of rest. These days and half-days are entirely at the disposal of the employees, and may be spent away from home if they so desire.

At stations having both night and day service night service shall not be required of any employee for more than 14 consecutive nights. When the change is made from day or night service to the other shift, an unbroken rest period of at least 24 hours must be allowed. Employees enjoying this privilege are not granted the monthly holidays or half-holidays mentioned above. Where night service is especially heavy, the minister of public works may require the alternation of shifts after 7 nights of duty, or such other number up to 14, as he may approve. Employees at small stations and stopping-places requiring the attendance of but a single person and at which there are not more than three trains daily in each direction may be required to serve for more than 12 hours, but their principal rest periods may not be reduced below 8 hours.

Watchmen, signal- and gatekeepers, and employees charged with the inspection and maintenance of ways may be required to work not more than 12 hours per day, with an unbroken rest of at least 9 hours, or of 8 hours where they lodge on the premises. Ten hours is the minimum, however, for employees where a female gatekeeper is employed, and the male employee is required to rise at night at the call of the public. A rest of about one hour for meals is to be allowed in the middle of the day; and if the work period exceeds 11 hours in length, there must be an additional interval of rest, about one half hour in length, either in the morning or afternoon. Suitable warmed shelters must be furnished at posts of duty where employees may eat.

At points requiring night as well as day service, where males alone are employed, the same provisions are applicable to consecutive night employment and rest periods at change of shifts as in the case of station employees. The positions of permanent attendants at gates and semaphores may be filled by females for the day service and by males at night without alternation. Such employees are entitled to an uninterrupted holiday of 36 hours' length each month. Where the employees concerned are husband and wife, they may, if they desire, enjoy the holiday simultaneously for the term of 24 hours.

With regard to railway employees abandoning their employment the railway law of France, dated July 15, 1845, directs that engineers or brakemen who abandon their posts during a run shall be punished by imprisonment, the term not to be less than six months nor more than two years in length.

GUSTAVUS A. WEBER, LL.B.

REFERENCES: Gustavus A. Weber, *Labor Legislation in the U. S.*, in the *Bulletins of the Bureau of Labor*; Lindley A. Clark, *Laws of Foreign Countries Relating to Employees on Railroads*.

RAILWAY MILEAGE: The table below gives the mileage of the different countries of the world according to the latest obtainable statistics.

RAILWAY MILEAGE OF THE WORLD

COUNTRY	LENGTH OF RAILWAYS		RAILROADS	
	Date	Miles	Per 10,000 inhabitants	Per 10,000 sq. m.
Argentina.....	1906	12,230	21.5	10.8
Australasia:				
Commonwealth of Australia..	1906	14,988	37.0	5.0
New Zealand.....	1906	2,520	28.3	24.0
Austria-Hungary:				
Austria, including Bosnia- Herzegovina.....	1905	24,338	5.1	101.0
Hungary.....				
Belgium.....	1905	4,375	6.1	397.7
Bolivia.....	1905	701	3.2	1.0
Brazil.....	1905	10,600	7.4	3.3
Bulgaria.....	1905	972	2.4	25.6
Canada.....	1905	21,280	33.0	7.0
Central America:				
Costa Rica.....	1906	294	9.2	12.8
Guatemala.....	1905	400	2.2	8.5
Honduras.....	1905	57	.8	1.2
Nicaragua.....	1904	171	3.4	3.5
Salvador.....	1905	104	1.0	14.9
Chile.....	1906	2,939	9.1	10.5
China.....	1905	3,435	.08	.8
Colombia.....	1904	411	1.0	.8
Cuba.....	1905	1,583	10.1	36.8
Denmark.....	1905	2,043	7.9	132.7
Ecuador.....	1905	186	1.3	1.6
Egypt.....	1905	3,233	3.3	8.4
France.....	1906	29,018	7.4	140.2
Algeria.....	1905	3,041	4.3	12.9
Tunis.....				
French East Indies.....	1905	1,549	.8	3.4
French colonies, n. e. s.....	1905	998	.4	.3
German Empire.....	1905	34,526	5.7	165.2
German colonies.....	1905	552	.4	.5
Greece.....	1905	695	2.9	27.8
Haiti.....	1905	140	1.0	14.0
India, British.....	1906	28,221	1.0	16.0
Italy, including Eritrea.....	1905	10,120	3.0	62.9
Japan.....	1905	4,693	1.0	31.7
Formosa.....	1905	231	.8	17.8
Kongo Free State.....		297	.2	.3
Korea.....	1905	536	.4	6.4
Luxemburg ¹				
Mexico.....	1905	12,227	9.0	15.9
Netherlands.....	1905	2,133	3.8	164.1
Dutch East Indies.....	1905	1,430	.4	1.9
Dutch possessions in America..	1905	37	2.5	.7
Norway.....	1905	1,515	6.6	12.2
Paraguay.....	1905	157	2.5	1.0
Persia.....	1905	34	.04	.1
Peru.....	1905	1,299	2.9	1.8
Portugal.....	1905	1,550	3.0	43.1
Portuguese colonies.....	1905	667	.9	.8
Rumania.....	1905	1,975	3.0	38.7
Russia.....	1906	39,591	2.8	4.6
Finland.....	1906	2,069	7.2	14.4
Santo Domingo.....	1905	117	1.9	6.5
Servia.....	1905	439	1.6	23.6
Siam.....	1905	446	.9	1.9
Spain.....	1905	8,782	4.7	45.0
Sweden.....	1905	7,815	14.9	45.2
Switzerland.....	1905	2,640	7.6	16.5
Turkey.....	1905	3,110	1.2	2.8
United Kingdom.....	1906	22,907	5.3	188.7
British colonies, n. e. s.....	1906	11,121	7.4	11.7
United States ²	1905-6	218,291	25.9	60.2
Philippine Islands.....	1906	200	.3	1.7
Porto Rico.....	1906	200	.2	58.8
Uruguay.....	1905	1,210	11.6	16.8
Venezuela.....	1905	634	2.4	1.1
Total.....		564,073		

¹ Railway mileage of Luxemburg included in that of Netherlands.

² Including railway mileage in Alaska (62 miles) and Hawaii (128 miles).

RAILWAYS AND RAILWAY PROBLEMS: We consider this subject under the following heads: (I.) The United States; (II.) Foreign Countries; (III.) Railway Problems; (IV.) Remedies Proposed.

I. The United States

A. HISTORY

On July 4, 1828, Charles Carroll, last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, laid the first rail of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; the first railroad of this country to assume a comprehensive scale. Mr. Carroll said he considered the event "second only to that of signing the Declaration of Independence, if even second to that." The first tram-road in America was the Quincy road (1827) for hauling stone for the Bunker Hill monument. The first locomotive in America was imported from England in 1829, for use on the Carbondale & Honesdale Railroad, built by the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company. On the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, chartered in 1827 and opened 1830, steam was not definitely chosen for the motive power till 1831, horse-power, and even sails, having been tried first. The West Point foundry works built the first American locomotive in 1830, for use on the South Carolina Railroad then being constructed. The panic of 1837 temporarily checked railroad building, but the whole line of the Boston & Albany was complete by 1842, the first road operated as a through route. New York and Philadelphia were connected by rail in 1840; New York and Boston in 1849; New York and Lake Erie, by the Erie road, in 1851; New York and Albany the same year; New York and Chicago in 1853. The first line to reach the Mississippi was the Chicago & Rock Island in 1854.

The rapid growth of the roads in the United States will be best appreciated by giving the figures. In 1828 there were 3 miles of railroad in the country; in 1830, 41 miles; in 1840, 2,800 miles; in 1850, 9,000 miles; in 1860, 9,800 miles; in 1870, 50,000 miles; in 1880, 82,000 miles; in 1890, 163,420 miles; in 1905, 218,101 miles.

The first roads were very moderately successful. Legislatures were suspicious of them. The Illinois Central received the first land grant in 1851, tho, after that, land grants were given freely. (See PUBLIC DOMAIN.) The first charters were very cautious, and there were no general bills for condemning property to give railroads the right of way, but in 1850 the New York Legislature granted railroad corporations the right to run their lines wherever they saw fit, subject only to certain conditions in the cities. This was a complete surrender on the part of the state of every attempt to supervise, regulate, and control the operations of railroad corporations, but it seemed productive of such immediate benefits that state after state followed the example.

No evil results of this lack of state supervision were apparent until 1857, when a financial crisis brought bankruptcy to many of the roads. To prevent the insolvent roads being closed to satisfy the bondholders or first mortgagees, the lawyers for the second mortgagees and the stockholders devised a plan of "reorganization." Under this policy of reorganization the first mortgage holders were given bonds representing a first lien on the roads and bonds representing accrued interest. The junior mortgagees were recognized by pre-

ferred stock, and the former stockholders, after paying something to defray the expenses of the readjustment, were given common stock to represent their former interest in the roads. This accumulated debt was called "increased capital," but in latter-day parlance has developed stock-watering. (See WATERED STOCK.)

The crisis of 1857 put an effective stop to railroad and land grants, and this was followed by the Civil War. The war, however, gave land grants a wider scope. A railroad to California was a political necessity. (See PACIFIC RAILROADS.) The first effective bill for the Union Pacific was passed in 1864, and the last rail laid in 1869. It led to railroad favoritism, upon the part of government, in colossal proportions.

From 1835 to June 30, 1892, railroad corporations received from Congress, directly and through the states, grants of land aggregating **Land Grants** 56,483,804 acres, or an average of 9,600 acres for every mile of road constructed under the terms of the granting acts. In addition to these gifts of land the roads received subsidies of money from Congress, the states, counties, townships, cities, and villages. The five Pacific railroads (the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific, the Atlantic & Pacific, the Southern Pacific, and the Texas Pacific) alone received subsidies of U. S. bonds amounting to \$64,623,512, and the interest paid on the same by the U. S. Government amounted up to June 30, 1891, to \$90,241,379.22. (See article PUBLIC DOMAIN.)

According to *Poor's Manual* for 1884, the average cost per mile of the railroads in the U. S. did not exceed \$30,000. The early railroads were purely local, chartered and built by local communities. The New York Central was consolidated from eleven different railroads in 1853. Vanderbilt, till then one of the foremost steamboat owners in the world, did not go into railroads to any extent till 1864. Mr. Scott entered the service of the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1850. As a result of his management the Pennsylvania Railroad owns to-day thousands of miles of the most valuable railway property in the U. S. Next to these great systems were developed the Grand Trunk in the north, the Erie in the middle, and the Baltimore & Ohio in the south, they being hindered respectively by disadvantage of situation, by speculation, and by the Civil War.

The next development of combination was the development of sleeping-car companies, express companies, and freight transportation companies, which ran through cars over many roads. The first railroad pools were probably developed in a small way in New England. The first to have important public history was the Chicago-Omaha pool, in 1870, between three roads. The first great inter-railway association was the Southern Railway & Steamship Association, begun under the lead of Albert Fink, in 1873. The first great railway war began in 1869, when rates from Chicago to New York fell to twenty-five cents per hundred pounds. The first trunk-line pool on West-bound traffic was formed in 1877, and on East-bound in 1879.

Railroad legislation was all in favor of railroads. The only fear was that roads would not be built fast enough. Railroads were variously taxed, and liabilities only slightly enforced. The first popular feeling of any force against railroads was the Granger movement (1870-77). Nowhere

had railroad subsidies been more recklessly voted than in the upper Mississippi valley. Between 1865 and 1871 \$500,000,000 had been invested in Western railways. The price of wheat began to fall. With transportation charges at former figures, the farmers could not pay their debts; with charges reduced, the roads could not pay theirs. Roads under competition cut down

Granger Movement

rates to nearly nothing between competing points, and, where there was no competition, charged what they would. The feeling among the farmers ran high. The first tangible results were reached in Illinois. The constitutional convention of 1870 made an important declaration concerning state control of rates, on the basis of which a law was passed in 1871 establishing a system of maxima. Judge Laurence pronounced the bill unconstitutional. At the next election he was defeated. The law of 1873 avoided the issues raised by Judge Laurence. Similar laws were immediately passed by Iowa and Minnesota, and a much more stringent law, the so-called Potter law, which the railroads favored because so stringent, hoping thus to kill it. The roads appealed to the courts, but were defeated. Finally in 1877 the Supreme Court of the U. S. sustained the constitutionality of the Granger laws. But the laws defeated themselves. Railroad construction came to a standstill. In Wisconsin some existing roads could not be kept up. The men who passed the Potter law in 1874 hurriedly repealed it after two years' trial. Since then, however, the hostility to railroads has grown more general.

The Hepburn committee was appointed in New York "to investigate alleged abuses in railroad management," the hearings before which form the most important evidence in the railway question. In 1877 the strikes called universal attention to the subject. Railway commissions were everywhere established, that of Massachusetts—perhaps the most successful—as early as 1869. The commission of Iowa, perhaps the next most successful, dates from 1878. California gave its commission almost unlimited power. As a result the railroads found it necessary to get control of the commission.

In 1885 the U. S. Senate appointed a committee to investigate railroad abuses. As a result of that report Congress enacted a law which went into effect in April, 1887, and the Interstate Commerce Commission has been a public institution ever since. During the debates on that bill the railroad lobby was energetic and active. The intent of the framer of the bill was that the law should give control of the railroads to the commission to be appointed; but the combined railroad interests of the country went to work to change the bill, and it received the signature of the president in such a form as to be almost worthless.

The courts decided that the law did not give the commission power to fix rates, and the procedure and penalties of the act proved to be comparatively ineffective in relation to the worst railroad abuses. Multitudinous discriminations of the most grievous sort continued year after year. The commission recognized and clearly stated the inadequacy of the law and asked Congress for amendments to make the law effective. But Congress did nothing until 1903, when the Elkins Bill was passed for the purpose of abolishing re-

Railway Commissions

Combina- tions

bates and other forms of favoritism and discrimination. This also proved to be insufficient, and in 1906, as the result of two vigorous messages from President Roosevelt and strenuous efforts on his part, Congress passed the Hepburn Rate Bill, which greatly increases the powers of the commission, and will, it is hoped, enable it to put an effective check on the worst forms of discrimination and abuses of the rate-making power.

The bill provides that when the commission, upon complaint and hearing, has adjudged a rate fixt by a common carrier to be unjust or unreasonable, or unjustly discriminatory, or unduly preferential or prejudicial, it may determine and prescribe what will be the just and reasonable rate in such case, which shall thereafter be the maximum rate, and may order the carrier to desist from charging the unjust rate. This order is to take effect within a reasonable time, not less than thirty days, and to continue for a period not exceeding two years, unless modified by the commission or set aside by the courts. Appeals must be taken within thirty days and have precedence. The commission may also prescribe what regulation or practise in respect to such transportation is fair and reasonable and require it to be thereafter followed. Enforcement of the orders of the commission may be had by injunction or other mandatory order.

Rate Bill

It is provided that any company or officer who knowingly fails or neglects to obey any such order of the commission is liable to a penalty of \$5,000 for each offense, and in case of a continued violation, each day is to be deemed a separate offense.

Rebates and discriminations of all kinds are again prohibited; every person or corporation, whether common carrier or shipper, agent or trustee, guilty of giving, receiving, or soliciting discriminations or rebates may be fined from \$1,000 to \$20,000 and imprisoned for not more than two years; shippers found guilty may be fined three times the amount of the rebates and three times the value of any other consideration received.

The commission may, at its discretion, prescribe the forms of all accounts, reports, and memoranda to be kept by the railways, and provision is made for the inspection of these by the commission at any time. It is unlawful for a carrier or its officers or agents to keep any other records, accounts, or memoranda except those prescribed by the commission, and penalties are provided for false entries in railway bookkeeping.

No change is to be made by the railways in any rate except after thirty days' notice to the commission, unless the commission, for good cause shown, allows changes upon shorter notice.

The express companies and sleeping-car lines are made common carriers; the private-car lines are included in the term "transportation" and brought within the jurisdiction of the commission. After May 1, 1908, no railroad shall engage in the transportation of commodities of its own in competition with shippers over its lines. This is intended to prevent the mining of coal, the production of coke, etc.—the railroad control of the coal-mining industry.

The law contains a qualified prohibition of free passes. It says that "no common carrier subject to the provisions of this act shall, directly or indirectly, issue or give any interstate free ticket, free pass, or free transportation for passengers, except to its employees and their families, its officers, agents, surgeons," etc.

It increases the number of Interstate Commerce Commissioners to seven, their term of office to be seven years and their salaries to be \$10,000 per annum, and permits four of them to be of one political party.

While there are some good features in the law, it certainly does not amount to much as a rate-regulative measure. It gives the commission the formal power to fix the maximum rate, but it gives the railroads the power to take the commission's orders into court and obstruct and largely nullify the commission's efforts to secure just and equal treatment. Even if the bill had passed in its original form, it would have been quite inadequate, as the power to fix and enforce a maximum rate is not the power to secure equal rates. The commission has no authority to revise rates on its own motion nor to control classification by which railroads can readily change rates. No provision is made for the valuation of railroad property, which is essential to the fixing of fair rates. Nothing is done about the basing-point system. No adequate provision is made to meet

the trick of withholding testimony and concealing facts.

The coal roads are reported to have already projected a billion-dollar corporation for the purpose of merging and holding the anthracite properties and so circumventing the law.

The law does not touch overcapitalization, nor stock-gambling, nor the political relations of the railroads, but rather tends to intensify their political relations.

B. STATISTICS FOR THE UNITED STATES

The following data are from the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission for the years ending June 30, 1905, and June 30, 1906:

The total single-track mileage of railways in the U. S. June 30, 1905, was 218,101 miles, or 4,196 miles more than at the end of the previous year. The preliminary report for the year ending June 30, 1906, includes the returns from 852 railway companies, representing an operated mileage of 220,028 miles, "or approximately 99 per cent of the mileage that will be covered by the complete report for the year," indicating therefore a total mileage of about 222,000 miles.

On June 30, 1905, there were in the service of the carriers 48,357 locomotives. These locomotives, excepting 947, were classified as: Passenger, 11,618; freight, 27,869; and switching, 7,923.

The total number of cars of all classes was 1,842,871, or 44,310 more than for the year 1904. This rolling stock was thus assigned: Passenger service, 40,713 cars; freight service, 1,731,409 cars, and company service, 70,749 cars. These figures do not include cars owned by private commercial firms or corporations.

The number of locomotives and cars in the service of the railways aggregated 1,891,228, of which 1,641,395 were fitted with train brakes, or an increase for the year of 86,623, and 1,871,590 were fitted with automatic couplers, or an increase of 48,560.

Equipment

Nearly all the locomotives and cars in the passenger service had train brakes and all but 82 locomotives in the same service were fitted with automatic couplers. Only 1.63 per cent of cars in the passenger service were without automatic couplers. Substantially all the freight locomotives had train brakes and automatic couplers. Of 1,731,409 cars in the freight service on June 30, 1905, the number fitted with train brakes was 1,515,354 and with automatic couplers 1,715,854.

The reported number of persons on the pay rolls of the railways in the U. S. on June 30, 1905, was 1,382,196, which is equivalent to an average of 637 employees per 100 miles of line. These figures show an increase in the number of employees as compared with the year 1904 of 86,075, or 26 per 100 miles of line. Of the employees 54,817 were engine-men, 57,892 firemen, 41,061 conductors, and 111,405 were other trainmen. There were 45,532 switch-tenders, crossing-tenders, and watchmen. Railway employees, disregarding a small number, were thus assigned among the four general divisions of railway employment: For general administration, 54,141; for maintenance of ways and structures, 448,370; for maintenance of equipment, 281,000; and for conducting transportation, 595,456.

The total amount of wages and salaries reported as paid to employees during the year ending June 30, 1905, was \$839,944,680.

On June 30, 1905, the par value of the amount of railway capital outstanding was \$13,805,258,121, which is equivalent to a capitalization of \$65,926 per mile for the railways in the U. S. Of this capital there existed as stock \$6,554,557,051, of which \$5,180,933,907 was common and \$1,373,623,144 preferred; the remaining part, \$7,250,701,070, represented funded debt.

The total capital stock outstanding, \$2,435,470,337, or 37.16 per cent, paid no dividends. The amount of dividends declared during the year was \$237,964,482, being equivalent to 5.78 per cent on dividend-paying stock.

Capitalization

The total amount of funded debt (omitting equipment, trust obligations) that paid no interest was \$449,100,396, or 6.36 per cent.

Of the total amount of railway stock outstanding, \$2,070,052,108 were reported as owned by railway corporations, and of railway bonds, \$568,100,021 were so reported.

The number of passengers reported as carried by the railways in the year ending June 30, 1905, was 738,834,667, this item being 23,414,985 more than for the year ending June 30, 1904. The passenger mileage, or the number of passengers carried one mile, was 23,800,149,436, the increase being 1,876,935,900 passenger-miles.

The number of tons of freight reported as carried (including freight received from connections) was 1,427,731,905,

which exceeds the tonnage of the year 1904 by 117,832,740 tons. The ton mileage, or the number of tons carried one mile, was 186,463,109.510, the increase being 11,941,019,933 ton-miles. The number of tons carried one mile per mile of line was 861,396, indicating an increase in the density of freight traffic of 31,920 ton-miles per mile of line.

**Public
Service**

The average revenue per passenger per mile for the year ending June 30, 1905, was 1.962 cents. For the preceding year the average was 2.006 cents. The average revenue per ton per mile was .766 cent, the like average for the year 1904 was .78 cent. The ratio of operating expenses to earnings for the year 1905 was 66.78 per cent. For 1904 this ratio was 67.79 per cent.

The gross earnings of the railways in the U. S. from the operation of 216,973.61 miles of line were, for the year ending June 30, 1905, \$2,082,482,406, being \$107,308,315 greater than for the year 1904, and for the first time exceeding the two-billion mark. Their operating expenses were \$1,390,602,152, or \$51,705,899 more than in 1904.

The preliminary report for 1906 shows that the gross earnings of the 852 roads above referred to were \$2,319,760,030. This amount included as earnings from passenger service \$618,555,934, or 26.66 per cent; from the freight service, \$1,640,942,862, or 70.74 per cent, and miscellaneous earnings, \$60,261,234, or 2.6 per cent. The gross earnings for 1906 averaged \$10,543 per mile. This average is much higher than the like average for any previous year since the organization of the commission. (This is the 20th annual report.) The gross earnings of the railways, as shown in the final report for the year ending June 30, 1905, represented an average of \$9,598 on 216,973.61 miles of line operated. For 1906, as shown by the preliminary report, the operating expenses of the railways were \$1,532,103,153, or \$6,963 per mile. The ratio of operating expenses to earnings was 66.05 per cent. The same average in the final report for the year 1905 was 66.78 per cent. This advance report shows that the net earnings of the same roads for the year ending June 30, 1906, were \$787,596,877, or \$3,580 per mile, and for the year 1905, \$690,691,151.

**Earnings
and
Expenses**

The amount reported by the carriers as income from sources other than operation was \$132,624,982, which amount includes a few duplications due to the method of accounting followed by certain of the reporting carriers. The total net income of the operating roads covered by this report was \$920,221,859. Against this amount was charged for interest, rents, betterments, taxes, and miscellaneous items the sum of \$590,386,554, and as dividends the sum of \$229,406,598, leaving a surplus for the year of \$100,428,707. The taxes charged to income during the year were \$68,903,288. The final report for the year ending June 30, 1905, showed a surplus of \$89,043,490. The amount of dividends declared in 1906 was \$34,248,605 more than that shown for the dividends of practically the same roads in 1905. This preliminary report, as already stated, relates to operating roads only, and does not include the statement of any dividends by leased lines from the income they received as rent. The dividends declared by subsidiary leased lines for the year 1905 were about \$35,750,000.

Accidents

The total number of casualties to persons on the railways for the year ending June 30, 1905, was 95,711, of which 9,703 represented the number of persons killed and 86,008 the number injured. Casualties occurred among three general classes of railway employees, as follows: Trainmen, 7,990 killed and 29,853 injured; switch-tenders, crossing-tenders, and watchmen, 136 killed, 883 injured; other employees, 1,235 killed, 36,097 injured.

The number of passengers killed in the course of the year 1905 was 537 and the number injured 10,457. In the previous year 441 passengers were killed and 9,111 injured. The total number of persons other than employees and passengers killed was 5,805; injured, 8,718. The total number of casualties to persons other than employees from being struck by trains, locomotives, or cars was 4,569 killed and 4,163 injured. The ratios of casualties indicate that 1 employee in every 411 was killed and 1 employee in every 21 was injured. With regard to trainmen—that is, enginemen, firemen, conductors, and other trainmen—it appears that 1 trainman was killed for every 133 employed and 1 was injured for every 9 employed.

In 1905 1 passenger was killed for every 1,375,856 carried, and 1 injured for every 70,655 carried. For 1904 the figures show that 1,622,267 passengers were carried for 1 killed, and 78,523 passengers were carried for 1 injured. For 1895 1 passenger was killed for every 2,984,832 carried, and 1 injured for every 213,651 carried.

II. Foreign Countries

A. GREAT BRITAIN

England is the birthplace of the iron horse. Steam transportation began about 1825. The profits of the early lines were so large that railway

stocks went to a premium of 100 per cent. And in consequence of this a mania for building railroads broke out in 1835, resulting in overconstruction, panic, and collapse.

No national plan of railway location was adopted. The English theory was private railways with competition and parliamentary regulation.

In 1844 a select committee, with Mr. Gladstone as its chairman and guiding spirit, went over the whole railway question and reported that rates were too high; that "competition between railway companies is likely to do more injury to them than good to the public"; that, on the other hand, monopoly in private hands was to be dreaded and guarded against, and that the government should reserve power to purchase the lines at reasonable cost after a given time. The next year the Gladstone bill known as the Cheap Trains Act was passed, providing: (1) for fares not exceeding two cents a mile at least on one train a day; (2) revision of the maximum rates; (3) certain powers for the Board of Trade in order to hold the railways to the law; and (4) the compulsory acquisition of the railways by the State, in the discretion of Parliament, at any time after twenty-one years from that date (1844) upon payment of "twenty-five times the annual divisible profits estimated on the average of the three then next preceding years."

Before the stated time arrived, however, railway earnings had grown so large, and railway influence had become so great, that the option of purchase was not exercised, tho the possible ultimate possession of the railways by the State has been kept steadily in view, every railway act since 1844 being made subject to the Gladstone law of that year and the option therein contained.

The English railway rates are on the whole far higher than on the Continent or in the U. S., the average ton-mile rate being estimated at two cents and a half and the average passenger rate at about two cents and one-quarter. Considering actual rates instead of averages, taking the charges for similar services over the same distances, Acworth says "the English rates are the highest in Europe, but are not so high on local traffic as the rates in the U. S."

The English freight rate includes collection and delivery, loading and unloading, and to a large extent insurance also. Moreover, the traffic on the English roads is in small consignments and is carried and delivered with promptness, so that

Rates

it is no wonder their ton-mile rate is higher than ours, especially when we remember that our average haul is very much greater, and that cut rates and secret rebates, bringing the receipts below the published tariff, do not exist in England to anything like the extent they are practised here. These things help to explain why the English ton-mile rate is more than three times the American average of .78 of a cent, which is largely due to our discriminations and enormous wholesale shipments of cheap goods for immense distances.

As compared with rates in Germany and Belgium, English rates are very high, and there has been for many years a constant agitation for reduction. In passenger rates some concessions have been made, but in freight rates on the whole no reduction has been made for over thirty-five years. The roads unite and agree upon railway rates and regulations, which are not departed from except on notice to the other roads. Some

managers say there has been no competition as to rates for forty or fifty years, with the exception of a rate war now and then of limited duration and extent, when some new line was opened. There is competition in service, but no competition in rates, and the effort to secure fair rates by legislation has not been successful.

The joint committee of 1872, one of the ablest committees that ever sat in England, reviewed the forty years' effort at legislative regulation of railroads, and concluded that aside from some moderate success in securing safety, English railroad legislation had never accomplished anything it had sought to bring about, nor prevented anything it had sought to hinder.

The cost of the practically useless mass of 3,300 enactments had amounted to nearly \$400,000,000—an enormous price to pay for the discovery that regulation did not regulate. In 1873 another law was passed establishing a railway commission with power to fix through rates, enjoin discriminations, and give damages to persons injured by railway violation of law. In 1881 a new committee investigated the workings of this act, and found that rates were still too high and discriminations still prevailed. In 1888 another law was enacted strengthening the power of State control and ordering a revision of the rates. Millions of railroad rates were put into the crucible of reduction. The inquiry lasted 130 days, and the official minutes occupied 3,926 pages, and in the end the railroads got the best of it, for in return for every rate that was reduced they succeeded in lifting the legal level of one and a half rates above the former tariff, and a little later advanced their rates so that their total charges were lifted considerably above the totals before the revision of 1888. In consequence of this another law was passed in 1894 giving the commission power, on proof of the unreasonableness of any increase since 1892, to order a return to former rates.

Complaints of extortion and discrimination still pour in upon the Board of Trade, which has only conciliatory powers, and upon the commission, which has power of injunction, fine, and imprisonment. The Board of Trade has received over 3,200 complaints since 1888, nearly all of them involving some element of discrimination either directly or indirectly. And the secretary of the Traders' Association asserts that numerous as are the complaints made to the Board of Trade, their association gets ten complaints to one that goes to the board. Shippers as a rule are afraid to fight the railways. And besides this the great bulk of discriminations are not known to any one whose interest it would be to make complaint.

The morals of English railways are by no means so lofty as their rates. The absence of conscience was noted very early in their history, and the condition has become chronic. The railways have always had great influence in Parliament. The landowners who owe so much to the railways and are so largely interested in them constitute a large portion of both Houses.

The railways still have a large number of their directors in Parliament and others who are large shareholders. They cannot, of course, control legislation completely, but have sufficient influence to keep Parliament from passing any drastic legislation, and to secure such modification or amendment of anti-railroad bills as may make them comparatively innocuous.

The British railway capitalization stands at \$326,000 a mile for England and Wales, and \$270,000 a mile for the whole United Kingdom, the highest national average in the world.

The secrecy of English accounts is such that less is known about the inside workings of the roads than in any other country. In many ways, except on the best through routes, the service is not up to the standard of the railways in our northern and western states, nor to the service on the German roads.

The principal lesson of English railway history is that powerful railroad interests left in private control cannot be satisfactorily regulated by law. No government in the world has tried harder to control a private railway system in the public interest. For over sixty years the English Parliament has striven to secure safety, to stamp out discrimination, prevent excessive charges, and control the exercise of railway power. The result is a degree of safety superior indeed to ours, but by no means equal to that attained by the State railways of Germany and Belgium; discriminations and excessive rates are still in abundant evidence, and a general dissatisfaction so great that Acworth, the classical English writer on railway subjects from the railway standpoint, corresponding to Professor Hadley in this country, told the writer a few months ago that "nine out of ten people in Great Britain would vote for public ownership of railways if the question were submitted to a vote to-morrow." This testimony is especially weighty from the fact that Acworth himself is not a believer in public ownership, but on the contrary is practically identified with the best corporation view of things in England.

Among the difficulties in legislative control of railways that are often overlooked are: (1) That, as Acworth says, "For every shilling cut by an expeditious tribunal off a rate it is easy for the railway companies to withdraw two shillings' worth of facilities. (2) For a merchant or farmer to undertake to fight trained railway experts with a lifetime's experience and with every fact and figure at their fingers' ends is only to court defeat. (3) Even when a decision goes against a road it is easy for it to retaliate by measures which no control can prevent unless it were prepared to take upon itself the entire responsibility of the detailed management of the line."

"We do not like to quarrel with a railway company," said a large manufacturer, "and this very fact goes far to nullify any legislation that may be advanced for the protection of the public against the companies."

B. BELGIUM

The railroad history of Belgium is in vivid contrast with that of England. The first railways were built by the State, beginning in 1833 and opening the first line in 1835. The government laid out the roads on the broad lines of a carefully considered national system of transportation on plans drawn up by George Stephenson, who was employed by the government as being the greatest railway engineer of the age. After the principal routes had been occupied by the State railways, concessions were granted to private companies for branch and connecting lines and later for lines that came naturally into competition with the government roads.

For twenty years, from 1850 to 1870, the

government pursued the policy of a State system in competition with private railways, the only kind of competition that does not lead to combination against the public. The companies consolidated into powerful systems and the competition between the public and private roads was very earnest. The government began the main battle in 1856 by making great reductions in rates. A system of special rates was introduced, with the result that both traffic and receipts increased in an astonishing ratio. In 1861 the reductions were extended, and a regular sliding scale of charges, decreasing according to distance, was put in force, being applied at first to the lowest and roughest class of goods. The result was an immediate increase of 72.4 per cent in the tonnage of the goods on which the reductions applied, and the entire traffic rose 11.6 per cent. The increase of traffic in the half year was equivalent to the average increase of three years preceding.

The next year the low sliding rates were extended to all goods of the third class and a reduced scale was put in operation for the second class. The increase of tonnage in the eighth year of the experiment was 106 per cent. This increase was practically on the same mileage, as only about thirty miles had been added to the State lines.

In 1870, after twenty years' experience with public and private roads, side by side, the government decided to take over the private lines. Large purchases were made in 1871-73, and by 1874 the government had one half the railways in the country; in 1880 it had two thirds; in 1885 it had three fourths; and in 1905 it had over seven eighths of all the railways, and the only remaining line of any great importance will be taken over as soon as the franchise expires.

The financial results were unsatisfactory at the start. For the first fifteen years there was a deficit. After that the roads began to make a profit, and by 1872 the profit on the State lines was 6 per cent on the total expenditure to date. In 1882 the profit on the State lines was 5.62 per cent, and 5 per cent on private lines. The profits now are 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The total expenditure on the roads operated by the State has been \$429,000,000, the receipts \$1,042,690,000, and the profits \$251,000,000.

The direct financial gains constitute the smallest part of the benefits the State railways have conferred upon the country. The government has always treated the question of earning a profit as entirely secondary to the development of industry, the promotion of prosperity, and the service of the public. The policy has been to use the surpluses for reducing rates, extending the lines, and increasing facilities. If the indirect financial benefits and contributions to the general prosperity due to the wise policy of the government roads could be calculated and added to the direct financial gains, it would be found that the State railways had returned to the people in money values many times their cost, to say nothing of the moral, political, social, and civilizing values of an honest, open, enlightened, public-spirited management of the public highways.

Discrimination between individuals is unknown. Complete publicity is secured under State ownership and secret rebates or other unfair practices are impossible. No serious trouble with the "patronage" or other political difficulties have been experienced. There have been complaints at

times about the lack of cars, the running of trains, etc., but "nothing which will compare with those constantly made both in Great Britain and in America."

President Hadley, of Yale University, who is opposed to government ownership, says: "In judging the railroad policy of Belgium by its results, all must unite in admitting that they are in many respects extraordinarily good. What their averages are, we have already seen. The passenger rates are lower than anywhere else in the world, except, perhaps, on some East Indian railroads. The freight rates are much lower than anywhere else in Europe. Nominally they are about the same as in the United States."

C. FRANCE

France did not adopt either the competitive theory of England or the State system of Belgium, but a sort of quasi-partnership between private companies owning and operating the roads, and the government contributing funds, guaranteeing dividends, exercising extensive supervision and control, providing for State participation in surplus profits, and reserving rights of purchase and revision on terms generally regarded as advantageous to the public.

The development of the French system was very slow. While England and Belgium, Germany and the United States were building railways, France was trying to overcome the inertia of private capital and reason out a proper plan of procedure in a long series of debates, 1833 to 1842, especially in the last six years of that period.

Nothing was settled till 1842, almost a decade after Belgium began to build her State lines. Then the government took the lead. A plan proposed by Thiers was adopted. A national railway system was to be built, the State undertaking the earthworks, masonry, and stations, and providing one third of the land. The departments (corresponding to our states) were bound to pay by instalments the other two thirds of the land cost, and the companies were to lay down the rails, maintain the permanent way, and find and work the rolling-stock. After forty years the whole was to revert to the State.

Nine great lines (seven radiating from Paris and two provincial) were laid out by first-class engineers on a carefully considered national plan, avoiding parallel lines and waste of capital. Public confidence was won. Roads were built, shares rose to 50 per cent premium, and by 1848 a total of 1,092 miles had been opened. The crisis of 1847-48 compelled the government to assume the operation of several of these roads in order to prevent the complete cessation of traffic.

Under Napoleon III. the railways were consolidated into six great systems, each with a distinct territory; their charters were prolonged to ninety-nine years from the date of the extension, and a complete system of government regulation and audit was provided. The amalgamation policy, extension of franchises, etc., stimulated railway building, and from 1851 to 1857 the railway mileage rose from 2,124 to 4,475 miles, or more than doubled. The building had been too rapid, and the panic of 1857, known as "the railway crisis of 1857," was the result. Construction practically ceased, and it did not revive even after the panic had passed. The companies had built the lines that gave promise of large profits. Each had a monopoly in its own district and did

not feel called upon to put out branch lines to develop outlying business, which must prove less profitable than the through traffic or the local business of the more populous routes their railways followed. This district monopoly is the main characteristic of the French railway system. England represents the theory of private competition and government regulation. The French idea is private monopoly and government regulation.

In 1883 new conventions with the big companies were made. The companies agreed to build 6,900 miles of new lines. The State agreed to pay for the new roads by annual instalments of about thirteen millions each for seventy-four years, or about the middle of the twentieth century, when the whole system reverts to the State. The distinction between old lines and new was given up; the State guaranteed each company a minimum dividend equal to the amount it had paid in preceding years; and the State's share in the profits was advanced from one half to two thirds of the amount available for dividends beyond certain high percentages fixed in the agreements. The minimum dividends guaranteed and the quasi-maxima beyond which the State comes in for a share are as follows:

	Guaranteed minimum per cent	High line beyond which State shares ex- cess
Northern Railroad.....	13.5	22.1
Mediterranean Railroad.....	11.	15.
Orleans Railroad.....	11.1	14.4
Southern Railroad.....	10.	12.
Western Railroad.....	7.7	10.
Eastern Railroad.....	7.1	10.

At every step the railroads compelled the government to accord them some great advantage in return for the development of railway facilities required in the interest of the public. In 1842 they exacted a subsidy, in 1852 an extension of franchise, in 1859 a guaranty of interest on bonds, in 1883 a guaranty of dividends on stock.

Yet the companies are not happy, because the government keeps such a strict watch over them and insists on "prying into their private affairs." Every time-table and every tariff has to be approved by the minister of public works before it can go into effect. The government fixes maximum rates subject to the approval of the minister and the companies make whatever rates they please up to the maxima, which are very high—considerably above the actual rates the companies care to make in most cases. The minister must approve or reject a tariff as a whole. He has no initiative as to rates nor any detailed power of modification. He can recommend the changing of specified rates in any tariff proposed by a company, but cannot require the company to adopt his suggestions. If he refuses to accept a new tariff the old one continues in force.

The minister controls the location of new lines. He must approve all plans and may modify them at pleasure, and construction is not accepted till passed upon by the State engineers.

In no other country has so complete a system of public control and supervision of railways been developed, and yet the public is very much dissatisfied with the railways. No country, except

Italy, is so full of railway complaints and of agitation for State ownership.

The International Company, corresponding to our Pullman Company, pays the railways 1.6 cents a mile for hauling its sleepers. It is the other way round with us, for our railways pay the Pullman Company $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 cents a mile for the privilege of hauling the sleepers.

Another curious fact is that the French railways not only carry the mails free, but haul the government postal cars for .6 of a cent a mile while charging the Sleeper Trust 1.6 cents a mile. With us the railways pay the Sleeper Trust $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 cents a mile and charge the government in many cases as high as 5 to 7 cents a mile for hauling railway postal cars in addition to excessive charges on the mail itself.

The French rates are very high, and, except on the best through trains, the service is very poor, according to our standards. In spite of the monopoly each road possesses in its district, all the big companies have agreed on passenger rates. The average passenger-mile rate is 34 per cent higher than in Germany, altho the average haul in France is about 30 per cent longer, so that the rate ought to be lower instead of higher. Large numbers of working people in Germany, nearly half the low-rate travel, go on fares to which 60 per cent must be added to get the lowest French rate, that for third-class travel.

Freights are also higher in France. The average haul is 30 per cent greater in France than Germany, and yet the average rate per ton-mile is 10 per cent higher.

Opinions differ about the extent of discrimination. One railway manager says: "There is no such thing in France. The criminal law is very severe, and it would mean imprisonment. There were complaints of favoritism a dozen years ago, but there have been none in recent years." But very different ideas are expressed by representatives of shipping interests and others. Here are some of their statements: "The railroads hold manufacturers and merchants at their mercy. They favor the great, and put the burdens on the little fellows. The tariffs are full of special rates, and 80 or 85 per cent of these rates are made simply for some favored merchant or manufacturer. It is true that complaints are not made. The danger is great. Where is the merchant who dare undertake a campaign against the great companies?" The statement of M. Cawes (vol. iv., p. 136, of the "Cours d'Economie Politique") is said to be still true: "The benefit of reduced tariffs is accorded upon secret approaches and solicitations; the companies dispense at their will industrial prosperity and ruin."

The history of the State lines in France illustrates the excellent results that government management has achieved with roads wholly unsuccessful in private hands. The French Government undertook an exceedingly difficult task when it nationalized the Southern lines. The roads were bankrupt. They were badly located, in a poor region left by the Orleans and the Western roads because regarded as undesirable. For a long time the State system did not have any line to Paris. The State system lacks the big interests, the mines, the wine trade, etc., that so materially aid the income of the companies. And it has no great artery, national or interurban, between great cities. Yet, with all these difficulties,

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the State lines have made a wonderfully good record. Both freight and passenger rates are considerably lower on the State lines than on the private roads for similar distances and traffic. Even the average rates per ton-mile and passenger-mile have been lower than the company average nearly all the time since the government took the roads. The State adopted from the start the policy of reducing rates as fast as possible, while the companies for many years maintained their rates substantially unchanged. In the first dozen years the government reduced freight rates 25 per cent and passenger rates 36 per cent, and the same policy has been continued to the present time. Yet the State has made a good profit because the business has developed greatly with the lowering of rates. The receipts per mile on the State lines rose 40 per cent in the first ten years, while the company's receipts per mile remained practically stationary. From 1884 to 1900 the receipts per mile rose 49 per cent on the State system and less than 8 per cent on the company lines, while the net earnings rose 139 per cent for the State road and only 10 per cent for the companies. (*Journal Official*, 1901, Ch. Annexes, Session Extraordinaire, p. 1125.)

The State put in more comfortable cars, was the first to heat cars of the third class, and the first to use steam from the locomotive for this purpose. This method was still an experiment in France in 1902, tho it had already been successfully used in Germany for a long time. The State roads are more democratic than most of the companies, carrying all classes on its express trains and giving third-class passengers better accommodations in every way. Care and safety are greater also on the government roads, as statistics abundantly prove. If brilliant and massive results are desired, the State system must be enlarged. But in the difficult sphere to which it has been confined, hedged about with limitations by nature and convention, it has done all and more than could have been expected of it, with its enlightened rate policy, its progressive initiative, its amelioration of the conditions of labor, and its fine record as to safety.

It is beyond question that the sentiment in favor of State operation is growing in France; that it is now regarded by many as the principal question before the country; and that action is probable at no very distant date if a way can be found that does not involve too much financial risk.

D. GERMANY

The first railways in Germany were private. In Prussia, whose history is of the most importance to us, railway building was left to private enterprise till 1848, the government assisting in some cases by investing in stock or guaranteeing a minimum of interest on the stock.

The period 1848 to 1862 was characterized by the building of State roads. Then came an era of speculation, 1863-77, during which many private roads were constructed. In 1878-79, after long experience with both public and private railways, a definite and final decision was reached in favor of State roads, and from that time on, by purchase and construction, the government has added to its railway system till now it has about nineteen twentieths of the total mileage, and it is only a question of time when it will have the other twentieth. In every one of the twenty-six states of the German nation the railways are

either wholly, or almost wholly, in the hands of the government—30,520 miles out of a total of 33,070 being public roads and only 2,456 miles operated by private companies.

Commercial interests favored public operation of railways. In 1872, four years before Bismarck formed his national railway policy, the German Handelstag, representing the united chambers of commerce, petitioned for government management of all the railways to secure greater unity and efficiency and to stop the abuses of the private railways.

As in America so in Germany, overconstruction of railways on speculative ventures was a main cause of the crisis of 1873. It was substantially a railroad panic. The same

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year Lasker, a member of the Prussian Parliament, made serious charges in relation to the private railways.

An investigation was ordered. The commission held fifty-six sittings, and the evidence and conclusions fill a thousand big quarto pages. The moral rottenness of the private railroads was fully exposed—the political pressure they used to get their franchises; the conscienceless discriminations they practised between persons and places; the arbitrary use of industrial power to build up one and tear down another; the absence of any effort to make rates either absolutely or relatively reasonable, except so far as public control may intervene; the abuse of power for private purposes; the utter disregard of the public interest wherever it conflicted with the private interest of the railways—all these tendencies or laws of action were revealed and masses of facts in relation to them brought to light. The commission reported in favor of an exclusive system of State railways, saying that it could not be realized at once, but "on economic considerations" and other grounds "such a system is the final goal to be striven for."

In 1874 Albert von Maybach became the head of the Government Railway Department. He was a man of great energy and resource, and thoroughly convinced that the unification and socialization of the railways was industrially and politically wise. He and Bismarck, the chambers of commerce, and other business interests worked together for this end. Political and commercial forces joined in the movement. The railway question in the seventies was the principal question in Germany, as it was till 1906 in Italy, and for a number of years preceding the referendum of 1898 in Switzerland, and is to-day in France and America.

State ownership was advocated mainly on economic and political grounds, military considerations being advanced also, but with nothing like the stress laid on the economic arguments.

It was urged that the railways should be managed solely in the public interest, and as a unit; that railways are frequently needed where they will not pay and where private enterprise will not build them; that, on the other hand, private enterprise wastes capital and labor, building unnecessary roads and running unnecessary trains; that the irregularity of private railway construction causes serious injury to industry, helping to bring on industrial and financial disturbance and ceasing just when its continuance is most needed for industrial relief; that the government alone can draw up a consistent plan of railway building, to extend through many years and to be executed gradually with due regard to the public

well-being, and find it even more profitable to push construction in times of depression.

The opposition was powerful. Objections were vigorously urged—substantially the same objections that are made in America to-day—that so great an extension of government employment would be dangerous; that political abuses would result; that sectional strife would paralyze the railroad system; that in the absence of competition the State roads would become non-progressive and inefficient; that private initiative and individual liberty were essential (meaning private initiative for private profit as distinguished from private initiative in public service), etc., etc.

In his great speeches in the Prussian Parliament Bismarck bore down all objections by appealing to experience with State railways in Prussia and other German states (some of which owned practically all their railways), and emphasizing the fact that State railways "served the public interest," and, "as a secondary consideration, aid the public treasury," while "it is the misfortune of private railways" that public highways and public functions "are exploited in behalf of private interests and private pockets."

The argument for State ownership submitted to the Prussian Parliament in 1879 by the cabinet, along with bills granting the power and means necessary for the purchase of four important railway systems and the extension of the State lines, is one of the most important railroad documents in the world.

Parliament gave the administration authority to purchase the principal private railways, passing the bill by a vote of 226 to 155, and the roads were bought. The government had a right to take the roads at twenty-five times the average net earnings for the preceding five years, but it preferred to come to an agreement satisfactory to the owners rather than to take the railways by compulsory process. Before negotiations were entered into with the companies, however, they were given to understand that it was for their own interest not to make exorbitant demands, as in that case the government would apply to them some of that competition they so much admired.

The companies got full value plus, and the State made an excellent bargain; for the economies effected under State management "enabled the government to make a net profit of 1 per cent on the purchase" above the interest paid on the consols exchanged for the stock and on the 4½ per cent bonds of the companies which were transferred to the government.

Some of the principal results of public ownership and operation are as follows:

1. The abuses so much complained of under the private system do not exist in Germany. Unjust discrimination has ceased. There is absolutely no favoritism in the German railroads. Shippers are treated with perfect impartiality.

There are no free passes except for employees on railway business. Even the minister pays his fare, and the emperor, too. There are no secret rebates or open concessions, by commissions, elevator allowances, or mileage graft in private cars, no midnight tariffs, terminal railroad abuses, or expense-bill tricks, no underbilling frauds or classification favors, no fostering of trusts and monopolies, no long- and short-haul injustices, no basing-point system, no watered securities or

gambling in railway stocks, no railway wars, no wasteful construction of competitive railways, no refusal to construct needed lines in rural districts, no disregard of safety nor postponement of public interest to private profit in any way, no excessive transportation charges on the postal service, no railroad rulers levying their private taxes on the commerce of the country, no railway nullification, evasion, or defiance of law, no railroad lobbyists either inside or outside of legislative bodies at the national capital or the state capitals seeking to corrupt or pervert legislation, no railway battles in the courts, no railroad senators.

2. Political influence does not enter into the administration nor into the employment of the men. The spoils system is unknown in Germany. No member of Parliament can get a friend or constituent work on the State railways through political influence. The man must be thoroughly fit and must prove his fitness by undergoing the civil-service tests, like any other candidate for employment. Even the minister cannot override the civil-service rules, nor can the emperor himself disturb the impartiality and efficiency of railway organization by the infusion of political influence into appointments.

President Hadley says that political difficulties have not been experienced in the administration of the Prussian railways, which he thinks "is chiefly due to the superb organization of the Prussian civil service." Prof. B. H. Meyer, one of the highest railroad authorities, especially in matters relating to foreign railways, and head of the Transportation Department in Wisconsin University School of Economics till 1905, when Governor La Follette called him to the Railway Commission of Wisconsin, says: "In the invidious American sense of the word, the Prussian railways are most emphatically not in politics. There are no paid lobbyists, no subsidized newspapers, no partizan publication bureaus, no 'rake-offs.'"

3. The German railway management is the most enlightened and efficient in Europe. This is the opinion of the large majority of all railway authorities in Europe, and many think the German management is the best in the world.

The safety attained on the German roads is one of their strongest titles to respect. We kill more people on our roads every week than are killed on the German roads in a year. Taking the averages per million for our railroads and those of Prussia, we find that the railways of the United States kill over six times as many and injure twenty-five times as many passengers as the Prussian roads, while our rate of employees killed is more than three times and of injured twenty times that of Prussia.

The management of the German roads is very progressive. Nowhere in the world is technical education carried to a higher point than in Germany, and nowhere else is technical training, so insisted upon as a condition of entering the railway service.

Expert engineers are constantly at work devising improvements, and commissioners are sent all over the world in the search for new ideas and methods.

Altho a large profit is realized on the State railways, this is not the first aim of the management, but is regarded as subordinate to the efficient service of the public and the development of industry. And so well has this primary

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purpose been fulfilled that the railway policy has been a very large factor in the astonishing industrial development of modern Germany, which has won the admiration of the world.

The profits of the German railways are very large, amounting to one third of the total receipts, and the net annual profits for the last ten years, after covering interest, depreciation, extensions, improvements, and sinking funds, have averaged between 5 and 6 per cent on the total cost.

The German railways treat their employees well; take every reasonable precaution against killing or maiming them; carefully avoid overworking them; pay them excellent wages according to the general wage level in Germany; pension them when their working-days are over, and make provision for their widows and orphans, and give them a share in the management of the roads through their right to help elect the representatives who finally determine the policy of the railways and the conditions of the railway service.

The crowning glory of the Prussian railway management in the employment department is a civil-service system. The higher employees must have a university education or graduate from a technical school before they take the State examinations for the railway service. Construction men, engineers, etc., must take a thorough technical course and then pass two State examinations, and before they take the second of these examinations they must have been in practise a number of years, eight to ten years' successful practise in private employment being the ordinary basis for the second examination. So the State railways get the cream of the technical skill of the country.

The Germans believe that whoever owns and operates a country's transportation system virtually owns the country; and that the public highway should be managed for the public benefit and not for private profit. This is the keynote of their railroad philosophy.

E. SWITZERLAND

Until the twentieth century the railways of Switzerland were in private hands. Now all the principal lines are owned and operated by the government except the St. Gothard, which is to be taken over in a few years when the franchise conditions permit.

The question of State purchase was first submitted to the people on a referendum vote in Dec., 1891, with the following result: For purchase, 130,500; against purchase, 290,000. In Feb., 1898, the question of national ownership of railroads was again submitted, a referendum being taken on an act providing for government purchase of the five main railroad lines of Switzerland (the Jura-Simplon, the Northeast, the Central, the Union, and the Gothard), with nearly four fifths of the total mileage of the country, or 1,758 miles, against 480 miles for all the rest of the roads ("secondary railways") combined. The question had been long and bitterly discust. The arguments pro and con had been thoroughly considered. This second vote was as follows: For national purchase, 384,382; against purchase, 176,511.

The most vital railroad abuses we suffer from were practically unknown in Switzerland. There was no fraudulent stock, no rebate system, no railroad lobby at the national capital. The best informed authorities in the universities, and even Dr. Zemp, the minister of railways, never heard

of a case of discrimination; and political corruption had been very rare.

The battle was fought on the broad principle of the superior social, economic, and political value of public ownership of public utilities as compared with private ownership even when honest and efficient.

The opposition was very strong, but it did not spend its strength wholly in argument, by any means. Tremendous pressure was brought to bear wherever possible to prevent men from signing the petition for the referendum. It was even charged that foreign money was used to defeat both the petition and the affirmative vote at the polls, and that paid agents were employed to propagate the opposition. In some states or cantons even the influence of the State government was thrown against the measure.

The railway referendum petition was signed in a short time by 85,000 voters, 55,000 more than were necessary, or nearly three times the needful number.

Under the provisions adopted by government resolution in 1852 and substantially incorporated in the railway charters of that and subsequent years, the Federation might take the railways at stated times (the thirtieth, forty-fifth, sixtieth, etc., years of the franchise) on giving three years' notice, and paying twenty-five times the average net profits for the ten years preceding the announcement of purchase, or the construction value, whichever rule produced the larger sum in any case, deduction being made for any sum necessary to bring the road up to standard condition.

An agreement was reached with the Central in 1900, with the Northeast and Union in 1901, and with the Jura-Simplon in 1903. When the State took the control as little change as possible was made in the staff or the ranks of employees. The four railway systems were coordinated, including nearly the whole of the primary railways, in a one-government system. The Gothard is not to be taken over until 1909. Notice of purchase was given the road in 1904, and negotiations were opened with the subsidizing countries—Germany and Italy—to secure an agreement with them.

The service on the Swiss railways will not compare favorably with ours. Neither will their stores and factories for the most part, but the government railway service is better than the company service was in Switzerland.

The third-class cars, in which the bulk of the people ride, are cleaner and the speed is better than in many parts of France, and they are heated from the engine instead of using the hot-water bottles so common in third-class French and English cars.

Local conditions account for the fact that rates are high in Switzerland, not so high as they were under the company régime, but still higher than those in use in most other countries.

The average ton-mile rate on goods traffic was 2.84 cents under the companies just before the transfer, and 2.64 cents in 1903, the first year of complete public management. These

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rates are high, but it must be remembered that they include the express; that Switzerland is a nest of mountains; and that the soil is poor, the resources small, and the traffic light. Remember, too, that there are no rebates or secret rates in Switzerland to cut down the average rate.

The average passenger rate was 1.54 cents a mile under company management and 1.35 cents

under public management. The third-class rates, on which about nine tenths of the people ride, average only a shade over a cent a mile (1.12 cents). Commutation tickets are sold for $\frac{1}{2}$ of a cent a mile third class, and tickets for working men and school children are $\frac{1}{3}$ of a cent a mile (1 cent a mile second class and $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents if you want to go first class, which is entirely unnecessary, as the other cars are very comfortable). Circular tickets are sold at low rates for touring the country. Monthly tickets can be had allowing you to travel without limit on any of the railways of Switzerland at \$11 third class, \$15 second, and \$22 first. For a six months' ticket you pay \$45, \$59, or \$104, according to class.

F. ITALY

Italy transferred her railways from private to public management July 1, 1905.

In the earlier years of railway development Italy tried various plans. The State built some roads and bought others. It tried State management, but on a small scale and under bad conditions. Down to the eighties most of the roads were owned and operated by private companies. Then came a period of State ownership with private operation under contracts reserving to the government more than a quarter of the gross receipts and providing for the annual payment of specified amounts per mile to reserve funds for renewal of track and rolling-stock.

From 1859 to 1870 the principal railways of Italy consolidated into four main systems—the Upper Italian, the Roman, the Eastern, and the Sicilian. The latter becoming bankrupt, the government had to choose between giving up the development of that part of the country or taking the railroads. In 1870 it chose the latter alternative, adopting State ownership of these lines with operation by a company receiving a percentage of gross receipts, the State paying all expenses and realizing a handsome deficit each year. In the seventies the government entered into contracts for the purchase of the Roman, Eastern, and Upper Italian systems, with the idea of State operation, but financial difficulties prevented the completion of the purchases until 1882. In 1876 the parliamentary idea turned toward private operation either by companies, paid by the government, it also paying the expenses and taking the risk and the profit (if there should happen to be one), or by companies paying the State for the use of the lines and taking what might be left for themselves, or by companies operating under some sort of expense-dividing, sliding-scale, profit-sharing arrangement.

In 1878 the whole question was referred to a commission which reported in 1881 in favor of leasing the roads on a sliding-scale division of gross receipts between the government and the companies. It opposed State management for Italy for several reasons: (1) The necessary funds were not available. The government had not been able to complete its purchases. The Eastern road was still unpaid for. Some 3,000 miles of new road in addition to the 5,000 miles then open were required and had been voted in 1879, but the work was languishing for lack of funds. (2) Political conditions were not adapted to State management. Politics would corrupt the railways; changes in rates would be made to influence elections. Political difficulties had been already experienced with the State roads in Italy. (3)

State management appeared to be more costly than private, the percentage of expenses to receipts on the State railways of Belgium, Austria, etc., being higher than on the private systems.

The result was that contracts were made with two operating companies. The companies bought the rolling-stock owned by the State, and agreed to pay for ordinary repairs. For extraordinary repairs and renewals reserve funds were established. The State was to have about 28 per cent of the gross receipts and the companies 63 per cent or less if the receipts rose above a specified minimum. The contracts provided for low rates for agricultural products and for working men and school children, and stipulated that the railways should carry the mails free of charge. The term of contract was sixty years, with the right of termination by either party at the end of twenty years (1905) or forty years (1925).

The arrangement did not work well, and it worked worse and worse as time went on. The companies would not interpret the contracts liberally in the public interest, but insisted on the letter, and evaded even that. They disputed every point, and tedious litigation seemed to be specially delightful to them.

In 1906, the earliest date the government had a right to take the roads, Italy adopted State management, paying the companies for the rolling-stock and other movables. Recent witnesses state that the immediate or substantially immediate effects of the change were a decided improvement of the service, the running of trains more nearly on time than under the chronic and extravagant delays of the company régime, the raising of wages somewhat, the better treatment of employees generally, and the relief of commercial interests and of the public in general from the fear of railway strikes, which was a disturbing element under the company system.

G. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

In Austria railways were not encouraged until 1838. Then the government authorized railway construction, guaranteeing each railway a monopoly in its district for its charter term. The State also proceeded to build lines of its own on a large scale. The revolution of 1848 put the government in financial straits, and it sold most of the State railways to help the treasury. After 1866 the growth of the private railways was very rapid, owing to speculative building. The usual collapse followed. "The railway speculation which ended in the crisis of 1873," says a high authority, "was perhaps more recklessly carried on in Austria than anywhere else in the world, and resulted in very great distress."

In 1877 the government returned to the State-ownership policy, and by purchase and construction built up a considerable system of public roads. In 1885 Austria had 2,000 miles and the companies 6,000; and Hungary had 2,000 miles of State railway and 3,000 miles of private road—a total of 4,000 miles of State roads and 9,000 miles of private. The statements of 1905 (for the year 1903) show 7,297 miles operated by the government in Austria against 4,985 in the hands of companies, and 9,207 miles operated by the government in Hungary against 1,861 miles operated by companies—16,504 miles for the State and 6,846 for the companies.

It has been the policy of the government to reduce rates, especially passenger rates, in order

to stimulate intercourse and also to scatter the people of the capitals into the suburbs. The zone system, which produced such a wonderful increase of traffic that it has become world-famous and well deserves its celebrity, was first introduced in Hungary in 1889, and attained its highest success there.

Tickets are sold by zones, and are good for all stations within the same zone. The first zone runs from 1 to 15 miles, the next from 16 to 25 miles, and so on, the steps in making the bigger zones being longer, and beyond 140 miles all stations are included in the same zone. The rates are 10 cents third class on ordinary trains and 12 cents on express trains for each zone. If your journey takes you over 2 zones, as, from a station in zone 1 to a station in zone 3, you pay 20 cents (or 24 cents express). If you cover five zones you pay 50 cents (or 60 cents express), and you can go any distance for \$1.60 (or \$1.92 express). For local traffic special rates are made, 4 cents to the next station from where you are in the same zone and 6 cents to the second station.

For short distances the rate is about 1 cent a mile or less; for long distances it runs down to about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cent a mile. If we had the same rate here one could go from New York to Chicago for \$3 instead of \$20, and from New York to Philadelphia for 32 cents instead of \$2.50. We cannot expect so much reduction, of course, because costs are greater here, but that difference does not require six to eight times higher rates.

The zone rates, as compared with the previous rates in Hungary, caused a reduction in fares of 82 per cent on the longest distances and 50 per cent on the medium distances, 60 to 200 miles. The average reduction in the charges per passenger was about 50 per cent on the whole traffic, and the stimulus to travel was so great that the business much more than doubled the first year, as is shown in the table:

	Passengers	Passenger receipts
Aug., 1888, to July 31, 1889.....	5,684,845	\$3,800,000
Aug., 1889, to July, 1890.....	13,456,712	4,620,000

The simplification of the tariff was immense. Tickets are sold like postage-stamps at the post-office, hotels, etc.

In Austria also the zone system was an admirable success, but the rates were set too low at the start and some increase was necessary. The principal companies have also adopted the zone system under "soft pressure" from the government.

In addition to the zone tariff there is a system of excursion tickets and season tickets in books of 30 and 60 tickets each, at very low rates, amounting to about $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of a cent a mile in many cases third class, and 1.2 cents first class—600 miles of travel for example for \$2.68 third class and \$5.36 first class, 1,200 miles for \$4.80 third class and \$10 first class, etc. Large discounts are made on weekly tickets for working men.

The zone idea is not applied as a complete system to freight traffic, but the principle of tapering rates, or lower mileage charges for long distances, is in use, and special rates are made as in Germany and Belgium; and agriculture, education, etc., are encouraged by very low rates. The farmers can buy transportation stamps and bill their goods at home by a very simple system.

There are no free passes or rebates or unjust discriminations on the State roads, and the government control over the private railways is so strong and the inspection so thorough that there is little chance for favoritism in their management either. The efficiency of the railway management does not appear to be interfered with by political influence. Premiums are given to en-

gine-drivers, etc., for economy in fuel, etc., and to officers for getting locomotives out of repair shops quickly, so as to have them in service as continuously as possible.

The most interesting thing about the State roads is the purpose the management keeps in view. The Austrian minister of railways, in answer to a question as to purpose, said that they did "not aim at profit, but at the best possible service at reasonable cost." The Hungarian minister at the time the zone system was introduced with its great reductions in rates stated that the main reasons were "the economic and civilizing effects of such a reform." The government desired "the removal of the disadvantages attending long-distance travel because of its high cost, and the elimination of the element of distance so far as possible." The government aimed "to establish methods which would place the reduction within the reach of all and adapt them to the requirements of all classes of the entire population," and to adopt "a system that should contribute effectually to the development of traffic, and compensate, indirectly, for the sacrifice which the large reductions in the tariff would involve."

As it turned out, the anticipated financial sacrifice did not occur, but the fact that the motive was social, not financial, is none the less clear. The government policy is to use the railways as a means of civilization and unification. The civic and social benefits of such a policy can hardly be overestimated.

H. NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand nationalized her railways in 1870, and between \$60,000,000 and \$70,000,000 in land and money were appropriated for railway expansion and improvement in the next ten years. This for a community of 250,000 was a bold bid for development; equivalent in fact to an appropriation of \$18,000,000,000 or \$20,000,000,000 for public improvements in the United States to-day.

In 1887 a Conservative government, headed by Sir Harry Atkinson, put the railways in control of a commission or trust consisting of three members appointed by the governor for a five-year term and not removable except for misconduct. It was a commercial system, and its managers, during their five-year terms, were almost as much beyond the reach of the people as the managers of our private roads. The divorce between the people and their Parliament on the one hand and the railways on the other was complete.

The result was that the roads were run for profit; the rights of shippers and of labor were disregarded; even the public safety was poorly cared for, all for the sake of a pretty balance sheet. The commissioners were honest; there was no corruption, no secret rate-making or favoritism among shippers, no effort to make money for the managers themselves; but they looked at the roads from the standpoint of private business and the class interest of the big taxpayers so far as the making of a profit and the disregard of the people's wishes were concerned.

The Conservatives went out of power in 1890, and in 1893 the abolition of the commission was made an issue in the campaign, and the people, by an overwhelming majority, elected representatives pledged to put the roads under direct control of the minister of railways and the Parliament.

In 1894 this change was accomplished, and

since then New Zealand has had real public ownership and operation of her railways. Subject to excellent civil service regulations, and appeal boards that settle all difficulties between officers and employees, the roads are in the hands of the minister of railways and the general manager appointed by him, with the ultimate control in the elective government, which, in fact as well as in name, represents the whole people. The result is that the roads are no longer run for profit but for service.

The determination to give rate concessions as fast as the profits rise above 3 per cent has resulted in reductions of passenger fares and freight rates amounting, during the period of rising wages and general prosperity, from 1895 (when the roads came into public control) to 1902 (the last report at hand), to a sum equal to nearly half the total receipts in 1895, equivalent to \$500,000,000 of railway reductions in the U. S., where, in these same years of prosperity, the private railways have been raising their rates instead of lowering them. While reducing passenger fares and freight rates by what the minister justly calls "a stupendous amount to have been given away in concessions by way of (voluntary) reductions to the users of the State railways," reductions amounting in some cases to as much as 20 or even 40 per cent in a single year on large classes of traffic; while seeking thus to develop the industries of the country to the utmost, the management has greatly improved the service, and carefully adjusted the railways to industrial and social needs. Railway construction is arranged so as to be most vigorous in dull seasons, taking up the disengaged labor that might otherwise be unemployed, helping to balance and steady the market, and enabling the State to build its roads at lower cost than if construction were mainly carried on at times of industrial pressure and high prices. In the farmer's busy season work on the railways is slackened so that men can go to the farms in the harvest time when extra hands are needed there. The roads are used at cost or less to redistribute the unemployed and to settle the people on the land. The Railway Department works in harmony with the Labor Department in securing work for the workers, and men are carried to points where their labor is needed, and, if necessary, their fares are advanced, and they may pay them back to the government from their earnings when they are able. A definite effort is made to relieve the congested quarters of the cities and attract the tenement dwellers to suburban homes.

Working men's tickets in and out from the principal points are sold at two shillings a week, or twelve rides for forty-eight cents, within any ordinary reasonable distance. Working men going ten or twelve miles out, as many do, travel about three miles for a cent, or a four-cent fare each way.

The railways are used to aid the cause of education. Children in the primary grades are carried free to school. Older children pay \$2.50 to \$5, according to age, for a three months' season ticket up to sixty miles. This gives them a possible 120 miles a day for three to six cents, in round numbers, or twenty to forty miles for a cent. If a child goes in and out six miles each day, he rides twelve miles for three cents. Excursions for school children are arranged in vacation time at the rate of fifty cents for a hundred miles out and back—200 miles for fifty cents, or

four miles for a cent. For teachers and pupils above fifteen years of age the charge is \$1 for the same distance. The minister figures that the department loses on these trips at four miles for a cent, but he justifies the low rates for school and factory excursions on the ground that "from an educational point of view very marked and beneficial results must follow," thus subordinating the lower forms of wealth to the higher.

This New Zealand record is of great interest, not only for the admirable illustrations of railway usefulness under the rule of enlightened public spirit in the last few years, but also for the experience of former years under the commission management, showing that abnormal or fictitious public control, or control by officers representing a class interest and beyond the reach of the people, may lead to results in many respects quite similar to those attained by private ownership and operation, and directly contrary to the effects of public control representing the whole people.

For other countries, see those countries.

III. Railway Problems

The principal railway problems cluster about the ideas and principles represented by the following terms: Combination, Discrimination, Monopoly, Overcapitalization, Stock-Gambling, Railway Politics, Safety, Service, and Employees.

I. COMBINATION

The tendency of combination in the railway world is strong. There have been about 5,000 railway companies in the United States. More than half of them have disappeared; a few of the roads being abandoned and some reorganized with change of name, but most of them merged, consolidated, leased, or otherwise absorbed and made a part of some other system. There are now a little more than 2,000 companies, between 800 and 900 of which are reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission as "independent companies." Most of these "independent roads," however, are banded together in six great groups or families—the railways of each group being dominated by one little knot of capitalists. These groups are known as the Vanderbilt, the Morgan-Hill, the Gould-Rockefeller, the Pennsylvania, the Harriman, and the Moore groups. The Pennsylvania group includes 280 companies, with 19,300 miles of road. The Vanderbilt system extends from Boston to the Missouri River and the Dakotas, including 132 companies and 22,000 miles of line, equal to the entire railway system of Great Britain and Ireland. The Morgan-Hill group covers the continent from New York to the Pacific, with 240 operating companies and over 50,000 miles of road, or more than the whole of the railways of Germany, and more than the entire mileage of the United Kingdom and France together.

The six giant railway systems dominate together over 90 per cent of the vital railway mileage of the U. S. And these six vast aggregations are themselves by no means independent, but are intertwined, affiliated, and coordinated with each other by the interlocking interests of their owners, common holdings, and overlapping ownership of shares, interrelations of boards of direction, and various agreements and understandings.

The Vanderbilts have an interest and control in the Reading jointly with the Pennsylvania, and the Morgan people also retain some interest in it,

tho they no longer dominate it. On the other hand the Lehigh Valley is part of the Morgan cluster, but both the Pennsylvania and the Vanderbilts have an interest in it. Four Baltimore & Ohio directors represent the Pennsylvania road, four represent the Harriman group, and two are appointed to represent the State of Maryland. The Chicago & Northwestern, which is a Vanderbilt road, has on its board one of the leading Harriman men of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific boards. J. P. Morgan, head of the Morgan group, is a director in the New York Central, the controlling company of the Vanderbilt system. William Rockefeller, representing still another group, is also a director in the New York Central. George J. Gould, head of the Gould system, is a director in the Union Pacific and in the Southern Pacific, both of which belong to the Harriman group. E. H. Harriman, president of the Union Pacific & Southern Pacific, is on the board of directors of the Northern Pacific and of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, which are Morgan-Hill lines.

Mr. Moody, our highest Wall Street authority on trusts and combinations, says in his book, "The Truth About the Trusts":

The Pennsylvania Railroad interests are on the one hand allied with the Vanderbilts, and on the other with the Rockefellers. The Vanderbilts are closely allied with the Morgan group, and both the Pennsylvania and Vanderbilt interests have recently become the dominating factors in the Reading system, a former Morgan road, and the most important part of the anthracite coal combine, which has always been dominated by the Morgan people. Furthermore, the Goulds, who are closely allied with the Rockefellers, are on most harmonious terms with the Moores of the Rock Island system, and the latter are allied in interest quite closely with both the Harriman and the Morgan groups. . . . The dominating men in the Morgan group are also important factors in the Gould, Pennsylvania, and Moore groups; and the Rockefeller-Gould interests are represented to a greater or less degree in every group, and also in most of the "independent" allied lines. The whole aggregation thus makes up a gigantic "community of interest" or Railroad Trust, being allied together by most remarkable and intricate ties of interdependence and mutual advantage. While nominally controlled by 2,000 corporations, the steam-railroads of the country really make up a mammoth transportation trust, which is dominated by a handful of far-seeing and masterful financiers. . . . Not only do these financiers dominate their respective groups, but, as stated above, the most important of them, such as Rockefeller, Morgan, Harriman, Gould, and Vanderbilt, are interested in and more or less dominate all the groups, and in this way knit together the entire railroad system of the country into this greater "community" or "trust." The superior dominating influence of Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan is felt in greater or less degree in all the groups.

In the great railway groups and the stupendous Railroad Trust they are developing, the tendency is toward the concentration of control in fewer and fewer hands. Not only are railways absorbed by the wholesale, consumed more rapidly than they are produced, and the resulting systems gathered into enormous groups, but inside these systems and groups the movement is toward one-man power.

Already, as I am informed by a leading member of the U. S. Interstate Commerce Commission, half a dozen men can meet and practically determine the transportation rates for the country. And the forces of integration and industrial gravitation that have operated so powerfully in the past are not likely to stop even with this high degree of centralization.

"In Chicago," says Spearman, "the five men who in authority that is absolute are traffic directors of two thirds of the U. S. may be found almost every day within a few moments' walk of each other."¹

¹ "Strategy of Great Railroads," p. 163.

If these movements, the merging of railways into great systems, the gathering of these systems into giant groups, the interlocking and coalescence of these groups, and the progressive narrowing of control in each constellation of capitalists, continue to the limit, there will be in time a railway empire in this country dominated by a single man. The Railroad Trust may never reach this degree of concentration, but the most strenuous devotee of decentralization and compulsory competition must admit that the coming of such an aggregation, viewed from the standpoint of existing conditions and tendencies, cannot be deemed so unlikely as the present concentration would have seemed to railway men, statesmen, or economists fifty years ago.

Government consolidation does not bring these dangers. The consolidated railways are managed, as we have seen above, by men who are trustees for the people and responsible to them. In America the tendency is to weld the roads into an empire, a consolidation under a management responsible to a few gigantic stockholders, dominated at last perhaps by a single autocrat, a czar of all the railways.

The motives that impel men to build these giant combines by consolidation or coordination relate partly to the economies and transportation benefits of union, and partly to the personal profit and power of those who control the combines. The first motive and its consequences are in line with the public good. In so far as combination eliminates the wastes of conflict and secures the benefits of harmonious cooperation in the railway service, it is a gain to the community. But in so far as it conduces to the financial ascendancy of Wall Street and intensifies the commercial supremacy and industrial dominion of a few great capitalists, it is a political, industrial, and social danger. The railways united form a much more extensive interest than the government from an economic point of view; already they outrank our state governments and dominate the political affairs of sovereign commonwealths, and as a unit in the hands of a gigantic trust they might even overshadow and control the national government itself.

2. DISCRIMINATION

More than sixty different forms of railway favoritism are on record in the evidence brought out by various suits in our state and federal courts, and in hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission.

For a full account of these various forms of discrimination the reader must be referred to "The Heart of the Railroad Problem," published by Little, Brown & Co., of Boston. Only a few of the many kinds of railroad discrimination can be illustrated here.

One of the most prevalent discriminations is the charging of higher rates for a short haul than for a longer distance. A few cases will make the subject clear:

From Pittsburg to Colorado the rate on rails was found to be \$1.60, while the rate all the way through to San Francisco was only 66 cents. From Pueblo to San Francisco, 1,559 miles, the rate on bar iron and on rails was \$1.60 per hundred, while from Chicago to San Francisco, 2,418 miles, the rates were 50 cents on bar iron and 60 cents on rails; and even from New York to San Francisco the same rate of 60 cents was made for rails.

The Denver merchant pays \$2.24 per hundred on goods from Boston, while the same trains carry the same sort of goods all the way from Boston to San Francisco, a thousand miles farther west than Denver, for \$1 per hundred. In

other words, Denver pays over twice as much as San Francisco for two thirds of the distance.

Mr. Kindel has been driven out of the manufacture of upholstering goods and of spring beds in Denver because of similar differences. He also wished to manufacture albums in Denver, but was forced to locate in Chicago because the freight rate on books from Chicago to San Francisco was \$1.75 per hundred, and from Denver to San Francisco \$3, while the Denver manufacturer had to pay 97 cents freight on his raw material (paper, etc.) from Chicago to Denver—\$3.97 total against \$1.75 for the manufacturer located at Chicago.

Spokane supplies another illustration of place discrimination. For example, the dealer in paints and oils at Spokane must pay \$1.21 a hundred from Chicago against 90 cents from Chicago to Seattle, 250 miles farther west. The Spokane dealer pays \$93 more freight per car than the Seattle dealer pays for 250 miles more transportation.

The rate on bar iron from Chicago to Spokane is \$2.07 a hundred against \$1.25 to Seattle; iron pipe \$1 to Spokane, 50 cents to Seattle; lamps \$2.35 to Spokane, \$1.10 to Seattle; belting \$3.13 to Spokane and \$1.65 to Seattle; mining-car wheels \$1.26 to Spokane and 85 cents to Seattle; cottons \$1.75 to Spokane, 90 cents to the coast; soap (toilet) \$1.23 to Spokane, 75 cents to coast cities; wire and wire goods \$2.35 to Spokane, \$1.50 to the coast; sewing-machines \$2.25 to Spokane, \$1.40 to the coast; typewriters \$5.96 to Spokane, \$3 to the cities of the coast.

In general the rates from the East to Spokane are the through rates to the coast plus the local rates from the coast back to Spokane.

The preference which Tacoma, Seattle, etc., have over Spokane is about 80 per cent, which has proved quite sufficient to enable dealers on the coast to ruin some important business interests of Spokane.

Iowa supplies another excellent illustration of the grievous place discriminations practised by the railroads. Iowa's farmers are asking why they should have to pay 50 to 100 per cent more for shipping their products than the Nebraska farmers who live several hundred miles farther west.

In the South many complaints have been made of a railroad method called the "basing-point system," which rests on the same principle of discrimination in favor of competitive railway points that is in vigorous use in all sections of the country. The railroads name certain towns as distributing centers and competing points, fix the rates to and from these points, and make rates to and from other localities by adding to such through rates the local charges in force between the distributing centers, or "basing points," and said other localities.

The commission says, "Our annual reports to Congress and reported decisions in cases have uniformly condemned this distributing-center theory of rate-making, but the Southern carriers have resisted our efforts to correct the practise," and the courts have refused to compel them to obey the orders of the commission, holding that differences of condition created by the railroads themselves are insufficient to take the case out of the law, a ruling that practically destroys all the strength of the long-haul clause.

Rebates constitute another of the principal forms of railway discrimination. The word is used in railway literature in two different meanings. In the narrow sense it means a sum of money paid back to a favorite shipper as a refund upon his freight rate. In the broad sense it means any sort of favoritism—any concession or preference that accomplishes the same purpose as a refund on freight rate—any unjust discrimination that gives one shipper or certain shippers an unfair advantage over others.

Years ago, A. J. Cassatt, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, testified that in eighteen months the Standard Oil had received \$10,000,000 in rebates, and recently Secretary Garfield has reported to President Roosevelt that the Oil Trust is still receiving from the railroads large amounts in rebates.

Investigations by the Interstate Commerce Commission, Dec., 1901, and Jan., 1902, took the lid off of the dressed-meat business sufficiently to show that the Pennsylvania and Vanderbilt lines and other roads were giving the big packers discounts of five to seven cents a hundred from the published rates. These rebates of 15 to 30 per cent amounted to \$200,000 or \$240,000 a year on the Michigan Central, according to the traffic manager of that road, and Paul Morton, of the Santa Fé, when asked by Commissioner Clements, "Can you tell how much you paid in a year on this business? Have you any idea whether it is \$50,000 or \$100,000?" replied, "I think there was a great deal more than any sum you name paid out."

A Massachusetts legislative investigation of the Boston & Albany in 1900 revealed the fact that favored shippers were getting reductions of 10 to 73 per cent from the published rates, while others, some of them doing considerable business, got no discounts at all but paid the full tariff. The reductions from published rates averaged 40 per cent. The receipts per ton-mile on all classes of freight were less than one half the average of the published rates to the various stations on the road for the cheapest class of freight, viz., coal. And the lowest published local rate on coal was higher than the average rate on all commodities.

From time to time the railroads have declared that they had stopped rebates and discriminations. They said so in 1887 when the Interstate Commerce Act went into force; they told the commission the same thing in 1898 and at other times of special investigation; they took their oaths to it again in 1905; railroad presidents and managers by the car-load going to Washington to testify that since the Elkins Law took effect (Feb. 19, 1903) rebates and discriminations had ceased.

But James J. Hill and Victor Morawetz and other leading railroad men declared that rebates and discriminations had not ceased and never would cease. The Elkins Law did not even pretend to touch the multitudinous and grievous discriminations between places, a few examples of which have been given above, the great mass of discriminations by expense bill, classification, commissions, underbidding, fictitious claims, terminal tracks, icing charges, etc., went merrily on, and even the direct cash rebate remained in vigorous use, the testimony of railroad men to the contrary notwithstanding.

Governor La Follette unearthed more than \$7,000,000 of rebates in Wisconsin, a large part of which were of later date than the Elkins Law. In fact the total rebates paid the year after the Elkins Law went into effect were greater than the total for the year before. For example, the Northwestern Railroad jumped from \$212,075 rebates in 1902 to \$410,476 in 1903, mostly after the Elkins Law took effect (Feb. 19th). The officials of this road, like those of many other roads, had affirmed that rebates had ceased, but when the lid was taken off the facts did not agree with their statements.

The fact is that a much larger number of complaints of discrimination have been made to the Interstate Commerce Commission in the last few years, since the Elkins Law was passed, than in any equal period before.

The average number of complaints per year from 1887 to 1902 inclusive was 186, while the yearly average for 1903-5 is 534—more than double, nearly threefold in fact—and five sixths of the suits entered charge facts that constitute discrimination of serious character, and nearly all the rest involve discrimination in some form.

Private cars owned by shippers or car-line companies constitute another favorite means of discrimination. The railways pay the Standard Oil, the Armour Car Trust, and other owners of private cars mileage rates on their cars, which serve the same purpose as a rebate.

The earnings of an Armour refrigerator-car range from \$1 to \$2 a day from mileage alone, and the mileage payments even at \$1 a day are sufficient to pay the whole cost of the car in three years and its maintenance in the meantime.

A railroad pays twenty cents a day for every day it uses a car belonging to another railroad, but for a private stock car the railroad pays on an average sixty cents a day, and for a private fruit or dairy car it pays \$1 or more. Private stock cars in some cases net their owners 50 per cent a year on the invested capital, repaying the cost of the cars in two years, above operating expenses.

In addition to the mileage, the railroads pay the car-line commissions of 10 and 12½ per cent in some cases, repair the cars, bill shipments 25 to 30 per cent or more below their real weight, and issue annual passes to the owners and their agents.

With these advantages the owners of private cars are able to control a vast amount of business besides their own by offering a share of the mileage receipts and other inducements to large shippers. Having gained control of the refrigerator business the Armour car lines advanced the icing charges to ordinary shippers from 50 to 100 per cent, thus still further emphasizing the discrimination between big and little shippers.

Another method of preference without departing from published rates is the division of rates

with private terminal companies or mere switching roads, or roads existing only on paper.

Take for example the Hutchinson salt case (1903). There are sixteen salt-mills in Hutchinson, Kan., nine of which are combined in what is known as the Salt Trust. The rest are independent. The president of the Salt Trust was Joy Morton, brother of Paul Morton, who was head of the traffic department of the Santa Fé Railroad. The Salt Trust owns some switch tracks around the mills amounting in all to less than a mile of track. They incorporated this as a railroad company and asked for a division of rates. The Santa Fé gave the trust railroad 25 per cent of the through rates, equivalent to a rebate of fifty cents a ton on shipments to Missouri River points, so that the trust was enabled to drive the independents out of those markets and take their packing-house contracts away from them.

The Harvester Trust's works in Chicago have some Lilliputian switching railroads to which the big roads gave a 20 per cent division of rates so that the vest-pocket trust roads get about \$12 on an ordinary car for a switching service which, till the end of 1903, they performed at a charge of \$1 to \$3.50 per car.

The Illinois Steel Company, now owned by the Steel Trust, also has one of those railways which has a division of 10 per cent on business to New York and other seaboard points, 15 per cent to Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and other middle points, and 20 per cent on traffic to the Missouri River. These divisions amount to \$6 to \$12 a car for the switching service performed by the private road. Besides this, certain special divisions are made. On coke from the Connellsville region, for example, a division of 70 cents per ton is allowed. This gives the little switch road \$700 to \$1,000 for hauling a train of coke seven miles from Indiana Harbor to its plant in South Chicago, while the actual cost would not exceed one tenth of this sum.

The trust railroad in this case makes a net profit of 150 per cent a year upon its capital stock of \$650,000. How much the Steel Trust as a whole gets in this way through all the private railroads connected with its various plants is not known; but the commission says it is certainly a "sum sufficient to pay dividends on several millions of dollars of capitalization."

Other terminal railroad cases showing similar favoritisms are recorded by the commission. The fact appears to be that almost any shipper big enough to have a few hundred yards of switch track can get a rebate in the form of a division of rates. But some big shippers can get a much larger division than others, and some have not been able to get any division. Even the giants are not all treated with equal favor by any means.

Besides the kinds of discrimination above described, there are a great many other methods in vigorous use upon our railways, such as gifts of stock, tips on the market, elevator commissions, and compress fees; commissions to favored shippers as tho they were agents of the company to secure for it their own freight; salaries to favored persons as nominal employees, or fees for fictitious services; high salaries or commissions to a real traffic agent who will divide with the favored shipper; free cartage for certain shippers; free storage; unfair distribution of cars; delay of shipments; refusal of facilities or privileges accorded to others; special switches; extra speed; milling in transit rates; credit on payment of freight at destination; arbitrary routing of shipments; refusal to deliver at a convenient point; refusal to receive shipments from or to certain persons or places; false billing; underbilling weight; billing wrong number; false description; false destination; fictitious entries in the prepaid column of the freight bill; payment of fictitious claims for damage or overcharge; intentional mistakes in printing tariffs, a few copies being run off for favored shippers after which the "mistakes" are discovered and corrected for the ordinary shipper and the Interstate Commission; the "straw-man" fraud, or billing to a fictitious consignee in whose name the drawback is arranged when the goods are rebilled to the true consignee; the "expense-bill" system, or billing at reduced rates on the fiction of uniting the present shipment out with some former shipment in to get the

benefit of a through rate; unfair classification and unreasonable differences in the rates on different commodities; loans to dealers in consideration of shipments; guaranty by the railroad against loss upon shipments; excessive difference in the rates for large and small shipments, or for shipments in different form—barrels and tanks for example; favoritism in switching charges, demurrage, storage, etc.; direct overcharges; annoying and expensive litigation; carrying goods without any charge at all or any record of the transit. Mr. Davis, representing seventy fruit associations of Chicago, told the Senate committee (1905) that large amounts of freight are systematically shipped without any billing or paying of freight, and Commissioner Prouty says: "I knew some years ago that a whole train-load of wheat was transported from Minneapolis to Chicago for nothing. There was simply no record of that shipment on the books of the railroad."

Secrecy is the main defense of the rebate system. The motives for discrimination are strong, the power to discriminate is great, the methods are legion, and secrecy foils the commission and the law. Neither the railroads nor favored shippers will tell the truth as a rule even on the witness stand, and other shippers for the most part dare not testify against the railroads even when they chance to have definite evidence of violations of law.

There is nothing like our railway favoritism in any other country. Everywhere in Germany, Denmark, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, etc., I found the government railroads absolutely free from unjust discriminations. The same is true of the government roads in the Anglo-Saxon colonies of Australasia and South Africa. The reasons are that the main motives to discrimination are eliminated, that much fuller publicity is possible, and that railway managers are employed by an authority that is opposed to discrimination and will discharge them if they are found to be breaking the law, instead of being engaged by an employer that asks only for profit and will approve and promote the manager if he wins that, whether through discrimination and breach of the law or not.

Government roads are not in the hands of men whose economic interests and business ethics command secret discrimination and evasion of law, but in the hands of public managers who would be traitors to the business ethics of their position as well as to the law if they broke the law or tried to defeat or evade inspection and publicity.

3. FOSTERING MONOPOLY

Our railways foster monopoly directly and indirectly. By consolidation and combination they are building up numerous monopolies in the railroad field, and by concessions to favored trusts and combines like the Standard Oil, the Beef Trust, the Sugar Trust, etc., they help to build up vast monopolies in manufactures and commerce. The Standard Oil monopoly was directly created by railroad rebate. The Beef Trust is another excellent illustration of a giant monopoly that owes its creation to the fostering care of railway discrimination.

A distinguished railway officer writing in the *Outlook* says:

It is estimated that \$500,000,000 have been converted into the treasuries of various trusts since 1887 by means of rebates and other forms of favoritism, and that "present conditions

Secrecy

the ordinary shipper and the Interstate Commission; the "straw-man" fraud, or billing to a fictitious consignee in whose name the drawback is arranged when the goods are rebilled to the true consignee; the "expense-bill" system, or billing at reduced rates on the fiction of uniting the present shipment out with some former shipment in to get the

promise not an abatement but an expansion of the methods by which this diversion may continue."

The formation of vast industrial trusts began in 1872, when the anthracite coal combination was formed by an alliance of producers and carriers and when the interests which compose the Standard Oil Trust first began to work in harmony with each other and use the power of their railroad allies to clear the field of competitors. To-day there are 450 to 500 trusts, with an aggregate capitalization, including the railroad and other franchise trusts, of something like \$20,000,000,000. And still more trusts are forming and the limits of existing trusts are being extended and their interlocking interests increased and intensified. They are reaching out after the land, and the control of market, labor, and raw materials. They are establishing international relationships aiming to monopolize the globe in their lines of business. And they are joining hands with each other.

On the whole the situation seems to be this: The railways and other big franchise monopolies are coordinating with the great commercial combines into a gigantic machine controlled by a few financiers and created to manufacture or capture profit for them. Events are moving toward a consolidation of interests that will give a handful of capitalists practically imperial power through the vastness of their industrial dominions. There may be breaks in the movement, probably will be, but the integration of industry seems likely to continue in spite of strenuous efforts to prevent it by statutes and decisions. The Sherman Law and the antipool and anti-trust decisions have done nothing but change the forms and methods of union. So long as men are free to buy stocks and properties and may consult with each other and act upon their conclusions, combinations will go on.

And the railways are generally regarded as forming the basis of the structure, or a large part of it. I have met with this opinion all over the U. S. and in some other countries.

The problem of private monopoly is one of the most serious questions before the American people, but in its relation to the railways it is rather a derivative than a primary problem, since it is the result of combination and discrimination.

4. OVERCAPITALIZATION

To railroad men from Germany, Denmark, Belgium, and other countries where the railroads are public property, nothing in our railway system is more astonishing—not even our railway favoritism and railroad politics—than the exhaustless freedom with which we allow our railroad manipulators to water and inflate the capitalization on which the people must pay dividends and interest. Here are some examples:

About 200 per cent of water was early injected into the stock of the New York Central and 177 per cent into the Hudson River Railway shares in a few years, altho there was already what many would regard as a sufficient quantity of water in the roads before turning on the hose.

By means of successive stock dividends and consolidation premiums as high as 80 and even 85 per cent at a single stroke of the syringe, the stock of the two roads trebled from 1867 to 1870, and the total capitalization shot up from \$54,000,000 of stock and indebtedness in 1866 to more than \$103,000,000 in 1870. Even this does not tell the whole story. The evidence is that the book value of the roads in 1870 was only \$60,000,000 and their real value less than \$40,000,000, while the actual amount paid into the treasuries of the companies for the whole mass of the stocks and bonds was probably below \$16,000,000, the rest of the construction value having been got out of the public, in addition to the interest and dividends, by means of excessive rates. So the bonds nearly covered the value paid in and the \$90,000,000 stock was practically all water.

A great railroad man said many years ago that "the Vanderbilt stock-waterings between New York and Buffalo annually cost the American people not less than \$3,000,000 in excess of all remuneration which even under any construction of right belonged to the owners of the lines."

Other railroads have surpassed this. The New York Central in 1869 reported a cost of \$63,306 per mile (and this included the bonuses, premiums, commissions, and fictitious equalization values of the transfers, etc.), while the main stem of the Erie Railway, extending 460 miles, from New York to Dunkirk, reported a capitalization of \$237,000 per mile in the same year. The actual cost, it is said, did not probably exceed one fifth of this amount. In other words, about 80 per cent of the capital was water, and the commerce of the country was taxed to pay dividends on over \$80,000,000 of fictitious values.

In the first four months after Gould and Fisk came into control of Erie (July to Oct., 1868) the stock was increased \$23,500,000, lifting the total to \$57,766,300. In these four

months and the four months preceding them, under a vote of the board of directors in practical evasion of the law, through the issue of bonds convertible into stock upon demand, the stock was increased \$33,536,300, or 138 per cent, in eight months. "Such a process of inflation," says the historian of Erie, "may, perhaps, be justly considered the most extraordinary feat of financial legerdemain which history has yet recorded."

In the eight years from 1863 to 1871 Erie stocks were jacked up from \$11,569,500 to \$86,535,700, mainly for the purpose of manipulating Wall Street.

The stock was sold below par, a good deal of it for twenty to forty cents on the dollar, and the larger part of the money went into the pockets of the directors or was used for corrupt purposes in New York and Albany.

In 1880, when the capitalization was \$135,000,000, a New York legislative committee, from the testimony of experts, estimated the value of the Erie road at \$65,000,000.

There are other sorts of inflation which find ample illustration in some of our best systems. The Pennsylvania Railroad, for example, claims \$193,000,000 as the cost of its 1,085 miles of road with all its equipment and the full value of its terminals and real estate, Jan. 1, 1905, while the total capitalization of the Pennsylvania road is \$418,000,000. What is the meaning of this great difference of \$225,000,000 between cost and capitalization? It means simply that the Pennsylvania Railroad has issued about \$220,000,000 of its own securities for the purchase of the stocks and bonds of other corporations, mostly railroads, the cost of these securities being reported at \$219,581,161. This method of purchasing the securities of one company or a group of companies by the issues of the stocks and bonds of another company results in counting a vast mass of railroad securities twice in the total capitalization of a railway system. The real values represented are counted once in the capitalization of the purchasing road and again in the capitalization of the roads in whose securities it has made investments.

This duplication is not by any means the end of the process. The Pennsylvania Railroad, for example, owns a large amount of stock in the Reading Company, and that company, in its turn, holds \$107,000,000 of value in the stock and bonds of other companies: \$40,000,000 in the Philadelphia & Reading Railway, \$87,000,000 in the Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Company, and \$70,000,000 in stock and bonds of some fifty-three railroad companies and a few other companies, including practically the whole capital stock of the Reading Iron Company. The Philadelphia & Reading Railway Company with its \$90,000,000 of capital controls many subsidiary companies. The Reading Iron Company, of whose board of directors George F. Baer, president of the Reading system, is chairman, is to some extent an enigma. Poor says: "No official information can be obtained respecting this company; all requests therefor having been refused." But the fifty-three railroad companies above referred to have clear relations in respect to the matter under consideration. All or nearly all of them own stock in still other lines and carry the overlapping of securities still farther. For example, the Central Railroad of New Jersey (of whose stock the Reading Company owns 53 per cent) has altogether \$78,000,000 of capitalization and owns \$30,000,000 of the stocks and bonds of other companies, and "so on down." If anybody could take a year off for the purpose he might find out how much duplication, triplication, quadruplication, etc., there is hidden under the serene surface of the Pennsylvania Railroad capitalization. All the roads named in this paragraph are operating companies with separate boards of directors, and their stocks and bonds are counted in the general summaries of railroad capitalization in the U. S.

The Illinois Central Railway illustrates another method of inflation. The cost of the road as reported by the company in 1873 was \$48,331 per mile. Of this \$4,930 per mile is all that was contributed by the owners above their receipts; the receipts from land grant sales amounting to \$35,211 per mile, and stock-waterings amounting to \$8,189 per mile. The unsold land grant amounted to 344,368 acres, worth probably over \$5,000,000, so that those to whom the securities of the company were issued had obtained the road at a bonus of nearly \$2,000,000 above all they paid in.

The recent reorganization of the Chicago & Alton (1899) is a forcible illustration of one of the commonest methods of inflation. The old management had been extremely conservative and had never watered the stock. The road was capitalized at about \$30,000,000, or a little more than \$30,000 per mile. In the year just named the road was bought by a syndicate which paid \$175 a share for the common stock and \$200 a share for the preferred stock, making a total cost of \$40,000,000 for the \$22,000,000 of stock, while the bonds became \$54,000,000 in place of \$8,000,000, the reorganization lifting the capitalization at once from \$30,000,000 to \$94,000,000.

In the testimony before the U. S. Industrial Commission an effort was made to justify this vast infusion of water, \$46,000,000 beyond all the syndicate paid, doubling market values and tripling total face values, on the ground that the company had been earning over \$3,000 a mile and paying regular dividends of 7 and 8 per cent, and that it would not have to earn any more than it did before in order to pay interest and dividends on the new capital. The commission, however, did not agree with this view, saying: "It seems clear that the doubling of the capital stock and the increasing of the bonded debt nearly sevenfold must impose a burden upon rates that will tend to prevent any reduction which might otherwise naturally take place, and afford a convenient reason for refusing to advance wages."

Some of the worst cases of inflation have been due to construction frauds, or excessive payments to construction companies controlled by the same men who controlled the railways contracting with the construction rings for the building of the roads. The Pacific railways furnish some of the most famous instances of this sort. The Union Pacific paid \$94,000,000 for construction which cost \$51,000,000; the construction ring of the Central Pacific made a profit of \$62,000,000; and the promoters of the Northern Pacific, through unfair construction contracts and other frauds, made the capitalization of the 600 miles of that line constructed down to 1874 amount to \$143,000,000 on an actual expenditure of \$22,000,000.

The whole capitalization piled on the Union and Central roads was \$240,000,000, so that, taking the three roads together, a capitalization of more than \$383,000,000 was created on lines costing less than \$132,000,000, about \$250,000,000, or nearly two thirds of the capitalization, being fictitious.

Another way in which railway capital becomes inflated is the failure to eliminate dead capital from the system. Like other monopolies and semimonopolies, our railroads appear to think that capital has a claim to immortal life; and they are very much averse to writing off depreciation so as to keep capitalization down to the cost of duplication, as a manufacturer or producer in the competitive field is obliged to do. Each time a railroad system is rebuilt, the cost of the new system is added to the former cost, and the public has to pay dividends not only on the value of the existing road, but also on the old roads that have gone out of existence. If this process is continued, the railroads of the thirtieth century will be drawing interest and dividends on railroad capital that died in the twentieth century or the nineteenth century, and the men who own the railways may take the U. S. in part payment and sue for the rest of their interest claims. If it had not been for panic years and the intervention of insolvency proceedings in respect to many railways, we should have had a sky-scraping capitalization already from this one cause without any help from stock dividends, consolidation, etc.

In its final report, 1902, the U. S. Industrial Commission states that out of \$457,000,000 increase in railroad capitalization in 1900, only \$120,000,000 could be explained by new construction, the other \$337,000,000, or nearly four fifths of the whole, being due almost entirely to sudden expansions in securities, in processes of reorganization and consolidation. The commission further notes that the new issues for the first half of the following year to the end of the time covered by the evidence before them amounted to \$300,000,000, largely explainable in the same way.

Inflation of capital is regarded by many as a species of robbery. It is one of the most seduc-

tive methods of getting something for nothing which has yet been invented. The corporations and monopolies of America are greater sinners in this line than are to be found in any other country, and so far in most of our states little has been accomplished in the way of checking this evil.

5. STOCK-GAMBLING

Railway stocks constitute the backbone of speculation in Wall Street and corresponding centers of speculation in other cities. Panic after panic has been precipitated in Wall Street by the struggles of rival buyers to control the stock of some railroad. In 1901, for example, the stock of the Northern Pacific was forced up to \$1,000 a share, and one of the worst panics of recent years was the result. Those in control of railroads can easily make large sums by manipulating stocks so as to affect their values.

Railroad magnates are under great temptations to use their power for speculative purposes. By passing a dividend or paying small dividends or suddenly flushing the market with stocks, diverting earnings in commissions to favored concerns or otherwise, or beginning a rate war, or by other means, they can depress quotations. By paying large dividends out of capital if need be, or having their brokers buy for each other at advanced prices, or booming the stock in other ways, they can lift quotations. They know in advance of the public important facts that will depress or elevate values as soon as they are published, such as railway consolidations, leases or other agreements, additional franchises, good or bad showing of earnings, legislative action, and even foreign complications. If they control two or more lines between competing points, they can, by changing rates or otherwise, divert large amounts of traffic at will to either route, and so affect stock values. They can buy large blocks of stock at low rates, force the stock up, and sell at top prices. They can have many brokers, acting for them, take contracts for the future delivery of vast quantities of stocks they control or concerning which they have inside information so that they know the stocks will rise, and when the delivery is called for the persons who agreed to deliver must pay over the difference between the market quotations at the dates of agreement and the quotations at the time fixed for delivery. Or they can have their brokers sell short, knowing that the stocks will fall either because of their intended manipulations or because of facts not known to the purchasers.

Our railway system as a whole must not be deemed fraudulently speculative. Stock-jobbing is not the main purpose with most of our roads, tho it is an element more or less strongly developed or else an incident in all. But our system leaves the door open to such practices and intensifies the prevalent longing for unearned gain by the prospect of the prodigious sums to be realized, and by the facilities afforded by the possession of irresponsible power.

From the standpoint of ethics and the effects upon character and society, it is difficult to distinguish between the winning of millions by betting on railway stocks, and winning thousands by betting in the Louisiana Lottery. It is a question whether the winning of money by the manipulation of stocks is not on a still lower plane than the buying of lottery tickets. It has more resemblance to playing with loaded dice or fixt cards.

6. RAILWAY POLITICS

From Maine to California for many years our railways have done their best to control the governments of our states and cities so far as they came in contact with transportation interests, and for the most part they have succeeded. Now and then a wave of popular sentiment has overcome their influence in legislative bodies, as during the Granger movement in the '70's, and the Roosevelt movement of 1906-7, but in the long run the railroads have been able to control in large measure the nomination and election of members of legislatures, and of the national Congress. (See CORRUPTION.)

"The railroads will buy up a legislature just as they buy a car-load of mules," said the governor of a great state in answer to my question about railroad influence in politics. "And they will buy elections, too, if need be. But as a rule they do not have to resort to bribery or corruption. Unless they get to fighting among themselves, or there is strong opposition on the part of the public, they can carry their purposes by milder methods."

"What methods do you refer to?"

"Well, they retain leading lawyers and politicians as counsel, or make them stockholders, and not infrequently directors or officers. They pack caucuses and conventions, subsidize the press, influence merchants and manufacturers by the grant of special favors or the fear of their withdrawal, make large contributions to party funds to stand in with the state and national committees and the machine, etc., etc. By these and other means they usually contrive to control nominations so as to put many men who are in railroad pay, or otherwise affected with a railroad interest, in the legislature or in office, and at the least they can generally prevent the nomination of men likely to be antagonistic to the railroads or too independent of them."

Where it is necessary the railroads do not hesitate to use money to buy the votes of legislators, either to secure the passage of measures favorable to the roads, or prevent the passage of measures likely to do them injury.

Railroad officers defend these practices as absolutely necessary under existing conditions. Said the president of a Western railroad:

"We've got to control the legislatures or they will control us. Rates, service, investment, capitalization, terminal facilities, labor conditions, combination—everything in fact about the railroad business is subject to the legislative pull. If we control the legislature the pull is our way; if not, it is likely to be the other way. In any session of Congress or the legislature of any state in which our lines are located, a bill may be introduced that threatens our business in some way. It may be a bill in the interest of a rival system, giving them an advantage that will mean great gain for them and great loss perhaps for us. Or it may be a bill to fix rates, or subject us to inconvenient surveillance, or abolish grade crossings, or compel us to put in automatic appliances, couplers, switches, etc., or some other scheme that will cost us a lot of money. Or the bill may be simply some d—grafter's bid for blackmail under cover of an apparent public purpose, introduced by some scamp member on purpose to be bought off. We've got to be ready to defend ourselves along the whole line. We must be able to stop adverse bills and put our own bills through. And to do this at reasonable cost is often very difficult, for the grafters have got so used to lumps of railroad money that they won't vote for a railroad bill without the dough, even when we show them that the act is in perfect harmony with the public interest. The only thing for us to do is to put some more money in a legislative investment to protect our railroad investment and keep it in our control."

7. RATE-MAKING

How to make rates that will be both just and practical is one of the most difficult questions that can confront a railroad management. Our railroads as a rule act on the principle of charging all that the traffic will bear, while the public railroads of Europe and Australasia act in general on the principle of making the lowest rates that will yield a reasonable margin above expenses. The accompanying table shows the average rates in various public and private systems:

AVERAGE TON-MILE AND PASSENGER-MILE RATES
IN CENTS

COUNTRY	Average ton-mile rate	Average freight haul	Average passenger rate	Average passenger haul
United States (private).....	.78	244	2.02	30
Germany (state).....	1.40	78	1.2	15
Austria-Hungary (mostly state)	1.50	65	1.	25
Belgium (state).....	1.25	45	.75	14
Switzerland (state).....	2.56	43	1.3	13
France (private).....	1.55	102	1.34	21
Great Britain (private).....	2.50	....	2.25	12
Norway (state).....	2.	....	1.16	..
Norway (private).....	2.6	....	1.16	..
Denmark (state).....	1.44	....	.76	..

The average ton-mile rate in the U. S. is lower than anywhere else in the world. But under this general average freight rate of our railways lie hidden many things which deprive it of all right to be used in comparison with European rates. There are many personal and unjust discriminations which bring down the average, and low rates between competitive points, with very high rates between local points, in many cases almost as high as the rates in the old stage-coach days—rates just low enough to keep business from being done by team instead of the railway.

German railway commissioners recently in this country, after studying our rates declared that they were in many cases four or five times as high as the German rates on the same goods for the same distances. This conclusion was based on specific comparison of the published rates, and did not take into account any rebates or concessions which so seriously affect average rates. The researches of the German commissioners lead to some comparisons of German and American rates that may be of interest here.

The average passenger rate in Prussia is .98 of a cent per mile, against 2.02 cents in the U. S. The average merchandise rate in Prussia is 1.36 cents per ton-mile, against .78 of a cent in this country. But the American rate does not include express, which pays very high rates, while the German rate does include express. It also includes large amounts of traffic which in this country is handled by fast freight and private car lines, the earnings of which are not included in the reported railroad revenues. The American rate is cut down by including large amounts of freight carried for the companies themselves, for which no charge is made, while the German figure includes only freight actually paid for. The German roads carry an immense amount of mail and packages for the parcels post, for which they get no pay, while American roads receive large sums for carrying the mails, and the packages for the most part go by express with us. The proportion of bulky, heavy, low-rate freight, such as coal, iron, ore, timber, etc., is very much larger here (where coal alone constitutes one third of the total tonnage) than in Europe, where the bulk of such traffic is carried by water. The average haul in Germany is seventy-eight miles, against 244 miles in the U. S., over three times the German haul, and this cuts down the average mile rate tremendously, so that on two roads run with equal efficiency and charging the same rates for equal service involving the same amount of labor and capital the road with the long average haul will show a much lower ton-mile rate. Our low ton-mile rate is partly due to carriage on circuitous routes and other unnecessary competitive transportation representing a waste of industrial force. And worse yet, our average tells the story of the special rates and secret concessions to favored shippers. Our ton-mile rate does not represent the rates the public has to pay, but is brought below the actual public rate level by the rebates and concessions granted the trusts and combines and other big shippers. The German average represents the rates that all the people pay.

Making allowance for express and mail, company freight and private car line traffic, the German commissioners conclude that a proper figure for our average freight rate would be 1.44 cents per ton-mile, while the figure for the Prussian roads would be .95 of a cent. It may be that the pendulum has gone a little beyond the vertical and that this comparison is a little more than fair to Prussia, but the evidence indicates that it is much nearer the truth than the ordinary comparison our railroad people are so fond of making, that ignores all the differences in respect to express, company freight, etc. If we could accurately allow for the freight carried by our roads at rates below the published tariffs in violation of law, it is quite probable that the contrast would be much stronger in favor of Prussia than the figures just quoted indicate.

The tendency both in public and private railway systems is more and more toward the equalization of rates over considerable areas and zones. If these zones continue to expand as they have in the past two decades, it would seem that we may ultimately have a system of practically uniform rates on each commodity throughout the country, with little or no regard for distance. Already blanket rates are made from the Pacific coast to all points east of the Missouri River, and from Eastern markets to all points in larger areas of the West and South. No such post-office system

of charges can be immediately established without violent dislocation of the values of real estate in different parts of the country, and wide-spread ruin to industries brought into competition on equal transportation terms with rival industries in other parts of the country possessing marked advantages in respect to wages, cost of coal, materials, etc. At the same time it must be recognized that equalization is the only solution of the rate-making problem so far proposed which avoids in any large degree the fundamental difficulty of leaving to the judgment of individuals or boards the fixing of the relative advantages of different cities, states, and regions in reference to distance and cost of transportation.

8. SAFETY

The following table shows the proportion of passengers killed and injured to the total number carried, and the proportion of employees killed and injured to the total number employed in different countries as given in the reports for 1902-4:

COUNTRY	PASSENGERS		EMPLOYEES	
	Killed, 1 in	Injured, 1 in	Killed, 1 in	Injured 1 in
United States ¹	1,957,441	84,424	364	22
Great Britain ²	8,073,000	445,000	736	88
Germany.....	11,701,354	2,113,471	1,199	451
Belgium ³	33,151,173	431,937	2,266	98
Austria-Hungary.....	9,432,303	1,328,551	1,908	363
France.....	5,200,000	1,052,000	954	355
Switzerland.....	12,237,515	849,820	1,070	42
Denmark.....	18,935,151	9,407,000	.....	.....
Norway.....	7,690,000	4,350,000	.....	.....
Sweden.....	6,667,000	3,450,000	.....	.....
Russia.....	1,080,000	250,000	.....	.....
Spain.....	2,000,000	308,000	.....	.....
Canada.....	1,120,000	158,000	.....	.....
Victoria.....	20,000,000	208,000	.....	.....
Tasmania.....	.....	271,000	.....	.....
New South Wales.....	5,000,000	589,000	.....	.....
South Australia.....	6,667,000	2,500,000	.....	.....

¹ The returns of accidents in the U. S. are confessedly incomplete, while those of the other countries given are unquestionably correct. A complete report of accidents in this country would make all our comparisons even less favorable to our railway management.

² The 618,000 holders of annual tickets are not included. Estimated on the same basis as are the commuters in this country these would make a showing about 35 per cent better for Great Britain's treatment of passengers.

³ Drunks and suicides eliminated. The Belgian management keeps a strict account of these, but not all other management do.

The figures vary from year to year. For example, Denmark's railways killed no passengers in 1903-4, but did kill one for 1904-5. Tasmania killed none in 1903 and Victoria only 1 to 20,000,000 journeys.

It appears from these figures that railway travel is safest in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, and Australia; that it is more dangerous in Great Britain than in any of the above-named countries, and that in the U. S. it is most dangerous of all; about six times as dangerous as in Germany, seventeen times as dangerous as in Belgium, three times as dangerous as in France, and four times as dangerous as in Britain. In the U. S. and Great Britain the railways are owned and operated by private companies. In France the roads are mostly operated by private companies under a high degree of government control, and a good degree of safety is secured, but it is an interesting fact that it is four times as safe to ride on the railroads operated by the government in France as it is on the French railroads operated by the companies under government control.¹ In the other countries named they are owned and operated by the government. Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Switzerland killed considerably smaller proportions of their employees than did France, Great Britain, and U. S. France and England have secured their safety at the cost of a rigid government control over the operation of the private railways, which has in large part taken the life and spirit out of the railways at the same time that it has

checked their tendency to disregard safety and avoid the expense required to secure it. In the U. S. the control by the law is not effective, and we see the real tendency of private ownership of railways in relation to safety—the tendency to look first, last, and all the time at the cost, and avoid the expenditure necessary to abolish grade crossings, etc., if they think it will be cheaper to pay damages. In Belgium and Germany the operation of the railways by the State permits the attainment of safety without the sacrifice of freedom, life, and progressiveness.

Our American data for 1904 and 1905 show even a worse state of affairs than the figures for 1903, which were used in the table as nearest the average data of the foreign facts. In 1904 we find: Passengers, 1 killed for every 1,622,267 carried, and 1 injured for every 78,523 carried; employees, 1 killed in every 357 and 1 in every 19 injured. In 1905 1 passenger was killed for every 1,375,856 carried, and 1 injured for every 70,655 carried; employees, 1 killed in every 411, and 1 injured in every 21; trainmen, 1 killed in 133, and 1 injured in every 9 employed. During the last three months of the year 1905 there were 2,077 collisions and 1,645 derailments on our American roads; 101 passengers were killed and 2,868 injured; 1,008 employees killed and 14,250 injured.

A passenger is about six times as likely to be killed in the U. S. as in Germany and twenty-five times as likely to be injured, while a railway employee is over three times as likely to be killed by our private railways and over twenty times as likely to be injured.

9. SERVICE

The best railway service in the world is to be found in the U. S. and in Germany. The New York Central and the Pennsylvania supply a service that is in many ways the admiration of all observers. At the same time, the service on some of our Southern roads is as bad as can be found in any country that can lay claim to high rank in civilization and mechanical development.

In writing the above we have had in mind the speed and comfort of railway travel, but when we take all the elements of service into account, including safety and impartial treatment of shippers, the verdict may not be so clearly in our favor.

Good service requires safety, speed, promptitude, adequate facilities fairly distributed, convenient methods, and impartial treatment. In respect to the first and last items, which are the most vital of all, our railways are at the bottom of the list in a tabulation of the principal systems of the world. Even as to speed, while we have on a few special routes the fastest trains in existence, our average speed, according to high authority, does not compare favorably with averages from over the sea.¹

In respect to promptitude the German service is far ahead of ours. Careful selection and training of railway men and the premiums given for keeping schedule time have produced astonishing results. Even on our best systems there is far less regard for promptitude than in Germany, and on many of our railroads the delinquencies in time are as bad as they are in any country I have visited. Even in Italy, where it was a common thing for the principal trains to be three or four hours, or even half a day late, and to have an express train from Milan or Naples coming into Rome on time would cause more comment than if it came in one to three hours late as usual—even these exasperating derelictions, so common in Italy before the government took the railway management, are no worse than the conditions which exist on some of our Southern routes. Even such important trains as those that run from Florida to Washington are frequently several hours late, and sometimes passengers are delayed twelve and even twenty-four hours on the way.

¹ Franklin B. Locke, in the *Century Magazine*, May, 1898, p. 105; Theodore Voorhes, general superintendent, New York Central & Hudson River Railroad, in *The Independent*, Oct. 6, 1892.

¹ "Industrial Commission," vol. ix., p. 154.

Inadequacy of facilities at times of such need is another count in the indictment of our transportation service, private railways preferring to risk some loss to shippers and themselves rather than to invest in equipments large enough to fully meet the demands of periods of such pressure and unusual rush.

In 1905 over half a million dollars' worth of strawberries rotted in North Carolina because of the failure of the railroads and the Armour Refrigerator Company to furnish a sufficient number of cars. A report from Chadbourn, N. C., March 7th, says: "More than \$200,000 worth of strawberries have rotted at the depot here since Monday morning. The railroad company is hauling car-load after car-load of spoiled berries to the river and dumping them like so much garbage. The loss to the truck-growers of this immediate section, according to figures said to be reliable, will be at least \$600,000."

In its "Twentieth Annual Report," dated Dec. 19, 1906, the Interstate Commission says:

The inability of shippers to procure cars for the movement of their traffic is the subject of numerous and grievous complaints, which come to the commission from all parts of the country. A car famine prevails which brings distress in almost every section, and in some localities amounts to a calamity. The extraordinary prosperity which everywhere abounds, with the high prices obtainable for all classes of commodities, have so stimulated production as to yield a volume of transportation business which far exceeds in the aggregate the carrying capacity of the railroads. In a word, the development of private industry has of late been much more rapid than the increase of railway equipment. The conditions now existing in the Northwest, where large quantities of grain require immediate shipment, and in the Southwest and trans-Missouri region, where thousands and tens of thousands of live animals are denied movement to the consuming markets, may justly be regarded as alarming, while throughout the middle West and Atlantic seaboard the shortage of cars for manufactured articles and miscellaneous merchandise has become a matter of serious concern. In some cases it is simply a lack of cars, in others insufficient tracks and motive power, in still others wholly inadequate freight yards and terminal facilities.

Private railway service is also subject to interruptions and even practical annihilation for days and even weeks or months at a time in consequence of strikes and lockouts—difficulties which almost never occur on public railways and are quickly remedied when they do occur.

Our railway methods are in some important respects far less convenient than those in use in Europe. We pride ourselves on our baggage check system, but European travelers complain that our baggage system is far less convenient than theirs. At the International Railway Congress, held in Washington, May, 1905, vigorous objections were raised by many prominent delegates to our methods of handling baggage. They declared that in Europe the baggage is collected and delivered by the railways, or is taken with the passenger by means of cabs and porters, etc., and carried either in the same car with him or in the baggage-car on the same train, and is delivered at the hotel or residence at the same time the passenger arrives at destination, or very soon after; whereas in this country the traveler has to secure the services of some separate transportation company or pay excessive rates for express, and in any case is liable to have the delivery of his baggage delayed for two or three hours or more after his arrival, depriving him, perhaps, of the opportunity to change his clothing, and keeping the ladies of the party from making their accustomed toilets for the evening, etc., etc.

We have no cheap trains for working men such as those which carry working people in and out of

the large cities in Germany and England, for example, for twenty-five and fifty cents a week. We have no such cheap excursions and admirable tourist arrangements as they have in Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, and New Zealand; no concessions to school children such as State railways in some countries make; no special rates for libraries or for the development of agriculture. The special rates our railways make go to the Beef Trust and the Standard Oil.

10. EMPLOYEES

One of the most emphatic differences between public and private railway managements is to be found in the treatment of employees. Our railways pay the lower classes of railroad men very poorly, while the upper classes of officials are paid extravagant sums. The pay on the public systems is much more equal. The overworking of employees as to time is a still more serious complaint against the private roads. Many cases are on record in this country and Great Britain in which engineers, firemen, switchmen, telegraph operators, and other employees have been kept on duty continuously from sixteen to twenty-four hours, and in a few cases thirty-six to forty hours and even forty-eight hours without intermission for meals or rest.¹

In Prussia the law requires that the daily average of the hours of labor of station agents and assistants, telegraphers, switching foremen, overseers of stopping-places, and switchmen shall not exceed 8 hours, and the duration of a single task shall in no case exceed 10 hours. The average for trainmen is limited to 11 hours with 14 and 16 hours fixt as emergency limits. Engineers and firemen must not average more than 10 hours, and may never under any circumstances be on duty for more than 11 consecutive hours. Every employee must be given at least 2 rest-days per month, and trainmen must be permitted to rest at their homes not less than 10 consecutive hours daily.

Our railways exercise much less care for the safety of employees than is exercised by the European railways. It is six times as dangerous to work on American railroads as it is to work on the Belgian State railways. The danger to the lives of our railway employees is over 100 per cent greater than to those of Great Britain. The railway employees of France and Switzerland have three chances of escape to the American's one, while the German and Austrian systems are respectively 230 per cent and 420 per cent more merciful to their employees than our railways are.

Trade-unions among railway men are strongly encouraged by the best public systems, and vigorously opposed by private railroads. Public railways are much more considerate and equitable in their dealings with employees, and the best systems have definite provisions for the arbitration or impartial judicial decision of disputes between the workers and the authorities over them. Our railroads refuse to arbitrate. They buy their labor, like a commodity, at the lowest market price, just as they buy their coal and iron at competitive rates. They overwork their men, adjust their duties and their pay with little regard to equity, and exercise the power of arbitrary discharge; and if the workers strike in order to get justice or a fair consideration of their demands, the railroads use the injunction and the black list, and even the federal troops if need be, to enable them to retain their mastery, and persist in their refusal to give the men any voice in the control of

¹ See evidence collected on pp. 466-470 of "The Railways, the Trusts, and the People." Equity Series, 1520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

the great industry into which they put their lives, or even in most cases so much as an opportunity for frank and friendly discussion of grievances.

The opposition to trade-unions and the primitive methods or absence of any reasonable methods for the settlement of grievances, are among the most important criticisms to be made upon our railways in behalf of labor. German railway employees are carefully selected with reference to their fitness for the work they are to do, and they are secure in their employment so long as they do their work well.

IV. Remedies Proposed

(1) **Pooling.**—The legalization of pooling has been advocated by many railroad managers as a cure for discrimination and the wastes of competition.

It is the favorite railroad remedy. "Give us liberty of contract, let us combine," say the railroads, "and the abuses you complain of will disappear." The public, however, is afraid that if railways are allowed to pool they will "combine to keep rates up, and the benefits of competition will be lost." Railroads do combine to keep rates up anyway. Competition in rates is spasmodic and abortive. The steady competition that insures fair play in the buying and selling of commodities in the open market has proved impossible of attainment in transportation, because of the large monopoly element involved; and in case of combination, secret or open, mutual understanding cannot be prevented; so that the real question is, whether railways shall have a right to combine openly as well as in secret, and whether this right will accomplish what is claimed.

Railroad managers say that if pooling were lawful, the traffic associations could use the power of the courts to check rate-cutting, secret rebates, etc., on the part of roads that had agreed to maintain rates. They point to the fact that in one year, under the traffic agreements in force before the Interstate Act forbade pooling, 135,000 cases of misdescription of goods were detailed at three seaboard cities in the west-bound through freight alone; and they declare that if the prohibitions of statute and common law against pooling were removed, they could stop the discriminations that result from competition among the railroads.

This is probably true, and we believe that railways should have the right to combine. There is nothing in our law more foolish and futile than the attempt to protect the people from railroad extortion by fostering competition. It means a war of rates now and then disturbing business and values and doing more harm than good, with long stretches of high charges in between—charges that are all the higher often because of the wastes entailed by abortive competition for which the railroads make the people pay.

But grant all that can be said in favor of pooling; grant that the right to form working agreements accorded to the railroads by the law of England has not done harm, but good; still the chief question remains: Can pooling stop the abuses of our railway system? Clearly it cannot stop the legislative free pass nor the favoritism due to the ownership and control of railroads by oil kings, steel kings, and others, who unite railroad ownership with business interests in other lines. It cannot stop discrimination arising from any of the five causes that are independent of

competition. In the days before the Interstate Act when pooling was in full bloom it did not stop even the discriminations due to competition; for railroads gave rebates and concessions on the sly to increase their tonnage and so base a claim for a larger share of the pool. Pooling cannot make the railways honest or public-spirited. It cannot take the railways out of politics, nor prevent overcapitalization, nor secure reasonable rates or fair treatment of employees.

(2) **Consolidation.**—The union of the railways under one great company has been earnestly advocated by Mr. Cook; C. P. Huntington, president for many years of the Southern Pacific; Mr. G. H. Lewis, and many others. Consolidation would eliminate the wastes of competition and the discriminations due to competition, but would intensify enormously all the evils due to the monopoly element in the problem.

The power to charge excessive rates, to disturb the fair distribution of wealth, to control the destinies of individual cities and states, to build the fortunes of railroad owners and favored persons, to establish and perpetuate an aristocracy of wealth far beyond what has yet been inflicted upon us to control the government in corporate interest, and to defy law and conscience—the power to do all this would be multiplied a thousand-fold.

Even the plan of G. H. Lewis, which calls for limitation of the amount of stock to be owned or voted for by any one man or corporation, and for representatives of the United States on the board of directors of the consolidated company, along with the directors elected by the stockholders—even this would not change the aim from private profit to public service, nor prevent the use of the enormous power of the consolidated railroads for the upbuilding of private interests, unless the public representatives were numerous enough and strong enough to dominate the representatives of private capital, in which the plan would constitute a form of public ownership, with the capital provided by private individuals on interest-bearing securities. The history of the Pacific roads shows how much good it does to have government directors on the railroad boards where the public representatives are not in control. And the history of railroad frauds and evasions of law leaves no doubt that giant capitalists would find some way of overcoming the limitation of stock holdings. Every employee of the Standard Oil could hold railroad stock for Rockefeller, and every man in the Steel Trust could use his holding power in aid of Morgan. If you admit private capital to power it will dominate if possible. It is not satisfied with an equal partnership. The public interest is not safe unless it is dominant. The Lewis plan is the best attempt I know of to devise a balance scheme or partnership in which public and private interests should work in harmony. But there is strong reason to believe that the balance could not be kept; the company would gravitate to the Huntington idea—a railroad empire in private hands—or to the public-ownership system under a non-partizan board (to be distrust presently).

(3) **Regulation.**—For many years the states and the nation have been trying to regulate the railroads. It is easy to regulate railroad rates and service on paper, but experience shows that it is very difficult to transform the paper regulations into actual fact according either to their letter or their spirit.

In no state of the union has the government succeeded by regulative measures in abolishing unjust discrimination or securing fair rates or reasonable safety and convenience of service.

For twenty years the federal government has done its best to stamp out discrimination and regulate rates, but with little better success than has attended the efforts of the states. Discriminations have changed their form, and for brief periods now and then have been to a considerable extent discontinued, but no way has yet been discovered through regulative measures of securing equal treatment for all shippers under private railway management. So long as men who are owners or part owners of coal-mines, steel-works, packing-houses, oil-refineries, etc., are also large stockholders in railroad companies, the railway managers they help to employ and pay will under their instructions find ways of favoring their shipments above the shipments of their business competitors. Even a little favor in the distribution of cars or the speeding of transit would be enough to give them the market without any rebates or cash concessions whatever. It is easy to side-track for a few hours or days the goods of rival firms, or obstruct shipments by lack of promptitude in the delivery of the full number of cars necessary to transact the business of the said rival firms or companies, and no regulative power short of an omnipresent, all-pervading, and all-powerful commission could prevent the abuse of railroad power in this and other similar ways.

For half a century regulation has been tried in England and France with very indifferent success. Railroad history in all the regulative countries is one long story of struggle with railroad abuses, and entire failure to secure immunity from the most vital evils of private railway management.

Even President Roosevelt's vigorous measures embodied in the Hepburn Law can at best reach only a small part of the trouble.

No fixing of rates can stop the free-pass evil, or secret rebates, or fake commissions, or fictitious damages, or underbilling, or false description, or numerous other forms of favoritism. Such a regulative measure as the Hepburn bill does not touch at all nine tenths of the methods of discrimination. We have seen that between sixty and seventy different methods of unjust discrimination between persons and places are in use in our railway business to-day. The fixing of a maximum rate can prevent neither secret rate-cutting, nor favoritism in facilities and services, nor even open discrimination in the arrangement of classifications and in the adjustment of rates between different localities.

The fixing of rates cannot even secure reasonable charges in the matters to which the adjudications relate, for upon every reduction the railways can always withdraw sufficient accommodations to more than balance the slice taken off the rate, and they can retaliate by delays and persecutions that will sicken shippers of making complaints.

Real publicity is the thing that private monopoly fears more than anything else. It is the strongest weapon the people have under a régime of private monopoly. But the railroads can easily refrain from keeping any records of transactions contrary to law, as indeed they do already to a large extent. It is very difficult to secure full publicity when the man who does not

want publicity keeps the accounts and manages the business. Even if full and continuous publicity could be attained, however, it would not stop railway wrongdoing. Some of the worst abuses have been perfectly well known for many years—for example, the tariff arrangements which give the Standard Oil and the Beef Trust such generous advantages over their competitors; so with the free-pass system, stock-watering, stock-gambling, railroad control of elections and legislatures—all perfectly well known and exposed in detail in many cases. But what effect does it have upon railway morals? Practically none. And it is doubtful if we can expect to obtain a complete or radical reform so long as we neglect the tap-root of railroad immorality, which is the antagonism of interests between the owners and the public, united with the tremendous power that goes with the possession and management of these vast interests.

The president and the attorney-general are doing all they can to compel the railroads to obey the law, but the trusts are on the other side, in the dark, trying to compel the railroads to break the law, and using means infinitely more powerful than the fines imposed now and then by the law when a few of the tricks happen to come to light.

From the Hepburn report of 1879 to the Garfield report and the interstate investigations of 1906, we have had publicity in large masses, and the Standard Oil, the Beef Combine, the Sugar Trust, Grain Trust, Coal Trust, Steel Trust, etc., have grown meantime in spite of all the flash-lights and spasms of popular indignation. If publicity is to do much good it must be continuous as well as searching. And even then it is doubtful if the problem can be solved by any regulative measures. Our best railroad men do not believe it. James J. Hill, for example, says that discriminations cannot be stopt; and Stuyvesant Fish, ex-president of the Illinois Central and also of the American Railway Association, and one of the ablest and most conscientious of our railroad kings, said in answer to my question (in 1905) that he did not think any regulative measures could stop discrimination. "Tell me how to enforce the Ten Commandments," he said, "and I'll tell you how to stop discrimination."

The inherent difficulty of regulating this vital monopoly, which must of course be either regulated or owned by the public, has never been more clearly and forcefully stated than by the Massachusetts Railroad Commission in the early days when Charles Francis Adams was a member of the board.

"The final difficulty with all legislation of this class," said the commission, speaking particularly of rate regulation, "is its excessively dangerous and politically corrupting tendency. It forces the corporations, whether they will or will not, into the lobby of the legislature and the rooms of the committees and commissions; they are forced there for the protection of their interests, for the essence of the system is that certain persons, whether the legislature itself or officials designated by it, have devolved upon them the responsibility of establishing the revenues of property belonging to others. The commissioners have grave doubts as to the success of any effort which practically effects a separation between the ownership and its management."

(4) **Public Ownership.**—Some of the principal reasons that have been urged in favor of public ownership of railroads are as follows;

1. Public railways tend to the diffusion of wealth and power, while private railways tend to the concentration of wealth and power. It is the nature of monopoly in private hands to absorb an unfair proportion of the national wealth product. Not only do private roads absorb more than their share of wealth, but they tend to concentrate in few hands the control over vast properties, both in the railway world and throughout the field of industry; for the secret rates, rebates, and concessions granted to large shippers and favored persons build up trusts and combines and giant monopolies which disturb the fair diffusion of wealth in industries of every class. Public railways, on the other hand, do not enable any class to absorb an unjust share of national wealth, nor concentrate profit or control in few hands, nor build up private monopoly or an aristocracy of wealth and industrial dominion, either in the railroad field or outside of it.

2. Railroad experience throughout the world indicates that impartial treatment of shippers can only be secured under public operation. When left to themselves, private railway managements are honeycombed with favoritism, and even the strongest governments have been unable to exert sufficient regulative pressure to extinguish the effects of this innate tendency. Public railways naturally tend to the impartiality which public interest so emphatically demands.

3. Private railways tend to confine facilities to paying routes, building up big cities and neglecting country districts, which are left without a fair share of transportation facilities; while public systems, aiming at the good of the whole country rather than at profit, extend their lines more widely, and distribute their facilities with regard to need and ultimate benefit to the public as well as with regard to the present traffic.

4. Private railways constitute one of the chief causes of political corruption. The question of public ownership of railroads is at bottom a choice between government ownership of railroads and railroad ownership of the government. The extinguishment of private control over railways removes the chief cause of political corruption under democratic institutions. How inherent and persistent is the tendency of private railroads to fill the halls of legislation with their agents and lobbyists and to use every available means of dominating the government in their interest, will be apparent to any one who is familiar with the history of private roads in the U. S., England, France, Germany, Italy, and other countries. Just so far as private railways have been left free to show their true nature, that is, just so far as they have been permitted to be really private, they have manifested this fundamental characteristic, which expresses itself in the effort to control government in the private interest of the railways and their allies.

5. The history of railroads shows that private railways, by systematic favoritism, stock-watering, political influence, etc., etc., tend to separate success from merit; while public roads do not disturb the normal union between merit and success. So far as construction frauds, overcapitalization, manipulation of stock, perversion of accounts, and other methods of deceit and cunning enable men to capture wealth produced by others, so far is a premium put on fraud and cunning, while true labor is discounted and men are drawn away from honest industry and productive

effort to devote themselves to mere commercial conquest.

6. Public railways tend to make lower rates than private roads in the same country and under similar conditions otherwise than in respect to ownership. Public railways aim primarily at service, while private railways aim at profit, and the rate level which yields the highest profit is above the rate level that secures the largest service at a reasonable margin above the cost.

7. National ownership and operation of railroads under good political conditions would be able to secure large economies through the abolition of unnecessary offices and staffs, especially in the larger cities; the systematic use of the shortest routes; the curtailment of the overgrown salaries of the upper class of railroad officials; a saving in lobby and legislative funds, campaign expenses, litigation costs, excessive construction profits, etc.; the abolition of secret concessions to favored shippers, and the economies of consolidation under a single management in the public interest. C. P. Huntington, the former president of the Southern Pacific Railroad, estimated the railroad wastes in New York City alone at \$100,000,000 a year, and the total wastes incident to the private railroad system in this country amount to several hundreds of millions every year.

8. Private railways foster monopoly in manufactures and commerce, while public railways put all on an equal footing and tend to prevent and break down all kinds of industrial monopoly.

9. Public railroads are superior to private roads in respect to their social effects. Private railroads intensify the tendency of this age of aggregation to mass population in giant cities. Public roads tend to mollify and soften this tendency, and sometimes definitely oppose it. Big cities are the danger spots of modern civilization. We may fairly designate as railroad slums not only the slums that gather in the railroad districts of big cities, but all the slums of our cities, which exist in large measure because of a false railroad policy—a policy of making rates for private profit instead of the public good; a policy which intensifies instead of relieving the congestion of population modern industry tends to produce. When private railways do something to relieve congestion, as in the case of working men's trains, it is not a part of their own policy, not a result of private ownership of railways, but a result of the compulsory adoption of a policy natural to good business.

Inequalities of social condition are greatly aggravated by private railroads, while public roads as a rule maintain an even balance or else make a definite effort to help the needy

Social Effects and aid the beginnings of wealth. Our private roads give the wealthy every advantage. The common people pay for their own freight and for a great part of the freight carried for Armour, Rockefeller, Morgan, and other owners of "infant" industries. A large proportion of our millionaires and multimillionaires owe their fortunes to railroad methods and policies which are wholly foreign to public roads and would be impossible of adoption on any civilized governmental system.

10. Private railways buy labor at the lowest market rates just as they buy coal and iron. Public railways recognize that in dealing with labor they are dealing, not with a commodity to be purchased for the use of the railroads and con-

sumed in providing transportation, but with human beings who form a part of the very society for the use of which the railroads themselves exist—shareholders in the roads and members of the co-operative associations on behalf of which the government itself is acting. Private railroads as a rule see only the economic side, the dollar-and-cent, profit-and-loss side, of the labor question. Public managements see the human side, the ethical side, and the civilization side, as well as the economic side, and pay higher wages, work the men shorter hours, and provide better conditions than private roads in the same country. The humane and enlightened policy of public roads toward the working classes both in their relation to their own employees and to the working people in other occupations, is one of the chief titles of the public railroads to our respect and admiration.

11. The character product or type of manhood produced by public railways is superior to that produced by private railways. The elements of character that make for good citizenship and moral living—respect for law and justice, habits of honesty and fair dealing, love of country, habitual action with reference to public interest rather than for selfish private ends—are much more strongly favored by public railways than by private systems.

12. Railways are public highways and perform public functions. This is the doctrine of the U. S. Supreme Court, and the courts of last resort in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and many other states. Public functions, services, rights, or properties should be used for the public benefit, not for private profit. It is the nature of private ownership and management to subordinate the public benefit to private profit wherever the two conflict. Therefore, public affairs, including the public highways, should not be entrusted to private management.

13. The construction and operation of railroads involve the exercise of the sovereign powers of taxation, eminent domain, and the determination of the distribution of wealth, and in many cases also the sovereign power of legislation. Only the sovereign people have a right to sovereign power; therefore only the people have a right to own and operate the highways with which the exercise of sovereign power is indissolubly linked. It is an economic blunder and an abuse of governmental powers to put in the hands of a small portion of the people to be managed by them for their profit and advantage sovereign powers and functions which belong to the whole people and should be used for the benefit of the whole people, and not for the interest of a part of the community against the rest. What could be more unwise than to hand over to a few individuals public rights and powers which enable them to tax the whole people for their own benefit?

14. Private monopoly of railroads involves a far larger case of taxation without representation than resulted from the efforts of King George and the English Parliament which precipitated the American Revolution.

The principal objections raised against public ownership and operation of railroads in this country relate to the cost, the sphere of government, and the political difficulties that would be encountered in this country.

If the government bought the railroads at their present capitalization, the cost would certainly be very large, but the wind and water may be squeezed out of railroad capitalization either by

exercise of the power to reduce rates, or by building or buying one or two competing routes. If progressive income and inheritance taxes were established, as advocated by President Roosevelt, the monopolists could be made to pay into the public treasury in a few years enough to pay for all the railroads the government would need to buy, above the structural cost of duplication less depreciation.

Objections Answered

It is possible that, as pointed out by Senator Newlands, the most feasible plan, the one that could be adopted with the least opposition and the minimum of friction, would be to issue 3 per cent government bonds for the fair value of the securities of the railways taken for public use, and provide that the hundreds of millions saved each year by the difference between the 3 per cent or less at which the government can borrow and the rate of interest and dividends paid by the railroads, should be used to pay off the railway capital, which could be accomplished in this way probably in thirty or forty years.

Some excellent people declare that the railroad business is outside the proper sphere of government. It is to be regretted that the railroads do not regard the government business as outside the sphere of the railroads, but there is rather more logic in the inclusion of government in the railroad field than in the exclusion of the railroads from the government field. The clear, common sense of the situation is that the government is simply the agent of the people to attend to any business they see fit to entrust to it.

The fact is that in every civilized land the government has two functions, restraint and service. It keeps order and it performs services—exercises industrial activities. No government on earth is limited to keeping order. The sole questions in practical statesmanship relate to the extent of the two functions and the methods to be adopted. And the movement of history is in the direction of diminishing restraint and increasing service.

The political difficulties in the way of municipal ownership of railways in the U. S. at the present time are undoubtedly very great, if not prohibitive. But it must not be inferred that public railways are wrong for America because present political conditions are not adapted to that system. If public railways, honestly managed in the public interest, are better than private railways, then it is our duty to establish as rapidly as possible the political conditions necessary to secure honest management in the public interest. The elimination of private railway corporations will remove one of the chief causes, if not the chief cause, of political corruption in city, state, and nation; but it is equally clear that the operation of the railways by a ring of political monopolists and grafters in their private interest would be a disaster so great that public ownership cannot be asked or assented to by fair-minded citizens until there is a reasonable prospect of escaping this danger. There are important safeguards, however, that we can adopt and that will go far in assuring political purity.

Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, New Zealand, and Australia have valuable lessons for us in this regard. From Germany we should take the thorough organization of the civil service based on technical training and careful testing, and the system of advisory railway councils representing various interests, industrial and social; from Switzerland, the initiative and referendum,

that the people may have actual and continuous control of the government and graft become a lost art; from Belgium, proportional representation, that every important interest may be fairly represented and have a voice in the deliberations of our legislative bodies; from Denmark, the railway profit-sharing plan; from New Zealand, the railway appeal boards, high wages, short hours, and liberal pension system; from Australia, perhaps, a modified form of the bipartisan commission as a further means of checking any attempt at using the system for party purposes or political pressure to secure extensions or improvements on sectional lines; and back of it all we must have a sufficient development of civic interest and intelligence in the body of the people to make it certain that the laws would be enforced and that evasion of them would not be tolerated. The magnificent response our people have given to Roosevelt, Folk, La Follette, Johnson, Weaver, Fagan, and other civic heroes indicates that under proper leaders it would not take long to evolve either the laws or the enlightened public spirit needful to make public ownership of the railways a success.

In answer to the objection that government ownership would put the railroads in politics, we may ask: "Where are they now?" It is doubtful whether they could be in politics in any worse form than they are to-day, and it may be further remarked that it is not necessary that the railroads should be in politics at all in the objectionable sense, under a common-sense system of public ownership with a non-partizan commission, railway courts, and solid civil-service organization.

Prof. Richard T. Ely says: "Our American railroads are incomparably more 'in politics' than the German railroads. Not only this; those German railroads which have been bought by the State, I believe, are less 'in politics' than they were when they were private property."

"Our terrible corruption in cities dates from the rise of private corporations in control of natural monopolies, and when we abolish them we do away with the chief cause of corruption."

As high as 20 per cent of the railroads of the U. S. have been operated at the same time by government agents called receivers, and the success and honesty with which these public managers, responsible to the federal courts, performed the duties of their calling under infinite difficulties, bringing the roads back to prosperity after they had been wrecked by private enterprise, shows the possibilities of public management of railroads under reasonable safeguards.

Political influence in rate-making and in the establishment of new lines, abuse of patronage, and use of the railroads for party purposes, are possibilities that have to be guarded against in the case of public railways. And the railroad lobby, caucuses and conventions packed with railroad adherents, use of the railroad vote for private corporation purposes, election of men really representing the railways and their allies under the mask and pretense of representing the people, direct and indirect bribery of legislators and officials, use of the power of discrimination and favoritism and the fear of reprisals to swing influential shippers into line and compel them to use their influence with legislators and the government for railroad purposes, secret contamination of the sources of public information, perversion of the press and manufacture of erroneous public sentiment by fraudulent methods—all these and

many other means of corrupting and controlling government in the interest of the railways and their allies, must be guarded against under the private system.

A few of the important differences are as follows:

1. Under the private system the railways themselves are the active cause of political corruption, while under the public system the railways are not the active cause, but merely the field of operation. If there is corruption under the public system it is because the government is bad. The railways enlarge the field, and if a government is tainted with the virus of the spoils system or the poison of excessive partizanship or political rottenness of any sort, it will manifest itself in the railways as well as in the halls of legislation, the ordinary administrative departments, and even the courts, if the canker goes deep enough. But given a good government and public railways, the public railways will not go to work to corrupt the government. Given a good government and private railways, and the private railways will go to work to corrupt the government and control it in their interest, and the government must be very, very good and very, very strong or they will succeed in large measure, except in times of popular uprising, and even then they have far more than an even chance of molding, dominating, or defying the law.

2. The political evils that may attend public railways under a bad government are much less vital than those created by private railways.

The former affect chiefly the cost of running the roads and the government, the latter undermine the very nature of free institutions, overturn popular government, and establish a corporate aristocracy in place of a republic. Governor Folk's splendid battle-cry in Missouri is that the domination of our governments by the railroads and their allies through bribery and fraud is treason. A legislator who holds allegiance to a railway or other private interest and votes for it against the public is giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the republic. The federal constitution guarantees to every state a republican form of government. The railways and their allies defy this provision as they do many other constitutional and statutory enactments, and transform our state and national governments from governments by and for the people to governments by and for the corporations wherever corporate interests are involved.

3. The political ills of public railways are open, clearly visible, known of all men, while the political evils arising from private railways are largely hidden from the public view.

4. The political ills of public railways are more easily removed than those of private railroads, not only because they are less hidden and less radical, but because under the private system a large mass of wealthy and influential people, as shareholders in private railways or recipients of their favors, have a financial interest in aiding or permitting the election of men who can be controlled by the railroads, while under the public system the financial interest of these important classes is transferred to the side of good citizenship and they stand with the great body of the people for honest and efficient administration.

5. Finally, public roads are to-day in nearly all civilized countries substantially free from any serious form of political difficulty. In a number

Political Evils

of countries no serious political trouble has ever been experienced in connection with the State railways, and in others where difficulty has been experienced it has in nearly every case been wholly or almost wholly overcome.

FRANK PARSONS.

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AMERICAN RAILWAYS VS. THE PUBLIC

[American railway corporations finding themselves growing unpopular, because of their watered stock, discriminations, carelessness of human life, etc., have raised the cry of persecution and have organized "literary bureaus" to prepare free articles for the magazines and daily press, to try and defend themselves before the public and show how the railways have been abused. We give below one of these railway statements, prepared in 1903 for submission to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, by Slason Thompson, secretary of the General Managers' Association, representing twenty-four railroads in Chicago. We give it in the railways' own words, side by side with what we believe to be the facts upon each point.—ED.]

THE RAILWAYS' OWN STATEMENT

(a) Freight Rates

That freight rates on American railways are the lowest in the world, and had steadily tended downward until the recent advance in wages and material, is proved by the following statements:

Average revenue per ton per mile				Pay of trackmen	
Year	Rate, cents	Year	Rate, cents	Year	Wages, per day
1870....	1.990	1895....	.839	1895....	\$1.17
1882....	1.240	1896....	.806	1896....	1.17
1887....	1.030	1897....	.798	1897....	1.16
1888....	1.001	1898....	.753	1898....	1.16
1889....	.922	1899....	.724	1899....	1.18
1890....	.941	1900....	.729	1900....	1.22
1891....	.895	1901....	.750	1901....	1.23
1892....	.898	1902....	.757	1902....	1.25
1893....	.879	1903....	.763	1903....	1.31
1894....	.860				

It costs twenty-five cents a mile to move a ton of freight from the farm or the factory to the station; it costs less than three fourths of a cent a mile to transport it thence to its destination.

(b) Passenger Rates

The average revenue of the railways for carrying passengers one mile since the organization of the Interstate Commerce Commission has been as follows:

Cents		Cents		Cents	
1888.....	2.35	1893.....	2.11	1898.....	1.97
1889.....	2.17	1894.....	1.99	1899.....	1.98
1890.....	2.17	1895.....	2.04	1900.....	2.00
1891.....	2.14	1896.....	2.02	1901.....	2.01
1892.....	2.13	1897.....	2.02	1902.....	1.99
				1903.....	2.01

Where passenger rates have declined nearly 6 per cent since 1892 the average daily wages of the men most directly employed in train service have increased as follows:

	P. C.		P. C.
Enginemen.....	9	Conductors.....	10
Firemen.....	10	Other trainmen.....	14

A STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST

(a) Freight Rates

It is not proved that American freight rates are the cheapest. Many elements have to be taken into consideration which the railroads' statement conveniently omits. In Great Britain, taking the railroads' own figures, the published rates include charges for collection and delivery, loading and unloading, and, to a large extent, also insurance. According to the railroads' own statement, the corresponding expenses in America are very high, yet are not included in American rates. President A. T. Hadley of Yale (by no means a believer in public ownership) says distinctly (in his "American Transportation") that it is impossible to compare English and American freight rates. As for rates in other countries, some classes of rates are undoubtedly higher, but some classes of rates are also lower than in America. It must be remembered, too, that such rates are general averages, and, in case of America especially, are largely made up of long-haul rates for grain, coal, iron, and the cheapest classes of freight. Such rates are cheaper than in continental Europe. But when it comes to short-distance rates for general commodities, and especially between non-competing points, American rates tell a very different story. German commissioners recently in the U. S. estimated that for small shippers rates in Germany and the U. S. were about the same. American rates are low for the few big shippers. European rates, especially on the government-owned lines, serve the general public.

(b) Passenger Rates

Here comparison is more fair, and here we find that for the average traveler, American passenger rates are probably the highest of the civilized world. This is not true for the few rich. Rich people in America can travel cheaper than in Europe; European first-class rates are high. They believe in Europe that if rich people want special comforts they should pay for them. But the true comparison is between rates for the ordinary public. This means in Europe third class.

THE RAILWAYS' OWN STATEMENT

The recent increase in receipts per passenger mile is due to losing the cheapest passenger traffic, which is traveling by trolley, and not to an increase in rates.

The cost of passenger service is constantly increasing to meet the demand for more trains and greater speed.

(c) Foreign Passenger Rates

In England, the North Eastern Railway, the only British road giving intelligible statistics, shows the following average receipts per ton mile in 1903:

On minerals.....	1.93 cents
On merchandise and live stock.....	2.94 cents
On all commodities.....	2.32 cents
Pennsylvania Railroad on much the same class.....	0.58 cents
In Germany, average revenue per ton mile.....	1.42 cents
In France, average revenue per ton mile.....	1.55 cents
In Austria, average revenue per ton mile.....	1.16 cents
In Hungary, average revenue per ton mile.....	1.30 cents

England—First class, 4 cents; second, 2.5 cents; third, 2 cents. Average receipts per passenger mile, about 2 cents.

Germany—Fast trains: First class, 3.45 cents; second, 2.55; third, 1.79. Ordinary trains: First, 3.06 cents; second, 2.3; third, 1.53, and fourth, 0.77 (not allowed on fast trains). Average receipts per passenger mile, about 1.07 cents, due to 90 per cent of travel being third and fourth class, on cars little better than American box cars.

If the American railway freight rates were in proportion to American wages in comparison with foreign wages, they would be from four to eight times what they are, as the following figures, from official sources, prove:

(d) Pay of Railway Labor

Average pay of railway laborers in various countries whose freight rates are more than double American rates:

	Per day
United States ¹	\$1.31
United Kingdom.....	.71
Germany (State railways).....	.57
France (State railways).....	.52
Belgium (State railways).....	.48
Italy (State railways).....	.42
Russia (State railways).....	.29
India (State railways).....	.08

¹ The lowest paid class of railway employees.

Average pay of several classes of railway employees in the U. S., Great Britain, and Belgium, 1903:

	United States, per day	Great Britain, per day	Belgium ¹ per day
Enginemen.....	\$4.01	\$1.62	\$1.01
Firemen.....	2.28	.91	.72
Conductors.....	3.38	1.22	1.08
Other trainmen.....	2.17	.85	.72
General office clerks.....	2.21	...	1.11
Station agents.....	1.87	1.01	1.38
Machinists.....	2.50	1.50	.85
Carpenters.....	2.19	1.22	.84
Switch and crossing tenders and watchmen—Men.....	1.76	.91	.48
Women.....	...	...	.16

¹ Belgium is chosen for the comparison because the pay of railway labor there is less complicated with premiums and allowances than elsewhere on the Continent. See *Bulletin, Department of Labor, No. 20, and Fifteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor.*

A STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST

(c) Foreign Passenger Rates

In Great Britain, according to the railroads' own statement, the average receipts per passenger per mile is about two cents, and this, as the statement says, is the third-class rate, showing how most people travel. In Germany, again, as the railroads' own statement shows, 90 per cent of the people go third or even fourth class, and the average receipts per passenger mile are only scarcely one half the American rate, or 1.07 cents, compared with the American 2.01 cents. The railroads' statement tries to get around this by stating that the German third- and fourth-class cars are "little better than box cars." Are we to believe that 90 per cent of German travel goes in box cars? Either those who assert this are utterly ignorant of modern Germany, or are willing to deceive the American people. The writer has recently traveled in all parts of the German Empire, has tried all classes, and knows that German third-class cars are comfortable, well-lit cars, quite as clean and well-ventilated as many American ordinary cars. Ninety per cent of Germans do not go in "box cars." In Belgium and Denmark the average is 0.75; Austria, 1.00; Switzerland, 1.30; Norway and Sweden, 1.16. American rates (except on a very few roads) only average two cents by including commuters, etc. This can be seen from the fact that in most states the railroads consider themselves persecuted if asked to charge only two cents a mile. American railroads favor the rich, but charge 90 per cent of the people about double the European rates.

(d) Pay of Railway Labor

It is undoubtedly true that American railway labor is more highly paid than in Europe. American wages are higher than European wages in most pursuits. They are, however, not so much higher as at first appears, and especially as appears from the railroads' statement. It picks out Belgium for comparison on the Continent of Europe, perhaps because wages are generally lower in Belgium than in any European country except in the extreme east and south. When it was a question of low passenger rates, Belgium is not mentioned by American railroads. European wages generally are materially higher than in Belgium. It must be remembered too that wages are measured by the cost of living, and that the necessities of life, particularly rent, are much cheaper in Europe. In Europe, too, the governments almost always see to it that the men on the State railways have good houses at very cheap rates, old-age pensions, accident and sickness insurance, and many other advantages. This is particularly the case in Germany and Belgium. The German Government distributed in 1903 \$109,000,000 in various forms of insurance relief. The Prussian Railway Department alone in 1903 owned 8,860 houses for its employees, and besides loaned over \$1,000,000 to workmen's building societies. The little done by a few American roads out of dues paid by their employees is as nothing in comparison. There is more than one side to the question of wages. The Labor reports to which the railroads' statement refers for comparative wages are at least eight years old. Europe has made large progress in those years in its treatment of labor.

THE RAILWAYS' OWN STATEMENT

(e) Capitalization

In 1903 the Interstate Commerce Commission summarized their capitalization thus:

Stock.....	\$6,155,559,062
Funded debt.....	6,444,437,226
Total railway capital.....	\$12,599,990,258
Owned by railroads.....	2,318,391,953
Net railway capital.....	\$10,281,598,305

COST OF RAILWAYS AND EQUIPMENT

The Interstate Commerce Commission in 1903 reported as follows:

Cost of road (193,823 miles).....	\$10,273,837,190
Cost of equipment.....	1,699,767,723
Total cost.....	\$10,973,504,903

¹ During the last four years new locomotives, passenger and freight cars cost upward of \$874,000,000.

It is the large cost of sidings, yard tracks, elevating tracks, and other facilities at terminals rather than the construction of new road that has caused recent additions to railway capital.

For twelve years—1888-99, inclusive—an average of 63.94 per cent of American railway stocks paid no dividends—the lowest amount paying being 29.83 per cent, in 1896, and the highest 40.61, in 1899. Not until 1901 did a majority of railway stocks pay any dividends whatever. Even last year 43.94 per cent paid nothing. During all these years the water in railway stock was gradually absorbed by millions diverted from stockholders to vast extensions, betterments, and improvements. On June 30, 1895, there were 37,855 miles of operated railways representing \$2,439,144,503 of capital, in the hands of the receivers. Before they got out, the water was effectually squeezed out of them. At last accounts there were only 1,185 miles under receivers' orders.

AMERICAN VERSUS FOREIGN CAPITALIZATION

The test of comparison with foreign railway capitalization furnishes the following demonstration:

	Miles	Capitalization or cost of construction	Capitali- zation per mile
United Kingdom.....	22,435	\$6,225,144,585	\$277,474
Germany (State).....	132,125	3,364,290,000	104,725
France (State).....	123,938	3,415,400,000	143,053
Russia (State).....	135,482	2,700,000,000	76,095
Austria (State).....	112,402	1,370,109,725	110,475
Hungary (State).....	110,813	701,640,865	64,888
Belgium (State).....	12,498	419,410,490	167,898
Holland (State).....	11,064	145,885,000	137,103
Switzerland (State).....	12,468	257,305,470	104,250
Norway (State).....	11,274	50,175,000	39,384
Sweden (State).....	12,416	106,419,875	44,048
Denmark (State).....	11,112	46,800,000	41,900
Total foreign railways..	148,027	\$18,925,810,010	\$127,696
United States—			
Gross (1903).....	205,313	\$12,599,990,258	\$61,369
Net (1903).....	205,313	10,281,598,305	50,077
Cost of construction.....	205,313	12,794,860,023	62,313

¹ Cost of construction.

NOTE.—Altho American railways are capitalized at less than one half foreign railways, they were constructed by labor costing from two to four times as much. (See WAGES IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.)

A STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST

(e) Capitalization

The railways' statement argues that American railways are not overcapitalized because the United States capitalization averages only \$61,369 and foreign capitalization \$127,696 per mile. *But the question is, What is capitalized?* Large portions of the American railway mileage do not begin to compare with the construction of most European roads. England, for example, allows no grade crossings, compels the best safety devices, etc., while all European roads are supervised by governments which insist on many costly details. European roads are very much more watched than American roads. The result is that European roads are more costly but can attain higher speed and operate with more safety. As to speed, the writer has calculated the speed of the 30 fastest trains running 100 miles or over, leaving London, Paris, Berlin, and New York. (For details, see his tables in the *Review of Reviews* for Nov., 1907.) He finds that the 30 fastest trains leaving New York average 45.23 miles per hour; those leaving Berlin average 45.78 miles per hour; those leaving Paris average 47.49 miles per hour, and those leaving London attain the remarkable average of 52.86 per hour. In other words, American express trains, even when on time (and usually they are behind time), run on the average slower than those of England, France, or Germany. Even our boasted Twentieth Century Limited on the New York Central runs as far as Rochester (372 miles) only 52.76 miles per hour—not so fast as the average English express train. There were in the United Kingdom in the summer of 1907, including long and short runs, 61 trains whose schedule time was 56 miles per hour. Now such speed is only possible with the best track, a perfect system of signals, the latest improvements, and, above all, absence of grade crossings. Naturally this requires more capitalization than our cheaply constructed, poorly graded American roads. Before our railroads can say that they are not overcapitalized we must know how much actual money was paid in, and it is notorious that no railroads in the world have as much water in proportion to money actually paid in. For some details as to the stock-watering of American roads, see article RAILWAYS, p. 1038. See there, too, how the final report of the United States Industrial Commission found that the improvements, of which the railroads make so much, could account for \$120,000,000 in 1900, while in that year alone the railroads watered their stock \$457,000,000.

STOCK-WATERING

It is this stock-watering, with the resultant striving to earn money on a capital never paid in, that prevents the railroads from giving a satisfactory service, from introducing improvements, from making necessary provisions for human life; it is stock-watering, in a word, that makes the American railway system, once undoubtedly the best in the world, at present, on the important points of track construction, speed, and, above all, safety, distinctly below the systems of Great Britain, France, and Germany. Another important point is that in Europe generally the railroads have had to pay dearly for land. American railroads have bought land cheap and had a vast mileage given them for nothing.

THE RAILWAYS' OWN STATEMENT

(f) *Distribution of Railway Capital*

The boggy that railway ownership is being dangerously concentrated was refuted by the Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Feb. 24, 1905, "that the number of stockholders reported by the carriers in their annual reports for the year ending June 30, 1904, was 327,851." As the holding of railway bonds is even more general, owing to their character as approved securities in estates and trusteeships, the total of those directly interested in railway stocks and bonds must approach 700,000.

A still further distribution of interest in railway securities comes through the large holdings of trustees, administrators, and executors of estates; of bankers and brokers for long lists of customers, and of insurance companies, banks, savings-banks, and other corporations.

How great is this last distribution may be judged from the following statement of railway stocks and bonds held by various corporate bodies:

Insurance companies licensed in Massachusetts	\$845,889,038
Savings-banks in six states.....	442,354,086
Security from educational institutions.....	47,468,327
Total.....	\$1,335,711,451

An illustration of these holdings of railway securities is afforded by the reports of the following companies:

New York Life Insurance Company (bonds)...	\$207,334,800
Mutual Life Insurance Company (bonds).....	94,982,000
Mutual Life Insurance Company (stocks).....	18,860,000
Prudential Life Insurance Company (bonds)...	25,977,230
Travelers' Insurance Company (stocks and bonds).....	21,823,000

The fire risks in force in the U. S. amount to over \$27,000,000,000. More than half the assets of the companies writing this insurance is invested in railway securities.

The significance of these figures is emphasized by the further fact that in the whole U. S. there are over 17,000,000 life-insurance policies in force, covering \$10,508,478,776, and 7,305,228 depositors in savings-banks, whose deposits aggregate \$2,935,204,845. These millions are all indirectly interested in the present conservative and progressive management of American railways.

(g) *As to Discrimination*

As for rebates, private-car lines, industrial tracks, and terminal privileges or any other device whereby unjust discriminations are given, the present laws, if enforced, would seem to be sufficient to put a stop to them. If they are not, Congress should immediately strengthen the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission for the detection and prosecution of the offenders. Because there are black sheep in railway circles, it is not a "square deal" to hamstring this most complex and vital of American industries. A wise surgeon would not attempt to cure a man who squints by cutting off his legs. What legs are to a man, rates are to the railways. None of the railway abuses of which the people complain is going to be cured by substituting mile-posts for brains in the adjustment of rates.

A STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST

(f) *Concentration of Capital*

The railways' statement considers the danger of concentration in railway ownership a "boggy" idea. The reason it gives for this assertion is the distribution of railway shares. But the point is not who owns the railway shares and bonds, but *who controls them*. This is the real danger and this is not a "boggy" idea. The tendency to combination of control is the patent railway fact of the U. S. There have been 5,000 railway companies in the U. S.; there are now only between 800 and 900 reported as independent by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Of these, six giant systems control 90 per cent of the vital railway mileage of the country, and even these six systems have their combinations, with their common holdings overlapping ownership of shares, interrelations of directors, etc. A member of the Interstate Commerce Commission (see article RAILWAYS) is quoted as saying that half a dozen men can meet and practically control the transportation rates of the U. S. Is this no danger? Is it not notorious that railway corporations have largely controlled legislatures of states as widely apart as New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, California, and indeed most of the states of the union? Is it not the plain truth that these gigantic railway corporations exert more power than most states and that they have their representatives and senators in Congress more truly than have the people of the states? As far back as 1871 Charles Francis Adams, himself a railway president, wrote ("Chapters on Erie"):

The belief is common in America that the day is at hand when corporations far greater than ever—swaying such power as has never in the world's history been trusted in the hands of mere private citizens, controlled by single men, like Vanderbilt, or by combinations of men, like Pisk, Gould, and Sage—after having created a system of quiet but irrepressible corruption, will ultimately succeed in directing government itself.

Later a writer so favorable to America as Mr. Bryce comes to the conclusion (in his "American Commonwealth") that all congressional legislation affecting corporations is systematically managed or at least influenced by corruption. The railroads can no longer lull the American people by calling this fear "boggy." A steadily increasing number of people see that the government must either control the railroads (as in Europe), or the railroads control government, as they do for the most part in the U. S.

(g) *As to Discrimination*

To this important subject, which is filling today the minds and ears of the people, which is in all the papers, and getting into the courts and legislatures, the railways' statement devotes a paragraph. It goes into no details, but says that abuses are not "to be cured by substituting mile-posts for brains in the adjustment of rates." The railroads misunderstand the public. No man asks such substitution. What the American people ask and mean to have is the substitution of honest service of the public's needs in fixing rates, to a dishonest subserviency to the interests of interallied corporations.

THE RAILWAYS' OWN STATEMENT

(h) Railway Accidents

As invidious comparisons are often made between the accidents on American and British railways, the following facts should have a corrective effect:

	Passengers carried one mile	Freight tons carried one mile
British railways.....	9,660,000,000	15,572,000,000
American railways.....	20,915,763,881	173,221,278,993

PROPORTION KILLED TO PASSENGERS CARRIED ONE MILE

Great Britain.....	1 in 61,923,000
United States.....	1 in 65,168,143

The following tables show the proportion of fatalities to traffic in Europe and the U. S.:

	Europe ¹	United States
Passengers carried one mile	44,080,000,000	20,915,763,881
Passengers killed per billion carried one mile.....	12.16	15.35
Freight tons carried one mile	76,209,092,720	193,221,278,993
Employees killed per billion tons carried one mile....	29.65	18.66

¹ Including United Kingdom.

Relatively to passenger and freight traffic, fatalities to passengers and employees are less on American than foreign railways, as the following table shows:

YEAR	COUNTRY	Mileage	Passengers killed	Employees killed
1901	Russian Europe.....	28,982	93	458
1902-3	Norway.....	1,430	1	4
1902	Sweden.....	7,421	6	21
1902-3	Denmark.....	1,879	.....	27
1903	Germany.....	34,014	73	505
1902	Holland.....	2,023	3	23
1902	Belgium.....	2,827	6	36
1900	France.....	23,938	194	314
1902	Switzerland.....	2,469	5	28
1896	Spain.....	7,994	19	31
1900	Italy.....	9,879	33	63
1902	Austria.....	12,402	11	87
1902	Hungary.....	10,813	11	66
1903	United Kingdom.....	22,435	156	497
	Rest of Europe.....	8,937	25	100
	Totals.....	177,363	536	2,259
1903	United States.....	207,977	321	3,233

¹ Since 1900, French reports cover only accidents to trains.

GENERAL LIABILITY TO ACCIDENT

That undue prominence is given to railway accidents is shown by the following statement of "accidents resulting from causes to which all men are exposed without regard to their employment," taken from the Year Book of the Travelers' Insurance Company for 1905:

	Per cent
Accidents to pedestrians.....	24.14
At house (indoors).....	18.80
Horses and vehicles.....	18.16
At house (outside).....	15.98
Recreation.....	6.15

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(h) Railway Accidents

It is difficult to coolly characterize the railroads' statement upon this point. To manipulate capital and stocks is bad enough, but it is another thing when one comes to human life. According to such a sober authority as the *Journal of the American Statistical Association* (March, 1906), based upon the reports of the U. S. Interstate Commerce Commission, it is nearly four times as dangerous to be a railroad employee in the U. S. as in the United Kingdom, and more than four times as dangerous as to be employed on most of the government-owned roads of Europe. Yet the railways' astonishing statement is that statistics show that it is safer to be a railway employee in the U. S. How does the railways' statement arrive at this astonishing assertion? It says so because our American trains carry more freight per number of employees, and in proportion to the number of freight tons carried one mile, fewer railway employees are, therefore, killed in this country than in Europe! But freight or lives? Of what are we talking? When per number of men employed nearly four times as many are killed in the U. S. as in the United Kingdom, it is pretty poor comfort to the widow and the orphan, to be told that the husband and father's death helped carry more freight per ton-mile, than he could have done if living in England. If the railways desired to show how our railway men are overworked, their statistics might answer, but statisticians, other than railway men, do not measure life by amount of freight carried per ton-mile. All statisticians except these railway officials are unanimous that our railways recklessly kill more people than any other railways in the world.

Another point: Who would imagine from reading the railway statement that besides the 321 passengers and 3,233 employees killed by the railways in 1903, there were also 5,879 other persons killed, who were neither passengers nor employees, but killed on the railways mainly at grade crossings? Of them the railways' statement gives no hint. But fortunately the Interstate Commerce Commission does speak of them. Most statisticians cannot ignore 5,879 persons killed. Yet in Europe there are few such accidents because of the absence of grade crossings and the careful guarding of the roads. Still for our railways to be so careful would require filling our capitalization with something more than water, or we should have to increase the number of our employees measured by the amount of freight carried per ton-mile. As for injuries, the railroads' statement is again wholly silent. Yet one would think that 60,481 employees, 8,231 passengers, and 76,553 others injured on railways in the U. S., in 1903, sufficient to be reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission, deserved some statement from the railways.

One point the railways' statement does try to make. It considers that the public gives "undue prominence" to such a little matter as killing 9,480 people and injuring 145,255 in one year, because the Travelers' Insurance Company reports 24.14 per cent of accidents to pedestrians and only 4.77 per cent to accidents on trains. But have the railroads asked themselves what proportion of time the average man spends a year

THE RAILWAYS' OWN STATEMENT

Railroad travel.....	4.77
Bicycle accidents.....	4.06
Street-car travel.....	2.74
Use of firearms.....	1.73
Animal bites.....	1.52
Assaults.....	1.20
Steamship travel.....	.70
Miscellaneous.....	.05
	100.00

NOTE.—Only 1 in 10 of the accidents in railroad travel were to passengers.

These figures prove that American railways are not less careful of human life than foreign roads, but that the difference lies in the extent and volume of their traffic.

RAILWAY RELIEF DEPARTMENTS (for Germany, see **INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE**): These began in England, 1850; Canada, 1873; and the United States, 1880. The object is to create savings funds, to which the employees can contribute in dues, for their relief in case of sickness or accident and for their families in case of death. Several of the larger railroads of the U. S. have such departments, the first to do so being the Baltimore & Ohio, in 1880. Sometimes insurance in them is made compulsory for the employees and sometimes not. The Baltimore & Ohio made it compulsory for new employees. Each such employee receiving \$50 per month was compelled to pay into the fund \$1.50 per month and was entitled to \$1 per week (for 52 weeks) in case of sickness or disablement; \$1,000 in case of death from accident; \$500 in case of death from sickness. The employee, however, forfeited his right to sue for damages. In twenty years the Baltimore & Ohio paid out \$6,010,199 to employees and \$1,447,232 for expenses, its income being from dues and interest on cash on hand. The Pennsylvania established a similar system in 1885, and paid out \$7,797,532 in five years. The Reading, Plant, Burlington, and Atlantic Coast Line followed suit, tho all of the systems were not made compulsory.

In 1884 the Baltimore & Ohio established also an old-age pension, and the Pennsylvania, a large fund in 1890. The latter paid out \$244,619 in the first year to persons over sixty-five and thirty years or more on the company's pay-roll.

RAILWAY UNIONS, AMERICAN: The railway employees of the United States number more than 1,000,000 persons, of whom 300,000 are organized in the so-called railway unions. The principal organizations are: the Grand Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Order of Railway Conductors, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the Order of Railway Telegraphers, the Switchmen's Union of North America, and the International Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employees.

Originally the engineers admitted firemen and machinists, but after six months membership was restricted to locomotive engineers; the membership of the Trainmen consists of conductors, brakemen, train baggagemen, train flagmen, yardmasters, yard foremen, and switchmen; the Telegraphers receive telegraphers, line repairers, levermen, or interlockers, including all employees connected with the operation of signal towers and interlocking plants; the Maintenance-of-Way

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on trains (including the large number who rarely if ever go on trains at all), compared with the time spent afoot? The percentage of accidents on trains occurs wholly in the comparatively small proportion of time per year the average man spends on trains. The "undue prominence" given, however, to needless and cruel accidents to brakemen and others on American railways is probably due to the inability of the American public to appreciate the number of tons of freight per ton mile carried by each overworked employee.

A few other points NOT covered by the railways' statement:

The purchase of legislation by American railways. (See article **CORRUPTION**.)

The violation of existent laws.

The persistent disregard of the public.

The robbery of the public purse by overcharges for carrying the U. S. mails.

Employees admits all persons employed in the track, bridge and building, water and fuel department, and signal and interlocking service.

The most significant feature of the railroad unions is the extent to which they have developed their systems of insurance against death and disability.

The insurance departments have occupied a chief place in their systems of organization and are today comparable in benefits paid to any of the fraternal insurance societies.

These unions furnish insurance to their members in amounts varying from \$1,500 to \$4,500 in the Engineers; from \$1,000 to \$3,000 in the Conductors; from \$1,500 to \$3,000 in the Firemen; from \$500 to \$1,350 in the Trainmen; from \$300 to \$1,000 in the Telegraphers; from \$600 to \$1,200 in the Switchmen, and \$500 to \$1,000 in the Maintenance-of-Way Employees. The insurance is compulsory upon all members who can pass a satisfactory physical examination and is furnished at actual cost, which varies from \$7.20 per \$1,000 in the Telegraphers to \$20 in the Switchmen.

Since the organization of the insurance department in 1867 the Engineers, up to May, 1900, had paid \$8,562,447 in death and disability claims, and on Jan. 1, 1906, had \$87,679,000 in outstanding insurance. The Conductors, on Jan. 1, 1906, after paying insurance since Oct., 1870, showed a total of \$7,989,567 paid for death and disability. The Firemen, from 1874 to June 30, 1905, have paid \$8,751,315 insurance, and on June 30, 1904, had outstanding insurance to the amount of \$75,559,000. The Trainmen during 1889-1905 inclusive paid \$11,725,059.83, and on Jan. 1, 1905, showed \$77,330,600 insurance in force. The Telegraphers, the Switchmen, and the Maintenance-of-Way Employees are younger organizations. Since Jan. 1, 1898, the Telegraphers have paid about \$200,000 in death benefits. The Switchmen, up to Jan. 1, 1906, paid \$511,350 in death and disability claims. The Maintenance-of-Way Employees since organization in 1887 paid, up to Sept. 30, 1904, about \$150,000.

The most distinctive characteristic of the insurance features of these organizations has been the placing of disability insurance on an equality with death insurance. The fact that railway em-

ployees are especially exposed to the risk of disabling accidents has been the chief influence in this direction. The large number of claims paid for disability in the Conductors' and the Firemen's and the Trainmen's beneficiary departments during recent years shows the high importance of disability insurance to the men engaged in the most hazardous occupations. The Firemen for eleven years, from 1894 to 1904, paid disability claims equal to 24.5 per cent of the whole number of claims paid, about one third of the number of death claims. Among the Conductors the disability claims for the same period amounted to one seventh of the death claims paid. The Trainmen, during a period of twenty years, 1884-1904, paid disability claims equal to 32½ per cent of all claims. Owing to greater efficiency in administration of disability laws and the improved conditions under which the work of conductors, firemen, and trainmen are performed, the number of disability claims shows a decrease. During 1893-94 and 1903-4 the disability claims paid by the Conductors were respectively 3.8 and 3 per 1,000 of the total membership. In the Firemen during the biennial terms 1894-96 and 1902-4 they were respectively 6 and 4.3 per 1,000. In the Trainmen for the years 1886, 1890, 1896, 1900, and 1904 they were respectively 4.6, 8.6, 7.2, 4.9, and 5.2.

The primary purpose of the insurance features is to obtain for the members and their families a higher degree of economic security. They have undertaken to insure against two great economic contingencies, first, the loss to a family of an income-earning member, and second, the economic hardship of shifting from one industry to another made necessary by certain severe physical accidents. The present system represents a compromise between the original idea of purely charitable relief and the modern idea of business protection. Furthermore, the insurance features have been the means of securing and retaining members and thus increasing the strength of the organizations as factors in collective bargaining.

The railway unions are among the oldest of existing American national trade organizations. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was formed at Detroit, Mich., Aug. 17, 1863, as the "Brotherhood of the Footboard," and was reorganized at Indianapolis, Ind., Aug. 17, 1864, under the present name. The organization was prosperous from the outset, and at the twenty-first convention in 1884 Grand Chief Arthur reported 258 subordinate divisions with 16,000 members; and at the sixth biennial session in May, 1904, Grand Chief Stone reported 652 divisions with 46,400 members. The Order of Railway Conductors was organized at Mendota, Ill., July 6, 1868, as the "Conductors' Brotherhood," and reorganized at Columbus, Ohio, on Dec. 15, 1868, under its present name. On Jan. 1, 1890, the Order had 240 subordinate divisions and 13,720 members; on Jan. 1, 1904, there were 446 divisions with 31,288 members. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was organized at Port Jervis, N. Y., on Dec. 1, 1873, as a benevolent association. In 1885 it became a labor organization with a protective policy. Its early growth was retarded by the great strike of 1877, by the opposition of the International Firemen's Union, by the difficulties with the Knights of Labor in 1885, and by the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy strike of 1888. In spite of these tem-

porary checks the Brotherhood has grown rapidly and showed by the close of 1893 510 lodges with 28,681 members. During the next two years these fell off to 484 lodges with 21,408 members; since 1895 the growth has been more rapid than ever, and at present the membership numbers about 55,000. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen was founded at Oneonta, N. Y., Sept. 23, 1883, under the name "Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen," which it retained until Jan. 1, 1890, when, because many of its members had been promoted in the service, the more appropriate name of "Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen" was adopted. On Aug. 31, 1893, the membership was 28,540, but on Dec. 31, 1894, it had fallen to 22,359, and at the close of 1896 to 22,326. Since 1896 the increase has been rapid, and on Dec. 31, 1903, there were 699 lodges with 68,158 members. The Order of Railroad Telegraphers was instituted at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, June 9, 1886. By April 30, 1893, the membership numbered 17,780. Then followed a rapid decline to 10,114 on April 30, 1894, 6,684 on Dec. 31, 1894, and finally to 4,976 on Dec. 31, 1895. On Aug. 31, 1904, the members had increased to 37,700. The switchmen had a local organization as early as Aug., 1877, but a national union was not formed until Feb. 22, 1886, when the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association was inaugurated. This association was forced by the defalcation of its treasurer to disband in 1894, and a new organization, the Switchmen's Union, was formed in 1897. Since then the union has grown rapidly and on Jan. 1, 1903, had a membership of 14,000. The present International Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employees has suffered many vicissitudes in its development. In 1887 it was organized as the "Order of Railway Trackmen." In Oct., 1891, this organization, with a membership of 600, united with the "Brotherhood of Railway Section Firemen," an organization of 400 members. The new union took the name of "Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of North America." In 1903 the organization became the Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employees. During recent years the brotherhood has shown considerable increase. In 1903 over 15,000 members were added, making a total of over 40,000 on Jan. 1, 1904.

JAMES BOYD KENNEDY.

REFERENCES: Johnson, Emory R., *Brotherhood Relief and Insurance of Railway Employees*, in Bulletin of Department of Labor (Washington, 1898), vol. iii., p. 556; Kennedy, James B., *Disability Insurance in the Railway Brotherhood*, in The Johns Hopkins University Circular, New Series, 1905, No. 6, whole number 179; Kennedy, James B., *The Beneficiary Features of American Railway Unions, in Studies in American Trade-Unionism*, ed. by Hollender and Barnett, 1906 (New York, 1906), p. 322.

RAILWAY UNIONS (ENGLISH): *The Amalgamated Association of Railway Servants*, the main English union of railway employees, was organized in 1871, and having in 1904 616 branches with 53,407 members. It had in 1904 an income of £69,118, and expended £42,470, mainly in grants and benefits. *The Associated Locomotive Engineers and Firemen* were organized in 1880, with 12,100 members in 1904, and the *General Railway Workers* in 1889, with 3,617 members in 1904.

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE: Founded in New York City in 1906, for the teaching of political and social science from the standpoint of socialism.

The resources of the Rand School are made up: From the income of an endowment bequeathed by Mrs. Carrie A. Rand; from tuition; from the sale of books and pamphlets; from dues and contributions of members of the Rand School Society, and from other voluntary contributions.

The officers of the society are Algernon Lee, president; Morris Hillquit, treasurer; and W. J. Ghent, secretary. Address: 112 East Nineteenth Street.

RAPP, GEORGE: Founder of the German Harmonist Colony in the United States (see HARMONISTS); born, 1757, at Iptingen Württemberg. He was very religious, but soon developed ideas of his own as to the Church and State. He began preaching in 1787, but being persecuted, gathered his possessions and followers and emigrated to the U. S. in 1803. The colony of Harmony was established in 1804 in Butler County, Pa., from whence it was removed to Posey County, Ind., in 1814-15. In 1824 the colonists sold out to Robert Owen, and returned to the neighborhood of Pittsburg, where they established *Economy*. Rapp was the spiritual and temporal director as prophet, priest, and king, and every matter of importance was referred to him. He governed wisely until his death in 1847.

RAU, KARL HEINRICH: Political economist; born Erlangen, 1792. In 1818 he became professor at Erlangen, and in 1832 at Heidelberg. From 1837 to 1840 was in the First Chamber of the Grand Duchy of Baden, and later a counselor of the duchy. Died in 1870.

His "*Lehrbuch der Politischen Oekonomie*" was long recognized in Germany as almost an encyclopedia in economic studies.

RECALL, THE (or Imperative Mandate): A piece of governmental machinery by which, whenever any of the constituents of a public officer do not like his actions, they can, by signing and filing a petition for his recall, suspend him from office. If he is an elective officer, a new election is held for the balance of his term, and at this election the old officer is a candidate for reelection unless he expressly declines, and others are nominated in the regular way. If he is an appointive officer, the appointing power must appoint some other man. The percentage for the petitions is 50 per cent in the case of appointive officers and sometimes 50 in the case of elective officers, tho in some instances it goes as low as 25 per cent or 20 per cent.

The recall recognizes that the people are the supreme power. It gives them the right to discharge their own servants whenever they wish, a right that is exercised by every private employer.

It distinctly recognizes that the people rule, not one day in the year, but every day; that their officers are not rulers of the people, but the people's servants. It means a more complete and constant control by the people over their own government, and as such it is, of course, in the completest harmony with the fundamental aims of our government.

This view was distinctly sustained by the courts in the Los Angeles case in the summer of 1905. An alderman who was ousted from his office by petition and subsequent vote of the people, applied for reinstatement, and one of his grounds was that the people had made a contract with him for a definite period and that it could

not be abrogated except by mutual consent. The court explicitly denied this contention and said the officer did not have a vested or property right in his office.

The agitation for the recall in Switzerland began about the same time as that for direct legislation proper, or the initiative and referendum, and it was incorporated into their law in some places; but after the Swiss people secured the initiative and referendum so generally, the need for the recall lessened and to-day the agitation for it in Switzerland has almost subsided.

From 1895 and on Hon. J. Warner Mills, of Denver, headed an active but unsuccessful agitation for its insertion in the Denver city charter.

It was adopted two or three years ago in Los Angeles, Cal., and used with telling effect on a recreant alderman. Petitions are now out for a second use of it against an alderman with whom many of his constituents are much dissatisfied. No one could possibly persuade the people of Los Angeles to abandon it now. It has recently been incorporated into the charters of four or five other California cities and into that of Seattle, Wash., where the vote stood 9,312 in favor to 1,271 against, or a majority of over 8,000.

That it is greatly needed in the United States is shown by the franchises given away, the bad laws passed, the jobbery, etc., of our city councils and state legislatures; by the non-administration and bad administration of the laws that we have, by executive officers; by the not infrequent inattention, insolence, and even open defiance of the people by elected officers who feel absolutely sure of their office during its term.

Its effect will be to make legislators far more responsive to the wishes of their constituents, to make executive officers seek to really enforce the laws, and, most important of all, to make the people feel that they are responsible for the men they choose to office and more really interested in their government. If embodied into law it will not often be used, because the fact that it can be used at any time will make officers do their duty.

It is not a part of direct legislation as it has nothing whatever to do with legislation, tho it has with legislators; but the principle behind it, that of bringing the government under the more constant and direct control of the people, is the same as that behind direct legislation, and hence there are few if any advocates of direct legislation but what are also advocates of the recall.

ELTWED POMEROY.

RECIPROCITY in trade is an agreement made between two countries, whereby they agree to make reciprocal or equivalent reductions in the duties on certain articles. This policy has been considerably advocated in several countries, first prominently in the United States by James G. Blaine. By the third section of the act of Congress of 1890, called the McKinley Act, it was provided that, "with a view to secure reciprocal trade," sugars not above 16 Dutch standard, molasses, coffee, and hides should be admitted into the U. S. free of duty, unless the president should become satisfied that reciprocal favors will not be granted to the products of the U. S. Arrangements of this character were concluded with Brazil, Honduras, Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Spain (for Cuba and Porto Rico), and Great Britain (as to British Guiana and certain of the British West Indies).

These arrangements were superseded by the tariff act of Aug., 1894.

Reciprocity treaties have, however, since been signed as follows, under the Wilson Act of 1894, and especially under section 3 of the Dingley Tariff of 1897:

RECIPROCITY TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS SINCE 1850

(Prepared by the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Commerce and Labor)

COUNTRIES WITH WHICH RECIPROCITY TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE	Signed	Took effect	Terminated
British North American Possessions (treaty).....	June 5, 1854....	March 16, 1855.....	March 17, 1866
Hawaiian Islands (treaty).....	Jan. 30, 1875....	Sept. 9, 1876.....	April 30, 1900
Brazil (agreement).....	Jan. 31, 1891....	April 1, 1891.....	
Santo Domingo (agreement).....	June 4, 1891....	Sept. 1, 1891.....	
Great Britain:			
Barbados (agreement).....	Feb. 1, 1892....	Feb. 1, 1892.....	
Jamaica (agreement).....	Feb. 1, 1892....	Feb. 1, 1892.....	
Leeward Islands (agreement).....	Feb. 1, 1892....	Feb. 1, 1892.....	
Trinidad (including Tobago) (agreement).....	Feb. 1, 1892....	Feb. 1, 1892.....	
Windward Islands, excepting Grenada (agreement).....	Feb. 1, 1892....	Feb. 1, 1892.....	
British Guiana (agreement).....	Feb. 1, 1892....	April 1, 1892.....	Aug. 27, 1894
Salvador (agreement).....	Dec. 30, 1891....	Feb. 1, 1892 (provisional).....	
Nicaragua (agreement).....	March, 11, 1892.....	March 12, 1892.....	
Honduras (agreement).....	April 29, 1892.....	May 25, 1892 (provisional).....	
Guatemala (agreement).....	Dec. 30, 1891....	May 30, 1892.....	
Spain for Cuba and Porto Rico (agreement).....	June 16, 1891....	Sept. 1, 1891 (provisional).....	
Austria-Hungary (agreement).....	May 25, 1892....	May 26, 1892.....	Still in force
France (agreement).....	May 28, 1898....	June 1, 1898.....	Aug. 24, 1894
Germany (agreement).....	Jan. 30, 1892....	Feb. 1, 1892.....	Still in force
Portugal and Azores and Madeira Islands (agreement).....	July 10, 1900....	July 13, 1900.....	Still in force
Italy (agreement).....	May 22, 1900....	June 12, 1900.....	Still in force
Switzerland (treaty of 1850).....	Feb. 8, 1900....	July 18, 1900.....	Still in force
Switzerland.....		June 1, 1898.....	March 23, 1900
Cuba (agreement).....	Dec. 17, 1903....	Jan. 1, 1906.....	Still in force
		Dec. 27, 1903.....	Still in force

Reciprocity treaties or agreements were also negotiated and signed under authority of section 4 of the Act of 1897, with the following governments: United Kingdom, for Jamaica, Turks and Caicos Islands, Barbados, Bermuda, and British Guiana; Dominican Republic; Nicaragua; Ecuador; Argentina; France—but the U. S. Senate has not acted upon them.

The treaty with Cuba, which went into operation Dec. 27, 1903, gives a reduction of 20 per cent duty on all dutiable articles from: Cuba entering the U. S., and a reduction ranging from 20 to 40 per cent on articles from the U. S. entering Cuba.

Feb. 28, 1906, the president, by proclamation, extended to Germany the benefits of reductions of duty allowed under section 3 of the Wilson Tariff Act. On Sept. 1, 1906, a reciprocal arrangement embracing the same articles went into effect between the U. S. and Spain.

RECLAMATION OF LAND: See IRRIGATION; SWAMP LANDS.

RÉCLUS, JACQUES ÉLISÉE: French Social-ist and anarchist communist; born at Sainte Foy la Grande, 1830; studied in Rhenish Prussia and at Berlin. Coming to Paris, his extreme republican views caused him to leave the country after the *coup d'état* of Dec. 2, 1851. Till 1857 he traveled in England, Ireland, the United States, and New Granada. In 1857 he returned to Paris and published his geographical researches. He wrote various scientific works, contributing as well to anarchist and radical journals. Taking part with the Paris Communards in 1871, he was arrested, and, tho defended by eminent scientists, was sentenced to transportation for life, a sentence afterward changed to one of banishment. Going to Switzerland, he was admitted to the benefits of amnesty in 1879. In 1882 he initiated the anti-marriage movement, his two daughters marrying without religious or civil ceremony; appointed, in 1892, professor of comparative geography at the University of Brussels. Died in 1905. Author: "Geographie Universelle"; "Anarchy by an Anarchist"; "Evolution and Revolution." In 1878 he wrote to a congress of anarchists at Freiberg: "We are revolutionaries because we desire justice. . . . Progress has never resulted from mere peaceful evolution. . . . We are anarchists who recognize no one as our master. . . . There is no such thing as morality without liberty. . . . We are also international collectiv-

ists, for we are aware that the very existence of human beings necessarily implies a certain social grouping."

RECREATION CENTERS: Public provision of recreation for adults as well as children is increas-

ingly recognized as essential, especially in the modern city. The playground movement sprang from a public awakening to the pitiful lack of opportunity for play afforded to the child in congested city areas. Children's playgrounds have become accepted necessities in city after city throughout America and Europe. We are now awakening to the need for recreation facilities which will serve not only the children but the whole family and every member of the community, young and old.

The most complete system of public recreation centers has recently been worked out in Chicago, but it was preceded by earlier and partial provision in Boston and New York.

Boston, the first American city to establish playgrounds, was also the first to establish free public indoor gymnasiums. The first of these was opened in 1897, and from this the idea was developed that each ward or section of the city should have "ward buildings" containing baths, gymnasiums, and assembly halls. The scheme has only partially been carried out. New York has made the best progress in opening its public school buildings for social and recreative purposes. The Chicago system of recreation centers in small parks involves, however, practically every essential feature of the earlier enterprises and in addition makes a great advance beyond anything hitherto attempted in this country or abroad.

The Boston plan was developed and its out-working still remains under the direction of the Department of Baths. Other cities insist that

the Board of Education is the only proper authority under which to place not only playgrounds but all public provision of gymnasiums and recreative facilities. The Chicago development, however, has been accomplished by the South Park Commission of that city.

In 1900 one of the foremost park experts of our country, George A. Parker, of Hartford, Conn., made an investigation of the lack of parks in industrial communities. In his report he described his ideal of the socialized park:

I would have playgrounds for the children, lots of shade, and, if possible, grass where the workingman's wife and children could sit during the summer afternoons. I would have lots of seats and tables and a superabundance of light, so that the man after a hard day's work would find a pleasant place during the evening hours, one in which, if he so desires, he could take his evening meal. I would have bright flowers, as circumstances would permit, but none or few shrubs. I would have a stadium where contests could take place, and an outdoor and indoor gymnasium. I would have a shelter with an abundance of room, light, and heat for rainy evenings and winter. I would have band concerts and parties. I believe that the park which is needed in industrial cities has not yet been built.

Mr. Parker's prophecy has been fulfilled to the smallest detail in the Chicago enterprise which was carried through by the South Park Commission under the leadership of President Henry G. Foreman and Superintendent J. Frank Foster.

Enthusiastically backed by the people of the South Side, who voted with large majorities in favor of the various bond issues, these commissioners expended between the years 1904 and 1907 \$6,500,000 in securing the land and erecting ten superb neighborhood club-houses in as many parks. The cost of buildings and improvements, exclusive of land, averaged no less than \$50,000, and the average annual cost of maintenance is from \$25,000 to \$30,000 for each center—this including all expense, indoor and out. On the West Side of Chicago the people voted in 1906 to authorize the Park Commission of that section to issue \$1,000,000 in bonds. This amount has created three recreation centers similar to those on the South Side. And in April, 1907, the North Side voted \$500,000, while the South Side at the same election voted \$3,000,000 to extend the superb system of ten already established. These ten recreation centers in small parks are all located in neighborhoods of working people, several being placed to serve the needs of the hundred thousand or more whose wage-earners are employed in the stock-yards and packing-plants.

The areas of these small parks vary, the five smallest being ten acres each in extent while the largest is sixty acres. Each one of the ten includes a generous ball field, which in the winter is turned into a skating-rink, a toboggan-slide being erected at one end. There is an outdoor gymnasium for men and boys and another for women and girls, both having competent gymnasium instructors. A large swimming-pool is provided—suits, towels, and use of dressing-rooms being absolutely free. The sand piles and wading-pools for children have seats surrounding them so that the mother can sit comfortably under an awning and watch her children at play, perhaps bringing sewing or other work that needs to be done. The playground is divided into different parts for younger and older children so that each group may have just the sort of apparatus and games adapted to its particular age.

The most progressive feature of the recreation center is the people's club-house with its indoor gymnasiums and locker rooms, its assembly hall

for meetings and social gatherings, its small club rooms for the use of small gatherings of societies, its restaurant, providing simple articles of food at little cost, and its reading-room, maintained as a branch of the public library. For none of these facilities except the restaurant is there the slightest charge. The boy or girl enrolls in a gymnasium class in the autumn when the outdoor gymnasiums can no longer be used. If he is regular in attendance and has a gymnasium suit, he is given the use of a locker for the year. A neighborhood mandolin club or debating society has but to apply in order to secure a fine club room for meeting-place once a week throughout the winter. Similarly a group of young people wishing to have a party is given the use of the beautiful assembly hall, palm and flower decoration being supplied by the Park Commissioners at no cost. The same hall may be used by men's or women's clubs for series of lectures on topics of interest and value to the neighborhood. Banquets have been held by local organizations. In fact the space and facilities are at the disposal of the people of the neighborhood for any reasonable use except political and religious meetings.

The pessimists who doubt whether the people take advantage of opportunities will be astonished by the use of these playgrounds and community club-houses. The total attendance on the ten recreation centers for the year ending Nov. 30, 1906, the second year of their existence, was 5,473,695, and this figure does not include visitors or onlookers, but only those who made actual use of the facilities. The indoor gymnasiums had 31,276 different individuals enrolled in gymnasium classes, while the attendance for the year mounted up to 371,158. Of the twenty gymnasiums thus provided, there are four classes a day: just after school is the time for the younger school children; the latter part of the afternoon is for the older school children; in the early evening the classes are designed for working boys and girls, while the latter half of the evening is given over to adults. The shower-baths had an attendance of 806,032; swimming-pools, 756,299; reading-rooms, 608,274; social gatherings and lectures in the assembly halls, 186,534; use of smaller club rooms by 28,239; the lunch rooms had 429,312 customers at five cents or more each; the outdoor gymnasiums, 2,278,847. In the playgrounds and gymnasiums the greatest vigilance is exercised to prevent accidents, and with the enormous attendance it is marvelous that during 1906 there were only thirty-five outdoors, twenty-six in the indoor gymnasiums, and three in the swimming-pools.

Other cities have begun to take notice of this extraordinary civic enterprise, and it has stirred President Roosevelt to express his admiration for Chicago's forward step. Just before the convention of the Playground Association of America in Chicago, in June, 1907, he called public attention to them in the following words: "I trust that all our larger municipalities will send representatives to see the magnificent system that Chicago has erected in its South Park section, one of the most notable civic achievements of any American city."

GRAHAM ROMEYN TAYLOR.

RED CROSS SOCIETY, THE: Was organized at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1866; in the United States in 1884. The name comes from its flag, a red cross on a white field.

"It is a confederation of relief societies in different countries, the aim of which is to ameliorate the condition of sick and wounded soldiers in time of war; and its operations extend over nearly the entire civilized world." This is from the original constitution of the society in Europe. Its organization in Switzerland was due to the efforts of Mr. Henri Dunant and Florence Nightingale, who had done most efficient service during the campaign in the Crimea (1854-56).

In the United States, comparatively exempt from the danger of war, the scope of the society is enlarged. Its constitution says "that the society shall have for one of its objects aid to the suffering in times of great national calamities, such as floods and cyclones—visitations to which we are peculiarly liable—great fires, pestilence, earthquake, local famines." Its organization was due to Miss Clara Barton, until 1904 its active president. During the Civil War Miss Barton did efficient service in alleviating the suffering of the sick and wounded. In the Franco-Prussian War she was connected with the European Red Cross Society, and after her return to this country she finally got the Red Cross Society recognized by the U. S. Government. The organization acts under the Geneva Treaty, the provisions for which were made in international convention at Geneva, Switzerland, Aug. 22, 1864, and have since been signed by nearly all civilized nations.

Many great national calamities have claimed the services of the Red Cross in the U. S. After the great forest fires of Michigan came the floods in Ohio and Mississippi in 1882; the Mississippi cyclone; the floods of 1884; the Virginia epidemic; the Texas drought; the Charleston earthquake; the Mount Vernon (Ill.) cyclone; and the great Johnstown disaster. The society also ministered to the peasants of Russia during the great famine there, and is in Turkey aiding the tortured Armenians. More recently in Cuba, Philippine typhoon (1905), Japanese famine (1905-6), Vesuvian disaster (1906), San Francisco earthquake (1906), Valparaiso earthquake (1906), Gulf storm (1906), Chinese famine (1906-7), Russian famine (1906-7).

In 1905 the American National Red Cross was re-incorporated by Act of Congress, and is now under government supervision. *Secretary*, Charles L. Magee, Room 341, War Dept., Washington, D. C.

REDMOND, JOHN E.: Member British Parliament for Waterford, Ireland; born 1856; was educated at Clongowes College, Kildare, and Dublin colleges. He entered the civil service, and was for a time clerk in the vote office, House of Commons. In 1886 he was elected to the bar at Gray's Inn. He sat in Parliament for New Ross, 1881-85; Wexford, North, 1885-91; Waterford, 1892 to the present. In 1900 he was elected chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and led it with great ability, always ready to ally himself with any English party which would assist the Irish to reach their coveted goal—an independent Ireland with home rule. In this behalf he visited the United States in 1904. *Address:* Upper Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin, Ireland.

REEVES, HON. WILLIAM PEMBER: The first Minister of Labor in New Zealand and since 1896 Agent-General for New Zealand in London; born in Christchurch, New Zealand, 1857. Winning academic honors in New Zealand, he was sent to

Oxford to be educated for the English bar, but returned and entered the New Zealand bar, which, however, he soon relinquished for journalism on his father's paper. In 1887 he entered Parliament and became a leader in the legislative reforms that swept the country in 1890. In 1891 he entered the cabinet as Minister of Labor, where his great work has been the establishment of industrial arbitration, adopted almost without opposition in 1894. In 1896 he went to London as Agent-General for New Zealand. He is author of various books and articles on New Zealand.

REFERENDUM (for definitions and the principles involved, see **DIRECT LEGISLATION**, p. 384-387): The immediate origin of the referendum is in the famous Swiss *landsgemeinden* (see below), the precursors may be found in the ancient *Ecclesia* of Athens, or the general assembly instituted by Solon, in the sixth century B.C., where the citizens had the right of voting on war and peace and questions of general policy. Somewhat akin, too, was the Roman *Comitia Tribula*, or meetings of the people by tribes, which was made in the republic a lawmaking assembly. Compare, too, the gathering of the *ceorls* (churls) in the German mark, where every freeman had a right, by the clash of his shield, to signify assent to the proposition of the earls, or, by refusing to do so, to withhold assent, and this vote being a final decision. (See **MARK**.) (For the American town meeting, see **DIRECT LEGISLATION**.) Similarly in Switzerland, from times immemorial the people of at least some of her cantons, notoriously of Uri and Appenzell and the two Unterwalds, have met, in assemblies, or *landsgemeinden*, in the open, and decided laws by a direct popular vote. As, however, the cantons (see **SWITZERLAND**) grew in population, and the confederation took in towns and cities, this was not always possible, tho the custom still obtains in Uri, Appenzell, Glarus, and the two Unterwalds. Yet even in the cities at various times all the citizens were asked to

vote on certain measures, as in Bern and Zurich at the time of the Reformation, to see how many were Protestants. Bern, from 1469 to 1524 is said to have taken sixty referendums. The referendum appears, too, in a rudimentary form as early as the sixteenth century in the cantons of Graubünden or Grisons and Valais, before those districts had become full-fledged members of the Swiss confederation, and while they were still known as *Zugewandte Orte*, or Associated States. Delegates from their several communes met periodically, but were always obliged to refer their decisions to the communes themselves for final approval. In the same manner the delegates from the various cantons to the old Federal Diet, or assembly of the Swiss confederation, referred their votes to these states. In 1802 the constitution of the Helvetic Republic was referred to a popular vote. Most of the Swiss cantonal constitutional changes have been made by the referendum, and their constitutions now usually require that all such changes be thus made. St. Gall gave the people the right to prevent a law coming into force in 1831; the commune of Basel, in 1832; Valais, 1839; Lucerne, 1841. Valais in 1842 passed a measure referring all laws to the people, but the people voted against the law. Vaud in 1845, and Bern in 1846, adopted the optional referendum. In 1868, after an agitation largely led by the Socialist, Karl Bürkli (*q. v.*), the com-

pulsory referendum was adopted and the initiative, if one third of the members of the Great Council, or 3,000 citizens, demanded it. Thurgau, Bern, Schaffhausen, soon followed, till the compulsory referendum exists to-day in all the Swiss cantons except Freiburg.

The federal referendum was established in 1874. It is compulsory for an amendment of the constitution, if called for by 30,000 citizens or eight cantons. The initiative (see DIRECT LEGISLATION) if supported by 50,000 voters also exists in the federal government; tho nominally admissible only on constitutional amendments, it is in practise applied to any measure by giving it the form of a change in the constitution. Between April, 1874, and Oct., 1896, no less than thirty-eight referendums were taken.

As to the results, however, in Switzerland, authorities somewhat differ, tho it is probable, too, that it is a privilege now so deeply rooted that it could not be taken from the law books. Generally speaking, democratic and progressive students believe it to be a great success, and advocate its adoption in every country. If at times it has prevented the adoption of progressive measures, they argue that this, too, is well, since it shows that the people were not ready for such measures, and the will of the people should be enacted even against progress. Not all, however, hold this view. Says a resolution printed in the (English) *Fabian News* for April, 1896, to be presented to the Socialist Congress of that year:

Resolved, That this congress warns associations of the working classes throughout the world to scrutinize with great care all proposals for transferring direct legislative and administrative power, including the appointment of public officials, from representative bodies to the mass of the electors. The people can only judge political measures by their effect when they have come into operation; they cannot plan measures themselves, or foresee what their effect will be, or give precise instructions to their representatives; nor can any honest representative tell, until he has heard a measure thoroughly discuss by representatives of all other sections of the working class, what form the measure should take so as to keep the interests of his constituents in due subordination to those of the community. It is to be considered, further, that intelligent reformers, especially workmen who have grasped the principles of socialism, are always in a minority; they may address themselves with success to the sympathies of the masses and gain their confidence; but the dry detail of the legislative and administrative steps by which they move toward their goal can never be made interesting or intelligible to the ordinary voter. For these reasons the referendum, in theory the most democratic of popular institutions, is in practise the most reactionary, and is actually being strenuously advocated in England by noted leaders of anti-Socialist opinion with the openly declared intention of using it to stop all further progress toward social democracy.

Nevertheless, the belief in and adoption of the referendum and initiative are spreading through all progressive countries (see DIRECT LEGISLATION), notably in the Western United States upon all questions and in all portions of the U. S. on questions of license.

REFERENCES: S. Deploige, *The Referendum in Switzerland* (tr. by C. P. Trevelyan, 1898); E. P. Oberholtzer, *Referendum in America* (1900); J. W. Sullivan, *Direct Legislation*, (1892). For recent results, see NATIONAL DIRECT LEGISLATION LEAGUE, care of Eltwed Pomeroy, Milburn, N. J.

REFORMATORIES: The very name now applied to intermediate prisons is significant, for the word reformatory indicates a modern theory of social treatment of criminals. Punishment must fit the crime; reformation makes the offender fit to survive. This idea is not absolutely new or modern, but it is only during recent years, and most distinctively in the United States, that it has been introduced in a consistent system of discipline.

In France there are penal institutions for young men, and the administrators of these prisons avail themselves of the aid of philanthropic societies (*patronage des jeunes détenus*) which are found in all parts of the country. Legislation and administrative measures are developing in the same direction as in America. The tendency is to treat all youthful offenders who are not absolutely vicious as acting without complete moral discernment and as capable of improvement by disciplinary education. In England private and public schools for delinquents under sixteen years have rendered valuable service in preventing the growth of crime. The judges exercise discretionary power by warning, fining, suspending sentence, and sending to a reform school. Young men past the sixteenth year are sent to Borstal Reformatory Prison, an institution that seems to be administered in the spirit of our best American reformatories. In some European countries the young offenders are kept separate from older offenders by being placed in isolated cells or in special departments of ordinary penitentiaries.

Very interesting is the movement in Hungary to establish reformatories for young offenders. Those under twenty years of age may be sent by the court to a house of correction or to a separate cell. There are four houses of correction for boys and young men, and one for girls and young women, with accommodations for 700 males and 240 females. It is claimed that after release 65 per cent show good-conduct records, 11 per cent variable, 10 per cent bad, 8 per cent unknown, and 6 per cent are reported as dead. The younger inmates are kept in family-like groups, and are taught handicrafts, ordinary school branches, and religion. There are no institutions exactly corresponding to American reformatories. ("La lutte contre la criminalité des mineurs en Hongrie," par Béla Kun et E. Ládáy, 1905; "Les institutions pénitentiaires de l'Hongrie," par E. de Megyory, 1905.)

No definition of an American reformatory has yet been universally accepted, nor are all institutions which carry this title conducted on precisely the same basis. For the purpose of this article, "reformatory" means an institution of correction for young men or women convicted of serious misdemeanors and crimes. Excluded from the present discussion are: (a) children under sixteen, who are considered in the articles REFORM SCHOOLS, INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS, JUVENILE COURTS, CHILD-HELPING; (b) abnormal offenders (see under FEEBLE-MINDED; EPILEPTICS; INSANE); (c) habitual criminals over thirty years of age; (d) confirmed inebriates, vagabonds, degenerates. All these require separate treatment on special principles.

The most famous and influential of all institutions of this class is that at Elmira, N. Y., where Mr. Z. R. Brockway organized in a consistent system a method of correction based on modern principles developed by practical experience in all civilized countries. This he did with a courage, boldness, and originality that have made his work the center of observation for the whole world and a stimulus for experiment everywhere. Other states of the union have established institutions of the same general type. A list of these institutions is given in the "Proceedings of the National Prison Association for 1905."

Some of the essential principles of the American reformatory may be thus briefly formulated:

(1) The "indeterminate" sentence law must be at the foundation. Progressive educational methods are impossible under a sentence fixt in advance, and in no way modified by the conduct of the prisoner.

Principles

The revolutionary character of the Elmira Reformatory was made possible by the Law of 1877, chapter 173, section 2, which reads: "Every sentence to the reformatory of a person hereafter convicted of a felony or other crime shall be a general sentence to imprisonment in the New York State Reformatory at Elmira, and the courts of this state imposing such sentence shall not fix or limit the duration thereof. The term of imprisonment of any person so convicted and sentenced shall be terminated by the managers of the reformatory, as authorized by this act, but such imprisonment shall not exceed the maximum term provided by law for the crime for which the prisoner was convicted or sentenced." (2) There must be individual study of each inmate by the administrative officers, preliminary to classification and prescription of the educational process. (3) Provisional and conditional classification, usually in three or four grades, promotion or degradation being dependent on the conduct of the individual. (4) The marking system. Each inmate is furnished with the regulations of the institution, and his conduct is marked day by day so that he can see the record which he is making. (5) Education—physical, industrial, literary, moral, and spiritual—with disciplinary measures necessary for control. The idea of retribution being abandoned, that of education for life as the only means of social protection rules all the orders and methods of the establishment. (6) Conditional liberation, after a period of preparation and discipline, on parole and under supervision, and recall by the managers without tedious process in case of violation of parole. This last stage is preparation for free life in that free life itself. The architecture of the buildings, the program of each day, the regulations, the choice of officials, the diet, the occupations, the school and worship, all are made to conform to the principle of education for a free life of voluntary activity and conformity to law.

The following states have special intermediate prisons or reformatories for offenders who are not considered confirmed criminals: Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota,

United States New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin ("Proceedings National Prison Association," 1905, pp. 347-350). Baernreither mentions an institution at Gatesville, Texas. The institution at Pontiac, Ill., has two departments, one for boys of ten to sixteen years of age, and one for young men of sixteen to twenty-one. The reformatory at Jeffersonville, Ind., is for young men of sixteen to thirty. The Kansas reformatory at Hutchinson is for young men of sixteen to twenty-five who have not been previously convicted of felony. The Michigan reformatory is at Ionia. In Minnesota the reformatory for young men sixteen to thirty years of age is at St. Cloud; as in Indiana, the agent secures employment and watches over the conditionally released prisoners until they are finally discharged as reformed. The New Jersey reformatory is at Rahway. The Ohio institution, at Mansfield, is for offenders of from sixteen to thirty years of age. The Wisconsin reformatory, at Green Bay, cares for young men of from sixteen to twenty-five who are first offenders. The Pennsylvania reformatory, at Huntingdon, receives first offenders of the ages fifteen to twenty-five. In the main all the reformatories follow the essential principles which govern the famous institution at Elmira, but some differences in methods and devices are due to local conditions, state laws, inventiveness, and peculiarities of directors and superintendents. For example, at Mansfield, Ohio, some very bold experiments have been made with the permission given prisoners to work in the open fields without guards, and very few have escaped. Baernreither noticed at Concord, Mass., that the indeterminate sentence was used there within narrow restrictions; that the

supervising agent is an officer of the prison commission, and not, as at Elmira, an officer of the reformatory directors. Concord has a farm of about three hundred acres, as well as schools, trades, and shops. There is no military drill as at Elmira. Corporal punishment (whipping) is not permitted. Societies for social and educational purposes are encouraged and self-government is thus promoted.

Typical reformatories for women are found at Sherburn, Mass., at Bedford, N. Y., and at Indianapolis, Ind. Sherburn prison was remarkably fortunate in having for its superintendent during its formative period the strong personality of the late Mrs. Ellen C. Johnson, whose influence is felt through out the nation.

What results have we obtained? Friendly foreign observers, such as Baernreither and Freudenthal, have declared that our statistics are very imperfect and unreliable. The records simply tell us of the conduct of the released persons up to the time of their final discharge; they are not followed farther. Some begin a new criminal career under a new alias. We need a more thorough registration by the Bertillon and fingerprint methods, and a system of correspondence and reports covering several years. The imperfect statistics, supported by the opinions of superintendents and directors, indicate that a very high percentage of the discharged prisoners do well after their lesson. There is no reasonable ground for doubt that the reformatory methods above described yield vastly better results than any others.

C. R. HENDERSON.

REFERENCES: J. M. Baernreither, *Jugendfuersorge und Strafrecht* (1905); S. J. Barrows, *The Reformatory System in the U. S.*; C. R. Henderson, *Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes* (2d ed., 1904, contains bibliography); W. D. Morrison, *Juvenile Offenders*; E. C. Wines, *Prisons and Child-saving Institutions*; F. H. Wines, *Punishment and Reformation*; *Proceedings of the National Prison Congress*, and of the *National Conference of Charities and Correction*; C. R. Henderson, *Modern Prison Systems*; P. Herr, *Das Verbesserungssystem in den Vereinigten Staaten*.

RELIEF STATIONS AND HOME SHELTERS (*Verpflegungsstationen und Herbergen zur Heimath*): German institutions for the benefit of needy or unemployed working men. The relief stations are communal establishments, and provide food and shelter for twenty-four hours, or forty-eight including Sundays; the home shelters are supported by philanthropically inclined persons, and give food and shelter for a week or over. The purpose of both is to prevent vagrancy, mendicity, and pauperism; and to help every self-respecting workingman to get work, or be tided over a period of unemployment without having to resort to begging.

Relief stations are supported at public charge, and are intended chiefly to assist destitute and unemployed men with temporary shelter and help in obtaining work. They are in walking distance of each other and in communication by telephone or in other ways, so that they can hear of chances for work and men may be told in which way to look for work. All is, however, under strict discipline.

When a man arrives at a station, he must show his passport and his "labor book" (*Arbeitsbuch*) in order to legitimize himself both as to his character in regard to the authorities and to his industrious habits. These papers are stamped and retained by the superintendent. A simple meal, consisting of soup or potatoes and herring (cost about twenty pfennige), is served at night, and the men are supposed to be in bed by ten. In the morning they must be ready for the simple breakfast by seven, since work begins at eight. The latter consists of stone-breaking, wood-

chopping, or other duties requiring physical exertion, but not exhaustion, and lasts for four hours. The man is then given a plate of food, his passport is signed and stamped, and sent on his way. If the next station should be too far to be reached during the afternoon, he receives, if penniless, a ticket to a by-station (*Nebenstation*), where he receives food and shelter. By-stations may be had in any number, since they are not special buildings, but approved lodging-houses or inns. A clergyman or other person of good reputation sees to it that they are properly conducted. The cost of feeding and housing a man per day at these stations, including all expenses of management, is about sixty-five to seventy-five pfg., and is charged to the rates.

The motto of these stations is that a man must work for what he gets; work in the morning, walk in the afternoon. If he refuses to do that he is turned over to the police as a vagrant, or left to shift for himself. The latter course brings him into touch with the police, since in many towns and villages maintaining stations private almsgiving is forbidden and punished by law. The man must, consequently, either work or go hungry. This system, comprizing at present about 1,000 stations, has put a stop to mendicity and vagrancy in all provinces of Germany, where they are sufficiently near together. The only complaint which people interested in this problem make, is that their number is too small; under the leadership of Pastor Bodelschwingh they are seeking for legislation to the effect that relief stations should be planted everywhere in the German Empire, so as to help every poor and destitute laborer, and still allow him to move on in search of work.

This is generally provided at the *Herberge zur Heimath* or *Home Shelter*. The home is usually located in a larger town, and is always provided with an employment bureau. Owing to the *Wanderer*, the paper of these institutions, they keep in touch with each other and know fairly well where workmen are needed, so that they can readily supply employment to those who are willing to take it. The procedure on the arrival of a workman at the home is similar to that at the station, with the exception that if a man has lost his passport the superintendent will procure it for him on payment of fifty pfg. or four hours' work in the relief station adjoining. The home is, furthermore, intended to be, as far as possible, a home for the time being to all working men who come under its shelter. It must be kept clean and orderly; furnish cheap but wholesome food; provide religious influences by means of daily services, and banish all harmful practises from its premises, e. g., gambling. In order to have this program carried out, every home is under the supervision of a responsible committee, whose members must be reputable persons, and, if possible, include the local clergy.

The home is usually supplied with a good map of the circuit and country, showing the country roads in every direction, so that the superintendent may advise those who depart as to the quickest way of reaching a certain point. A man may stay in a home for a whole week, provided he pays the moderate charges, about seventy-five cents per day for meals and room. A young pastor or candidate looks after the inmates spiritually both week-days and Sundays.

The increase of the homes has been phenomenal. Professor Clemens Theodor Perthes, of the

University of Bonn, established the first one in that city in 1854; in 1863 there were 19; in 1873, 101; 1886, 252; 1890, 370; 1900, 457; 1904, 402, with over 20,000 beds. In 1903 the homes lodged 1,966,357 paying guests and 683,586 free guests; the latter at a cost of about fifty pfg. per day, or about 368,600 marks.

The various homes have formed an organization, *Deutscher Herberge Verein*, with *Der Wanderer* as their organ; the whole German Empire is subdivided into fifteen unions or subdivisions for the sake of better control and greater efficiency. It was, for instance, largely owing to the efforts of this organization that the relief stations were established by the towns and villages.

RELIGION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS (for special articles on this subject in Great Britain from the Church of England and from the non-conformist point of view, see *SCHOOL QUESTION IN GREAT BRITAIN*. For the situation in France, see *FRANCE*): In the United States there has developed, however, a solution which if not satisfactory to all religious people does seem to satisfy the great majority of people with little prospect of its being changed in any important respect. It must be remembered, however, that there are at least four distinct ways of looking at the question: (1) Radicals usually hold that the public schools should have nothing to do with religion; (2) many Christians contend that the State is lost unless it teach morality, and that morality cannot be taught unless it teach religion; while (3) the majority of Roman Catholics, many Anglicans, and a few of other religious communions go still further and say that morality cannot be taught except by giving the definite religious teaching which they hold true. To each of these three factors (radicals not excepted) it is to a large extent a matter of faith or of principle to carry out their view. Nevertheless, there is a fourth method, and this view, altho perhaps a compromise, is the view generally adopted in the U. S., at present in France, and which appears to be the solution of the question. According to this method the public school does not explicitly teach religion at all, yet does implicitly or indirectly, using the Bible more or less as literature and the spiritual as a part of the universe to be studied as truly as the material.

Examples of the different claims are as follows:

The platform of the Liberal League of the U. S. contains the following:

We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government be abolished, and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

This is the view held by almost all Socialists and by radicals of almost every description. They hold that religion is a personal matter, to be taught in the family or the home. They do not admit that this prevents ethical and moral teaching in the schools.

The view of Roman Catholics, and other believers in parochial or denominational schools, is that morals cannot be taught without religion; that religion cannot be taught in public schools, since it is unjust to tax a Jew to support the teachings of Christianity or vice versa, and that therefore the only way out is to have parochial schools where morals and religion can be taught. Such advocates

**Roman
Catholic
View**

usually claim that money should be raised for education by the school authorities and then that in some way it should be divided among the various denominational or secular schools in proportion to the pupils in each.

Said Archbishop Ireland, in his address to the National Educational Association (St. Paul, July, 1890):

There is and there can be no positive religious teaching where the principle of non-sectarianism rules.

Says the *Catholic Review* of Aug. 31, 1889:

The parochial school is necessary because Catholic children cannot be brought up Catholic and attend the public school. This is a recognized fact. . . . At the present moment the Catholic Church in America depends more on the faith of the Catholic immigrant than on the faith of the generation which has received its education in the public schools. . . . We see no way of making them (young Americans) Catholics than by the parochial school. Our conscience forces us to take up the work.

In the U. S. various ways of compromise with the Roman Catholic view have been tried. As early as 1823 in New York a conflict arose about the division of public funds. In 1831 a grant of \$1,500 was made for a Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum. In 1868 in New Haven, Conn., a Roman Catholic school taught by Sisters of Charity was sustained by public funds. Roman Catholic schools have been sustained in the same way in Waterbury, Conn., Manchester, N. H., notably in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and since then such contributions have grown very large in more than one American city.

More recent has been the so-called Faribault experiment, deriving its name from the town in Minnesota where the event took place. Under the auspices and with the approval of Archbishop Ireland, a parochial school belonging to the Church of the Immaculate Conception was handed over (1891) to the school authorities of the state for a rental of \$1; all the teachers, all the text-books, all the work of the school to be carried on under the authority of the state without any agreement that teachers or teaching should be Roman Catholic, depending only on the authorities to do what was fair. This, however, raised a storm of protest in the Roman Catholic Church and almost equally outside it.

Representative of those who hold that the public schools should teach undenominational religion, Dr. Josiah Strong says ("Our Country," p. 101):

When the fathers added to the Constitution the principle of strict separation of Church and State, they did not intend to divorce the State from all religion. Says Judge Story, speaking of the time when the Constitution was adopted, "The attempt to level all religions, and make it a matter of State policy to hold all in utter indifference, would have created universal disapprobation if not universal indignation." The principle of the separation of Church and State undoubtedly forbids sectarian instruction in the State schools; but we have the highest legal and judicial authority for saying that it does not forbid undenominational religious teaching. . . . Why does the State take money from your pocket to educate my child? Not on the ground that education is a good thing for him, but on the ground that his ignorance would be dangerous to the State. . . . In like manner the State must teach in its schools fundamental religious truths, not because the child should know them in preparation for a future existence—the State is not concerned with the eternal welfare of its citizens—but because immorality is perilous to the State, and popular morality cannot be secured without the sanctions of religion.

The philosopher Cousin, in a report upon public instruction in Germany, referring to the fact that it is based on the Bible, says: "Every wise man will rejoice in this; for, with three fourths of the population, morality can be instilled only through the medium of religion."

Daniel Webster in a Fourth-of-July oration said:

To preserve the government we must also preserve morals. Morality rests on religion. If you destroy the foundation, the superstructure must fall. When the public mind becomes vitiated and corrupt, laws are a nullity and constitutions are waste paper. . . .

Of course parents and the Church may give as much added instruction as they wish, but for the State to go beyond the inculcation of the fundamental truths common to all monotheistic religions would probably lead to the division of the school fund, which would be a great calamity. On the other hand, to secularize the schools is to invite the corruption of popular morals and thus endanger the very foundations of our free institutions.

For a sample of the last and prevailing view we quote an article by Walter L. Hervey (*The Outlook*, Feb. 10, 1906). He says:

Even if it were possible to make the schools more formally religious and less untheological than they now are, it would not be necessary to do so. First, because such instruction can be given outside of the schools without loss, and even with positive gain. And, secondly, because the public schools can meet every legitimate and reasonable demand for religious teaching without such instruction. It is an abuse of language to say that because the public schools do not explicitly teach the existence of a God they are therefore "godless," and to affirm that because they do not teach anything about Christ and the Church they are therefore unchristian, and to imply that if they do not teach ethics they are therefore immoral. . . .

In reply, then, to the question, What is the content of formal religious instruction in the elementary public school? we answer, Nothing. But in answer to the question, What is the real content of religious teaching? we answer, Every thing. There is no subject in the curriculum, there is no relation in the life of the school, which is not packed with potential divinity and may not make for morality. Each study and each experience has its roots in the infinite, and this basic fact may be felt, may be seen, may be lived, without formal instruction therein. The essential principles of Christianity—the fatherhood of God, human brotherhood, the infinite worth of a man, loving service, the abundant life—all these can in every schoolroom be lived, felt, and with increasing clearness known, without claims, without formal credit, and without the inevitable controversies that spring therefrom.

This view appears to be embodied in the "Syllabus on Ethics" which has been adopted for the public schools in the City of New York. Parts of this syllabus are here given as indicating the lines on which, by many thousands of teachers, the problems of moral education are being worked out in the class rooms of a great city system:

It should be the aim of every teacher to make each part of the life of the school count for moral education. This aim should be present not only in formal instruction and training, but also in the general atmosphere and spirit of the class room and of the school. In working toward this aim the following suggestions, based on the experience of practical teachers, will be found helpful:

1. The personality of the teacher is at the root of all moral education in the school. The teacher's ideals, sincerity, poise, self-control, courtesy, voice, manner, dress, and general attitude toward life are potent forces for character-building.
2. Reverence is vital to morality. Whatever quickens in children the feeling of dependence on a Higher Power, whatever leads them devoutly to wonder at the order, beauty, or mystery of the universe, whatever arouses in them the sentiment of worship or fills them with admiration of true greatness, promotes reverence. There is no subject studied in school which, reverently taught, may not yield its contribution to this feeling.
3. Self-respect, which is also fundamental to moral development, is engendered in a child when he does his best at tasks that are worth while and within his power to do well, with proper recognition by teacher and schoolfellows of work well done.
4. The corner-stone of a self-respecting character is principle—the will to be true to the right because it is right, whatever the consequences, to act "with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right." The essential difference between principle and mere self-interest should be vividly brought home to each child.

New York Syllabus on Ethics

5. The spirit of the class room and of the school—the spirit that makes children say with pride "my class" and "our school!"—is one of the strongest of moral forces. Where there exists a proper *esprit du corps*, the problem of discipline is largely

solved. Public opinion as a moral force should be molded and utilized in every school.

6. The child should early gain the idea of social membership. The truth that cooperation and unselfishness are essential to true social living should be made real and vital. This truth is brought home through "group work," where the work of each is necessary to the work of all; and through the feeling in a school or class that the honor of all is in the keeping of each.

The child should also learn that he is a member, not only of the school, but of the family, of the neighborhood, of the city, and of the state and nation. The meaning of loyal membership of these social institutions should be made clear. The naturalness and the necessity of obedience and helpfulness should be shown. The moral aspect of home tasks and of working with and not against the departments of health, street-cleaning, police, and education should be enforced by concrete applications. In general, the truth should be impressed that without loyal and effective social membership no individual can wholly live.

7. No person has a fully developed moral character until there has been a transfer of the seat of authority from without to within himself: a moral man obeys himself. Each child in every grade should be steadily helped toward self-direction and self-government. Effective means to this end are: appeals to initiative and resourcefulness; the development of such a sense of honor as will preserve order without surveillance; and some form of organization designed to quicken and exercise the sense of responsibility. The "school city," when wisely applied and shorn of unnecessary machinery, has been found effective in many schools. But the form of the organization is immaterial. The essential point is that the teacher, himself a member of the community, should make his pupils sharers to a certain extent in the problems arising out of their community life; and that he should entrust to them, as members in their own right of the social body, the performance of certain functions.

9. In connection with the regular studies of the school, certain aspects of contemporary civilization which are of value for developing the social spirit should receive attention. Hospitals, societies for the prevention of cruelty to children and to animals, homes for orphans and for the aged and infirm, fresh-air funds, and similar agencies for social service should be brought within the child's comprehension at the proper stage. Deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice done by firemen, policemen, soldiers, inventors, and persons in the ordinary walks of life should be presented and dwelt on. The truth that success in life means more than mere money-getting can thus be brought home again and again. The contemplation of deeds of cruelty, dishonor, and shame has a necessary, tho subordinate, place in molding moral taste.

11. In all such moral instruction and guidance the following principles should be observed:

- (a) The course of moral training is a development.
- (b) The culture of the imagination is a powerful aid in moral instruction: first, as the power vividly to picture consequences—to put yourself in your own place later on (fore-sight); secondly, as the power to "put yourself in his place" (social imagination, sympathy).
- (c) In using literature and similar material for purposes of moral education, the teacher should not violate the law of self-activity. The child properly resents having a moral drawn for him which he could draw for himself, and he is the more likely to follow the principle which he himself discovers or formulates, because it is his own.
- (d) The most effective method in moral education is positive rather than negative. A mind filled with good interests, high ideals, and helpful activities has no room for evil. Love is a stronger and a better motive than fear.

RENT (Fr. *rente*; It. *rendita*, income; Latin *rendare*, to return) is used, in political economy, specifically for "that portion of the produce of the earth which is paid to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil" (Ricardo, "Political Economy," chap. ii.). The word is sometimes used, even in political economy, in other senses, but in that case the use is explained by the author as something different from the ordinary use, as when one speaks of the rent of ability, the rent of money, the rent of a piano, etc. The word "soil," however, includes that which is beneath or within the soil, all the "natural" advantages of the earth, unimproved by labor. It includes, therefore, mines, streams, water-power, harbors (so far as they are natural), and what is often of greatest importance, it includes the natural advantages of situation, as

land, for example, in the heart of a great city, or at the corner of two great thoroughfares.

Such being the economic use of the word, we pass on to consider the laws and principles which affect rent, and how these are variously conceived by representative writers.

Rent appears on the pages of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" almost incidentally, and not always consistently treated. It is considered as "naturally a monopoly price" (bk. i., chap. xi., pp. 66-67a) to be taken as a matter of course rather than to be explained. Adam Smith says elsewhere, "as soon as the land of any country has all become private property, the landlords, like all other men, love to reap where they never sowed, and demand a rent even for its natural production" (bk. i., chap. vi., p. 23a). Rent, he argues, depends on prices; the fact that the rent of land varies with its fer-

Adam Smith tility and situation he treats as an obvious commonplace, needing little consideration. We have here some of the elements of the Ricardian doctrine of rent, but wholly undeveloped. Beginning, however, with Anderson and continuing through Buchanan, Malthus, and Ricardo, we have the development of that theory of rent which is usually associated with Ricardo's name and has played so large a part in economic science (see RICARDO).

It is this theory which has entered into all modern discussions and affected the theory of wages and profits and lies at the basis, not only of the *laissez-faire* economics, but of Henry George's single tax and most modern socialism. John Stuart Mill says of this theory:

It is one of the cardinal doctrines of political economy; and until it was understood, no consistent explanation could be given of many of the more complicated industrial phenomena.

Of the critics of the theory, Mills says:

A remark is often made, which must not be omitted here, tho, I think, more importance has been attached to it than it merits. Under the name of rent, many payments are commonly included which are not a remuneration for the original powers of the land itself, but for capital expended on it. The additional rent which land yields in consequence of this outlay of capital should, in the opinion of some writers, be regarded as profit, not rent. But before this can be admitted, a distinction must be made. The annual payment by a tenant almost always includes a consideration for the use of the buildings on the farm; not only barns, stables, and other outhouses, but a house to live in, not to speak of fences and the like. The landlord will ask, and the tenant will give, for these whatever is considered sufficient to yield the ordinary profit, or rather (risk and trouble being here out of the question) the ordinary interest, on the value of the buildings; that is, not on what it has cost to erect them, but on what it would now cost to erect others as good; the tenant being bound, in addition, to leave them in as good repair as he found them, for otherwise a much larger payment than simple interest would of course be required from him. These buildings are as distinct a thing from the farm as the stock or the timber on it; and what is paid for them can no more be called rent of land than a payment for cattle would be, if it were the custom that the landlord should stock the farm for the tenant. The buildings, like the cattle, are not land but capital, regularly consumed and reproduced; and all payments made in consideration of them are properly interest.

But with regard to capital actually sunk in improvements, and not requiring periodical renewal, but spent once for all in giving the land a permanent increase of productiveness, it appears to me that the return made to such capital loses altogether the character of profits, and is governed by the principles of rent.

Some writers, in particular Mr. H. C. Carey, take away still more completely than I have attempted to do the distinction between these two sources of rent, by rejecting one of them altogether and considering all rent as the effect of capital expended. In proof of this Mr. Carey contends that the whole pecuniary value of all the land in any country, in England, for instance, or in the United States, does not amount to anything approaching to the sum which has been laid out, or

Carey's
Views

which it would even now be necessary to lay out, in order to bring the country to its present condition from a state of primeval forest. This startling statement has been seized on by M. Bastiat and others as a means of making out a stronger case than could otherwise be made in defense of property in land. Mr. Carey's proposition, in its most obvious meaning, is equivalent to saying that if there were suddenly added to the lands of England an unreclaimed territory of equal natural fertility, it would not be worth the while of the inhabitants of England to reclaim it; because the profits of the operation would not be equal to the ordinary interest on the capital expended. To which assertion, if any answer could be supposed to be required, it would suffice to remark that land not of equal but of greatly inferior quality to that previously cultivated is continually reclaimed in England, at an expense which the subsequently accruing rent is sufficient to replace completely in a small number of years.

Professor Marshall, representing the later political economy, accepts the Ricardian theory in the main, but with some qualifications. He states his view thus ("Economics of Industry," bk. ii., chap. iii.):

Suppose a farmer to have £500 which he is thinking of applying in extra cultivation of his farm, and to have calculated that it will only just answer his purpose to do so. He has calculated, that is, that if he applies this extra £500 he will, after paying for labor, seed, taxes, etc., get an extra net produce of the value of £40; i. e., at the rate of 8 per cent on the extra outlay. This is, we suppose, just sufficient to remunerate him; so that if he expected to get less, the chance of the improvement turning out unsuccessful, and the prospect of additional trouble in working it, would induce him to invest the money in railroad stock or some other securities.

He hears at this time that a small adjacent farm of 50 acres is to let, and he is asked what rent he would be willing to pay for it. His £500 would be just enough for working this farm, and he could work it with the same trouble that it would give him to apply the extra £500 to the farm he already has. He calculates that taking one year with another he may expect to get from it £100 worth of net profit after paying for labor, seed, taxes, etc.

So he will pay just £60 rent for the use of this land. If he can get the land for this he will take it; but he will not give any more for it, and it will not be likely to be worth any one else's while to offer more. So the landlord cannot get more than this for it. If he puts up the farm to competition and plays off one farmer against another, he may just get £60; and this is then the competition rent, or, as it is sometimes called, the economic rent of the farm. Many disturbing circumstances, such as custom, the absence of an active spirit of competition on the part of the farmers, generosity or sluggishness on the part of the landlord may cause the actual rent to be less than this. But £60 is the rent that will be obtained if there is a perfectly good market for the hire of the land; that is, if on the one hand the landlord exerts himself to get the best rent he can for the land, and, on the other hand, there are competent men in the neighborhood who are ready to rent farms.

This illustration shows us that the economic rent of a piece of land is found by subtracting from the value of its annual produce an amount sufficient to return the farmer's outlay with profits.

Of course allowance must be made for the risk of bad harvests. This is done by assuming that the harvest is an

Economic Rent

average one. It must also be supposed that the farmer has neither more nor less skill and enterprise than most others in his neighborhood, or, as we may say, that he is an average farmer. The rent, then, is the surplus return which the land gives in an average harvest, after repaying the average farmer's outlay with profits, provided he has applied so much capital to it as to make this surplus return as large as he can. If he has applied less than this amount of capital some one else who intends to apply more than he has done, and thus obtain a larger surplus return, may offer to pay a higher rent.

Further, the above illustration shows that the amount of produce which a farmer must retain, in order to be remunerated for his outlay, can be discovered by observing what amount of additional return is just sufficient to induce him, or another farmer in the same neighborhood, to apply extra capital to his land. . . .

It may happen that there is in the neighborhood land for which no rent can be obtained, because the return to the capital applied to this land remunerates, but only just remunerates, the farmer. In this case we may say that the amount of produce which a farmer must retain, in order to be remunerated for his outlay, is equal to the produce that could be raised by the same amount of capital from an adjacent piece of land that pays no rent, but yet is cultivated.

The law of rent may therefore be stated thus: The rent of a piece of land is the excess of its produce over the produce of an adjacent piece of land which is cultivated with an equal amount of capital, and which would not be cultivated at all if rent was demanded for it.

Of one important deduction from the Ricardian law of rent Professor Fawcett has made a clear explanation. He says ("Manual of Political Economy," bk. ii. chap. iii.):

From Ricardo's theory of rent there can be deduced the very important proposition, that rent is not an element of the cost of obtaining agricultural produce. A no less eminent writer than the late Mr. Buckle has assured his readers that the proposition just stated can only be grasped by a comprehensive thinker; we, however, believe that it may be made very intelligible by a simple exposition. If rent is not an element of cost of production, food would be no cheaper if all land were arbitrarily made rent free. Let us, therefore, inquire if this would be the case. It has been frequently stated in this chapter that there is always some land in cultivation so poor that it can only afford to pay a nominal rent; the produce it yields being no more than sufficient to reimburse the expenses of cultivation.

Let us now suppose that all land is made rent-free by an arbitrary edict of the government. Such an act of spoliation, altho it would unjustly interfere with property, would not cause any diminution in the consumption of food; the same quantity of agricultural produce would be required as before; the same area of land would, therefore, have to be cultivated. That land would still require to be tilled which previously only paid a nominal rent; but if food was rendered cheaper, by making land rent-free, this land, which before only paid nominal rent, would be cultivated at a loss. No person, however, will continue to apply his labor and capital if he does not obtain in return the ordinary rate of profit, and, therefore, if food became cheaper, such land as we have just described would cease to be cultivated; but this cannot be, because the demand of the country for food is such that the produce which this land yields cannot be dispensed with. It is therefore manifest that food would not become cheaper even if land were made rent-free. Rent, consequently is not an element in the cost of production. The value of food is, *ceteris paribus*, determined by the demand for it, because the demand for food regulates the margin of cultivation. Altho the payment of rent does not influence the cost of producing food, yet the amount of rent paid indicates the position of the margin of cultivation, and the value of food must rise as this margin of cultivation descends.

(For the facts of modern rent and the important part played by rent in commercial and industrial life, and for land reforms, see articles EXPENDITURE; LAND; and SINGLE TAX.)

REPUBLICAN PARTY AND SOCIAL REFORM:

A statement abridged from Mr. Roosevelt's principal messages to Congress, on social and industrial questions (Dec. 3, 1901, and Jan. 31, 1908), as coming from the accredited representative of the party, tho opposed on many points by not a few in his party.

As a nation we still continue to enjoy a literally unprecedented prosperity; and it is probable that only reckless speculation and disregard of legitimate business methods on the part of the business world can materially mar this prosperity.

In dealing with both labor and capital, with the questions affecting both corporations and trade-unions, there is one matter more important to remember than aught else, and that is the infinite harm done by preachers of mere discontent. These are the men who seek to excite a violent class hatred against all men of wealth. They seek to turn wise and proper movements for the better control of corporations and for doing away with the abuses connected with wealth, into a campaign of hysterical excitement and falsehood in which the aim is to inflame to madness the brutal passions of mankind. In reality they are the worst enemies of the cause they profess to advocate, just as the purveyors of sensational slander in newspaper or magazine are the worst enemies of all men who are engaged in an honest effort to better what is bad in our social and governmental conditions. The one hope for success for our people lies in a resolute and fearless, but sane and cool-headed, advance along the path marked out last year by this very Congress.

Capital and Labor

So far as it is in our power, it should be our aim steadily to reduce the number of hours of labor, with as a goal the general introduction of an eight-hour day. There are industries in which it is not possible that the hours of labor should be reduced; just as there are communities not far enough advanced for such a movement to be for their good, or, if in the tropics, so situated that there is no analogy between their needs and ours in this matter. But the wage-workers of the United States are of so high a grade that alike from the merely industrial standpoint and from the civic standpoint it should be our object to do what we can in the direction of securing the general observance of an eight-hour day. Half-holidays during summer should be established for government employees; it is as desirable for wage-workers who toil with their hands as for salaried officials whose labor is mental that there should be a reasonable amount of holiday.

More and more our people are growing to recognize the fact that the questions which are not merely of industrial but of social importance out-

**Industrial
Legislation**

weigh all others; and these two questions most emphatically come in the category of those which affect in the most far-reaching way the home life of the nation. The horrors incident

to the employment of young children in factories or at work anywhere are a blot on our civilization. It is true that each state must ultimately settle the question in its own way; but a thorough official investigation of the matter, with the results published broadcast, would greatly help toward arousing the public conscience and securing unity of state action in the matter.

The commission appointed by the president Oct. 16, 1902, at the request of both the anthracite coal operators and miners, to inquire into, consider, and pass upon the questions in controversy in connection with the strike in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania and the causes out of which the controversy arose, in their report, findings, and award, express the belief "that the state and federal governments should provide the machinery for what may be called the compulsory investigation of controversies between employers and employees when they arise." This expression of belief is deserving of the favorable consideration of the Congress and the enactment of its provisions into law. A bill has already been introduced to this end.

It is not wise that the nation should alienate its remaining coal lands. I have temporarily withdrawn from settlement all the lands which the Geological Survey has indicated as containing, or in all probability containing, coal. The

Coal Lands

question, however, can be properly settled only by legislation, which in my judgment should provide for the withdrawal of these lands from sale or from entry, save in certain especial circumstances. The ownership would then remain in the U. S., which should not, however, attempt to work them, but permit them to be worked by private individuals under a royalty system, the government keeping such control as to permit it to see that no excessive price was charged consumers. It would, of course, be as necessary to supervise the rates charged by the common carriers to transport the product as the rates charged by those who mine it; and the supervision must extend to the conduct of the common carriers, so that they shall in no way favor one competitor at

the expense of another. The withdrawal of these coal lands would constitute a policy analogous to that which has been followed in withdrawing the forest lands from ordinary settlement. The coal, like the forests, should be treated as the property of the public and its disposal should be under conditions which would inure to the benefit of the public as a whole.

It cannot too often be repeated that experience has conclusively shown the impossibility of securing by the actions of nearly half a hundred different state legislatures anything but ineffective chaos in the way of dealing with the great corporations which do not operate exclusively within the limits of any one state. In some method, whether by a national license law or in other fashion, we must exercise, and that at an early date, a far more complete control than at present over these great corporations—a control that will among other things prevent the evils of excessive overcapitalization, and that will compel the disclosure by each big corporation of its stockholders and of its properties and business, whether owned directly or through subsidiary or affiliated corporations. The best way to avert the very undesirable move for the governmental ownership of railways is to secure by the government on behalf of the people as a whole such adequate control and regulation of the great interstate common carriers as will do away with the evils which give rise to the agitation against them.

The actual working of our laws has shown that the effort to prohibit all combination, good or bad, is noxious where it is not ineffective. Combination of capital like combination of labor is a necessary element of our present industrial system. It is not possible completely to prevent it; and if it were possible, such complete prevention would do damage to the body politic. What we need is not vainly to try to prevent all combination, but to secure such rigorous and adequate control and supervision of the combinations as to prevent their injuring the public, or existing in such form as inevitably to threaten injury—for the mere fact that a combination has secured practically complete control of a necessary of life would under any circumstances show that such combination was to be presumed to be adverse to the public interest.

The question of taxation is difficult in any country, but it is especially difficult in ours with its federal system of government. Some taxes should on every ground be levied in a small district for use in that district. Thus the taxation of real estate is peculiarly one for the immediate locality in which the real estate is found. Again, there is no more legitimate tax for any state than a tax on the franchises conferred by that state upon street-railroads and similar corporations which operate wholly within the state boundaries, sometimes in one and sometimes in several municipalities or other minor divisions of the state. But there are many kinds of taxes which can only be levied by the general government so as to produce the best results, because, among other reasons, the attempt to impose them in one particular state too often results merely in driving the corporation or individual affected to some other locality or other state. The national government has long derived its chief revenue from a tariff on imports and from an internal or excise tax. In addition to these, there is every reason why, when next our

**Inheritance
and
Income Tax**

system of taxation is revised, the national government should impose a graduated inheritance tax, and, if possible, a graduated income tax. The man of great wealth owes a peculiar obligation to the State, because he derives special advantages from the mere existence of government. Not only should he recognize this obligation in the way he leads his daily life and in the way he earns and spends his money, but it should also be recognized by the way in which he pays for the protection the State gives him.

It would be impossible to overstate (tho it is of course difficult quantitatively to measure) the effect upon a nation's growth to greatness of what may be called organized patriotism, which necessarily includes the substitution of a national feeling for mere local pride; with as a resultant a high ambition for the whole country. No country can develop its full strength so long as the parts which make up the whole each put a feeling of loyalty to the part above the feeling of loyalty to the whole. It is probable that a thoroughly efficient system of education comes next to the influence of patriotism in bringing about national success of this kind. Our federal form of government, so fruitful of advantage to our people in certain ways, in other ways undoubtedly limits our national effectiveness. It is not possible, for instance, for the national government to take the lead in technical industrial education, to see that the public-school system of this country develops on all its technical, industrial, scientific, and commercial sides. This must be left primarily to the several states. Our industrial development depends largely upon technical education, including in this term all industrial education, from that which fits a man to be a good mechanic, a good carpenter, or blacksmith, to that which fits a man to do the greatest engineering feat. The skilled mechanic, the skilled workman, can best become such by technical industrial education.

In every possible way we should help the wage-worker who toils with his hands and who must (we hope in a constantly increasing measure) also toil with his brain.

The only other persons whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as is the welfare of the wage-workers are the tillers of the soil, the farmers. It is a mere truism to say that no growth of cities, no growth of wealth, no industrial

Agriculture development can atone for any falling off in the character and standing of the farming population. During the last few decades this fact has been recognized with ever-increasing clearness. There is no longer any failure to realize that farming, at least in certain branches, must become a technical and scientific profession. This means that there must be open to farmers the chance for technical and scientific training, not theoretical merely but of the most severely practical type. The farmer represents a peculiarly high type of American citizenship, and he must have the same chance to rise and develop as other American citizens have.

Organization has become necessary in the business world; and it has accomplished much for good in the world of labor. It is no less necessary for farmers. Such a movement as the Grange movement is good in itself and is capable of a well-nigh infinite further extension for good so long as it is kept to its own legitimate business. The benefits to be derived by the association of farm-

ers for mutual advantage are partly economic and partly sociological.

Moreover, while in the long run voluntary effort will prove more efficacious than government assistance, while the farmers must primarily do most for themselves, yet the government can also do much. The Department of Agriculture has broken new ground in many directions, and year by year it finds how it can improve its methods and develop fresh usefulness. Its constant effort is to give the governmental assistance in the most effective way; that is, through associations of farmers rather than to or through individual farmers.

Much is now being done for the states of the Rocky Mountains and great plains through the development of the national policy of irrigation and forest preservation; no government policy for the betterment of our internal conditions has been more fruitful of good than this. The forests of the White Mountains and southern Appalachian regions should also be preserved; and they cannot be unless the people of the states in which they lie, through their representatives in the Congress, secure vigorous action by the national government.

I am well aware of how difficult it is to pass a constitutional amendment. Nevertheless, in my judgment the whole question of marriage and divorce should be relegated to the authority of the national Congress. At present the wide differences in the laws of the different states on

Marriage and Divorce this subject result in scandals and abuses; and surely there is nothing so vitally essential to the welfare of the nation, nothing around which the nation should so bend itself to throw every safeguard, as the home life of the average citizen. The change would be good from every standpoint. In particular it would be good because it would confer on the Congress the power at once to deal radically and efficiently with polygamy; and this should be done whether or not marriage and divorce are dealt with. It is neither safe nor proper to leave the question of polygamy to be dealt with by the several states. Power to deal with it should be conferred on the national government.

Let me once again call the attention of the Congress to two subjects concerning which I have frequently before communicated with them. One is the question of developing American shipping. I trust that a law embodying in substance the views, or a major part of the views, expressed in the report on this subject laid before the House at its last session will be passed. I am well aware that in former years objectionable measures have been proposed in reference to the encouragement of American shipping; but it seems to me that the proposed measure is as nearly unobjectionable as any can be. It will, of course, benefit primarily our seaboard states, such as Maine, Louisiana, and Washington; but what benefits part of our people in the end benefits all; just as government aid to irrigation and forestry in the West is really of benefit, not only to the Rocky Mountain states, but to all our country.

I especially call your attention to the second subject, the condition of our currency laws. The national bank act has ably served a great purpose in aiding the enormous business development of the country; and within ten years there has been an increase in circulation per capita from \$21.41 to \$33.08. For several years evi-

Currency Reform

dence has been accumulating that additional legislation is needed. The recurrence of each crop season emphasizes the defects of the present laws. There must soon be a revision of them, because to leave them as they are means to incur liability of business disaster.

I most earnestly hope that the bill to provide a lower tariff for or else absolute free trade in Philippine products will become a law. No harm will come to any American industry; and while there will be some small but real material benefit to the Filipinos, the main benefit will come by the showing made as to our purpose to do all in our power for their welfare. So far our action in the Philippines has been abundantly justified, not mainly and indeed not primarily because of the added dignity it has given us as a nation by proving that we are capable honorably and efficiently to bear the international burdens which a mighty people should bear, but even more because of the immense benefit that has come to the people of the Philippine Islands. In these islands we are steadily introducing both liberty and order, to a greater degree than their people have ever before known.

American citizenship should be conferred on the citizens of Porto Rico.

We should as a nation do everything in our power for the cause of honorable peace. It is morally as indefensible for a nation to commit a wrong upon another nation, strong or weak, as for an individual thus to wrong his fellows. We should do all in our power to hasten the day when there shall be peace among the nations—a peace based upon justice and not upon cowardly submission to wrong.

Dec. 3, 1906.

The recent decision of the Supreme Court in regard to the employers' liability act, the experience of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of the Department of Justice in enforcing the interstate commerce and antitrust laws, and the gravely significant attitude toward the law and its administration recently adopted by certain heads of great corporations, render it desirable that there should be additional legislation as regards certain of the relations between labor and capital, and between the great corporations and the public.

The Supreme Court has decided the employers' liability law to be unconstitutional because its terms apply to employees engaged wholly in intrastate commerce as well as to employees engaged in interstate commerce. By a substantial majority the court holds that the Congress has power to deal with the question in so far as interstate commerce is concerned.

As regards the employers' liability law, I advocate its immediate reenactment, limiting its scope so that it shall apply only to the class of cases as to which the court says it can constitutionally apply, but strengthening its provisions within this scope. Interstate employment being thus covered by an adequate national law, the field of intrastate employment will be left to the action of the several states. With this clear definition of responsibility the states will undoubtedly give to the performance of their duty within their field the consideration the importance of the subject demands.

I also very urgently advise that a comprehensive act be passed providing for compensation by the government to all employees injured in the government service. Under the present law an

injured workman in the employment of the government has no remedy, and the entire burden of the accident falls on the helpless man, his wife, and his young children. This is an outrage. It is a matter of humiliation to the nation that there should not be on our statute-books provision to meet and partially atone for cruel misfortune when it comes upon a man through no fault of his own while faithfully serving the public.

The same broad principle which should apply to the government should ultimately be made applicable to all private employers.

I again call your attention to the need of some action in connection with the abuse of injunctions in labor cases. As regards the rights and wrongs of labor and capital, from blacklisting to boycotting, the whole subject is covered in admirable fashion by the report of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, which report should serve as a chart for the guidance of both legislative and executive officers. As regards injunctions, I can do little but repeat what I have said in my last message to the Congress. Even tho it were possible, I should consider it most unwise to abolish the use of the process of injunction. It is necessary in order that the courts may maintain their own dignity and in order that they may in effective manner check disorder and violence. The judge who uses it cautiously and conservatively, but who, when the need arises, uses it fearlessly, confers the greatest service upon our people, and his preeminent usefulness as a public servant should be heartily recognized. But there is no question in my mind that it has sometimes been used heedlessly and unjustly, and that some of the injunctions issued inflict grave and occasionally irreparable wrong upon those enjoined.

It is all wrong to use the injunction to prevent the entirely proper and legitimate actions of labor organizations in their struggle for industrial betterment, or under the guise of protecting property rights unwarrantably to invade the fundamental rights of the individual. It is futile to concede, as we all do, the right and the necessity of organized effort on the part of wage-earners and yet by injunctive process to forbid peaceable action to accomplish the lawful objects for which they are organized and upon which their success depends.

Not only should there be action on certain laws affecting wage-earners; there should also be such action on laws better to secure control over the great business concerns engaged in interstate commerce, and especially over the great common carriers. The Interstate Commerce Commission should be empowered to pass upon any rate or practise on its own initiative. Moreover, it should be provided that whenever the commission has reason to believe that a proposed advance in a rate ought not to be made without investigation, it should have authority to issue an order prohibiting the advance pending examination by the commission.

I would not be understood as expressing an opinion that any or even a majority of these advances are improper. Many of the rates in this country have been abnormally low. The operating expenses of our railroads, notably the wages paid railroad employees, have greatly increased. These and other causes may in any given case justify an advance in rates, and if so the advances should be permitted and approved. But there may be, and doubtless are, cases where this is not true; and our law should be so framed

that the government, as the representative of the whole people, can protect the individual against unlawful exaction for the use of these public highways. The Interstate Commerce Commission should be provided with the means to make a physical valuation of any road as to which it deems this valuation necessary. In some form the federal government should exercise supervision over the financial operations of our interstate railroads. In no other way can justice be done between the private owners of those properties and the public which pay their charges.

I think that the federal government must also assume a certain measure of control over the physical operation of railways in the handling of interstate traffic. The commission now has authority to establish through routes and joint rates. In order to make this provision effective and in order to promote in times of necessity the proper movement of traffic, I think it must also have authority to determine the conditions upon which cars shall be interchanged between different interstate railways. It is also probable that the commission should have authority, in particular instances, to determine the schedule upon which perishable commodities shall be moved.

In this connection I desire to repeat my recommendation that railways be permitted to form traffic associations for the purpose of conferring about and agreeing upon rates, regulations, and practises affecting interstate business in which the members of the association are mutually interested. This does not mean that they should be given the right to pool their earnings or their traffic. The law requires that rates shall be so adjusted as not to discriminate between individuals, localities, or different species of traffic. Ordinarily, rates by all competing lines must be the same. As applied to practical conditions, the railway operations of this country cannot be conducted according to law without what is equivalent to conference and agreement. The articles under which such associations operate should be approved by the commission; all their operations should be open to public inspection; and the rates, regulations, and practises upon which they agree should be subject to disapproval by the commission.

I urge this last provision with the same earnestness that I do the others. This country provides its railway facilities by private capital. Those facilities will not be adequate unless the capital employed is assured of just treatment and an adequate return. In fixing the charges of our railroads, I believe that, considering the interests of the public alone, it is better to allow too liberal rather than too scanty earnings, for, otherwise, there is grave danger that our railway development may not keep pace with the demand for transportation. But the fundamental idea that these railways are public highways must be recognized, and they must be open to the whole public upon equal terms and upon reasonable terms.

Jan. 31, 1908.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

REVENUE: For the principles involved in problems of revenue, see **FINANCE**; **TAXATION**; **FREE TRADE**; **PROTECTION**; **SOCIALISM**; **STATE**.

REVIVAL OF HANDICRAFTS: Varied efforts are being made to-day to revive the production of articles of a more or less artistic nature by hand instead of by machinery. Manufacture was almost entirely by hand, supplemented by tools,

until the introduction of steam. The latter made possible the replacing of the hand as the principal tool and propelling power by machinery. Manufacture became machinofacture. Production became immensely prolific and enabled many people to enjoy comforts which had been denied to them before. But it also repressed the individuality of the maker, who really became merely a machine to watch and operate another machine. The pride, the satisfaction, and the creative sense in one's own product was largely gone. In order to reintroduce the personal element into the making of semi-artistic articles, a movement has been started in nearly every civilized country for teaching, fostering, and encouraging handicrafts along numerous lines.

The crafts which are taken up are chiefly those in which machinery cannot compete successfully, e. g., rug- and carpet-weaving, lace-making, basketry, ceramics, wood and metal work, sloyd, printing and binding of books in *éditions de luxe*, cabinet-making, decorating, house-painting, etc.

The movement in England was started chiefly through the influence of John Ruskin and William Morris. The latter says: "To give people pleasure in the things they must perforce use, that is one great office of decoration; to give people pleasure in the things they must perforce make, that is the other use of it." Ruskin held that a man should use his brains as well as his hands in whatsoever he produced, which implies in crafts the ability to design and create new models, and thus to impress one's individuality upon the product and express one's personality in it. Only in that way can the mechanical operation of the hand be raised into the realm of the spiritual, and personality developed instead of disintegrated. Ruskin (*q. v.*) started the Society of St. George with the promotion of handicrafts as one of its objects. The trade-schools (*q. v.*) have now taken up this matter to a large extent. The Sloyd Association of Great Britain and Ireland (131 Percy Road, Shepherd's Bush, London, W.) has similar aims.

The most conspicuous attempt in reviving handicrafts has, however, been made in Ireland, and partly in England, for the Irish. The Gaelic League, founded in 1893, has made this endeavor one of its objects. By reviving the crafts and the house industries, particularly in the country districts, the league hopes to give congenial employment to boys and men during the winter and to women all the year round. If successful, this arrangement will operate reciprocally—in diminishing idleness in the country districts, and in providing a market for farm products. Thus both consumption and production will be affected advantageously. In order to create a market for these products, particularly the lace and linen, the league has arranged an annual exhibition of Irish goods in London with a permanent center at 26 Ludgate Hill. Ever since, there has been a ready market for these goods, and many formerly poor families now make a comfortable living. Beside this economic advantage has been a political advantage. The revival of craftsmanship has taught the north and the south of Ireland that their problem is ultimately the same.

On the Continent the movement finds expression chiefly in the *Gewerbe- und Kunstschulen* of Germany, which have been taken as models by other countries, and by permanent exhibits, e. g., in Nuremberg and in Vienna. In the latter city

Dr. Vetter has succeeded in creating a very excellent trade and crafts museum, while the products of the different crown lands, peculiar to each, are exhibited and find ready purchasers. This ready market, again, stimulates the craftsmen and women to higher and nobler efforts, and thus a signal service is rendered to numerous people, not only economically but artistically, especially since some artists of note have taken a lively interest in the matter by giving instruction in drawing and designing, and furnishing samples of superior workmanship.

The French Chamber in 1906 set aside the sum of 10,000 francs for an investigation concerning ways and means by which the house industries in country districts may be saved from ruin, how new ones may be created, and thus idleness and poverty be obviated. This is in addition to what is being done in the trade-schools. Belgium is trying her best to foster lace-making and other house industries which require skill and originality.

In the United States a strong tendency has been shown in recent years toward reviving and fostering craftsmanship. Perhaps most prominent in this respect is the domestic weaving and rug-making, in villages and countryside both in New England and the Appalachian Mountains, where some women have preserved their secret of weaving and dyeing rugs of exceptional beauty. Among the Scandinavians of the West there are also some women who have not forgotten their skill in this line. The revival has been due in the southern mountains chiefly to philanthropic efforts; in New England to summer boarders of artistic taste and lovers of the unconventional. Hardly more than the principal places can be mentioned in this article. The Acadians in the Attakapas region of southern Louisiana make blankets and cottonade suitings. The Log Cabin settlement near Asheville, N. C., has encouraged chiefly the weaving of coverlets. The Alland Cottage Industries in Madison, N. C., have revived an industry among the mountaineers which provides a comfortable living for them. The Berea Fireside Industries in Kentucky have rehabilitated the art of dyeing and weaving in that neighborhood. Similar industries exist now in Russellville, Tenn., Proctor, Ky., Hindman, Ky., Rome, Ga. In New England rug-making was revived first at Pequaket, N. H., by Mrs. Helen R. Albee, a designer. The Sabatos rugs of Center Lovell, Me., have found favor with artists in New York City. The Cranberry Isles, Me., Belchertown, Mass., Plainfield, N. H., have also experienced a revival of their house industry of rug-making. The Charity Society of New York City and Grace Church Hospital for old people have given employment to people at rug-making. There are a large number of other places where successful attempts have been made in this direction. Among these the Roycroft Shop, at East Aurora, N. Y., is, perhaps, the most prominent.

An interesting innovation in this line has been introduced at Hull House, Chicago, in 1900. A museum showing various handicrafts in their process of evolution was established, and the various nationalities in the neighborhood were asked to bring their distaffs, spinning-wheels, looms, etc., in order to furnish an opportunity for comparisons both as to implements and processes of spinning, weaving, etc. Thus a number of fabrics and rugs were produced representing Greeks, Irish, Italians, Syrians.

Weaving on hand-loom has been introduced into the curricula of several industrial schools, e. g., at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., for rugs, table-covers, portières, etc. A class in dyeing from vegetable dyes has also been introduced. The Teachers' College, New York City, Newcomb College, New Orleans, the Home Industrial School, Asheville, N. C., are also giving classes in rug-weaving. Even two elementary schools, the Dewey School at Chicago, and the Motley School, Minneapolis, are giving courses in textile handicrafts.

Rug-weaving is only a part of a larger movement. There has been a tendency since 1875 in the direction of hand-made goods. Wood-carving, overglaze china painting, pottery, were the first crafts to attract attention, particularly in Cincinnati, where several clubs were started with good results, and where the Art Academy is doing excellent work. Chicago followed this example in the "nineties" with various clubs devoting themselves to the acquirement of skill and dexterity in numerous lines. Since 1900 Boston, New York City, Syracuse, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Dayton, Ohio, Indianapolis, and many smaller places have formed clubs for giving men and women opportunities to perfect themselves in one or more crafts. Byrdcliffe, Woodstock, N. Y., deserves special mention. It is a summer art school for various crafts, but the intention of Mr. Ralph Radcliffe-Whitehead, the founder, is to establish a permanent art village. Even stock companies have been formed for the promotion of crafts, e. g., at Glen Eirie, Saugerties, N. Y.

Hand in hand with this movement has gone that for the preservation of handicrafts among the Indians, and among the natives of Porto Rico. Basketry, bead-work, blanket-weaving among the Indians is receiving special attention at several reservations and from a number of associations, e. g., the Mohonk Lodge, Sequoia League, Basket Fraternity, etc.

The movement is now in full swing, and is benefiting a large number of people economically, artistically, and socially. If it is to succeed, the crafts must give scope to native genius and esthetic sense. What militates against it is the disappearance of national costumes through the leveling influence of modern fashions, which consider only him or her as being within the pale of civilization who is dressed more or less in some imitation of Paris models. America is the greatest sinner in this respect; it is, consequently, a hopeful sign that she has taken up the movement so vigorously.

A list of the more important arts and crafts clubs and societies in the U. S. follows:

- Chicago Arts and Crafts Society, 1301 Woman's Temple, Chicago.
- Society of Arts and Crafts, 9 Park Street, Boston, Mass.
- Arts and Crafts Society, Deerfield, Mass.
- Hingham Society of Arts and Crafts, Hingham, Mass.
- Greenfield Arts and Crafts Society, Greenfield, Mass.
- New Clairvaux Arts and Crafts Society, Montague, Mass.
- Guild of Arts and Crafts, 109 East Twenty-third Street, New York.
- Society of Arts and Crafts, 323 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Md.
- Malden Arts and Crafts Society, Malden, Mass.
- Brewster Guild of Arts and Crafts, Brewster, Mass.
- Southampton Arts and Crafts, Southampton, Mass.
- Dorchester Arts and Crafts Society, Dorchester, Mass.
- Society of Arts and Crafts, Grand Rapids, Mich.
- Arts and Crafts Club of St. Louis, Mo., 33 Linmar Building.
- Arts and Crafts Society, Dayton, Ohio, 500 East Second Street.
- Center Lovell Handicraft Society, Center Lovell, Me.

Arts and Crafts Society, Minneapolis, Minn., 1521 Laurel Avenue.
 Arts and Crafts Club, Fargo, N. Dak.
 Arts and Crafts Club, Hartford, Conn., 105 Trumbull Street.
 Arts and Crafts Club of Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Ill.
 Society of Arts and Crafts, Exeter, N. H.
 Arts and Crafts Society of St. Joseph, Mo.
 Guild of Arts and Crafts of California, 639 Kearny Street, San Francisco.
 Arts and Crafts Association, Fitchburg, Mass.
 Hamilton Arts and Crafts Club, Hamilton, N. Y.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: *The Revival of Handicrafts in America*, by Max West, Ph.D., *Bulletin of Bureau of Labor*, No. 55.

REVISIONISTS, THE: The constructive wing of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. It comprises a brilliant array of writers, political representatives, and trade-union leaders. Besides Eduard Bernstein and George von Vollmar, we find Carl Legien, Adolph von Elm, Ignatz Auer (the party secretary), A. Hue, Wolfgang Heine, Paul Kampfmeyer, and many others.

The Revisionists accept the doctrines of Marx as the basis of their economic and political activity. But they also hold that the theories of Marx need revision in many vital respects.

They declare that, especially in the field of agriculture, Marx's prediction of the concentration of wealth and the wiping out of the middle class has not been verified by the economic development. They also find fault with Marx's theory of value in some points, and furthermore contend that while the old middle class is disappearing, a new middle class, made up of well-paid foremen, superintendents, bookkeepers, managers, etc., is taking its place.

They deny the "catastrophe" theory that socialism will be introduced some day at one bound by a "coup de force" and contend that socialism is simply a matter of *evolution*—a contention which they can easily prove from the writings of Marx, Engels, and some of their successors.

The Revisionists, therefore, while they in no way try to hide their ultimate aim of establishing the so-called Socialist Republic, lay the main stress on practical and immediate ameliorative work. And while they do not reject the revolution—or as many revolutions, for that matter, as the evolution of economic and political conditions may bring about—yet they claim that the work in the trade-unions, in the cooperative societies, and in the political field is of *paramount importance* for the working class at the present time. Their theory was formulated by Eduard Bernstein.

In reality, the difference between them and the other wing of the Social-Democratic Party is simply a struggle between the evolutionary principle in its widest sense and the revolutionary principle in its narrowest meaning.

That struggle has been apparent in Germany from the very beginning of the movement.

The German Social Democracy was originally formed of two divided and hostile camps—the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers (Marxists). The Lassalleans were the more fanatic and more "radical" in their ways, but less scientific and less radical in their theories. As a matter of fact, the Lassalleans were rather national than international. After many bitter fights and squabbles with each other, the two great groups were united by political persecutions and welded together by the anti-Socialist laws. At the time of this union the Lassalleans were far stronger in numbers, but

they succumbed to the theoretic basis of the Marxists. To-day the German Social-Democratic Party is Marxist and international.

Marxism in itself is revolutionary and evolutionary. Or more correctly expressed, it is based on the economic evolution, which is essentially revolutionary and is revolutionizing the world before our eyes.

Now, when the German Socialist movement was young, that is, in the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century, the matter was understood quite differently. German proletarian leaders had seen and experienced the betrayal of the revolution and of political freedom by the bourgeois in France and Germany in 1848.

The proletarian idea then was that the awakened proletariat must complete the unfinished work of the bourgeois. The proletariat must finally win democracy, freedom, and equality for Germany. But at the same time it also must take a great step forward, and to the political add the economic emancipation—that is, besides a democratic constitution, it must also create the Socialist Republic.

All this must be attained by one single political revolutionary stroke—by winning one great battle, possibly on the barricades. The Socialists of that day scoffed at parliamentarism.

John Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann were the logical exponents of this view. Yet even Liebknecht professed it at one time.

This idea changed perceptibly at the time of the anti-Socialist laws. The twelve years of persecution gave the Socialists an idea of the tremendous power of the ruling classes and of the strength of capitalist society. The thinking people in the party came to see that the present economic system was still far too strong to be overthrown by one single revolutionary eruption. They found that it was impossible with one blow to bring the economic and the political revolution.

The leaders of the party, therefore, took very good care to warn the masses against revolutionary outbreaks, in order not to give the ruling class the desired opportunity to make use of their power. Under no consideration must the unarmed masses be brought before the "magazine rifles," by which the dearest wish of the reactionists would be fulfilled.

Thus under the anti-Socialist law the *evolutionary* principle naturally came more and more into favor. The party very wisely trusted to the development of economic affairs.

After the abolition of the anti-Socialist laws a small portion of the party, especially students and so-called "intellectuals" were ready to return to the "old revolutionary tactics." This was the faction of the so-called "Young Men" (*Die Jungen*), led by Wildberger and Werner.

Another group with George von Vollmar, a former ultra-revolutionist, represented the evolutionary principle. While the "final aim"—the abolition of wage-labor—was not to be denied, *main stress* must be laid upon *present* political and social reforms.

The third and strongest group took a middle ground, and was led at that time by Liebknecht, Bebel, and Singer.

The clash came at the conventions at Halle in 1890 and at Erfurt in 1891. Liebknecht and Bebel conquered. Wildberger, Werner, and some other "revolutionists," who were unwilling to submit, withdrew from the party and became anarchists. Vollmar and his evolutionary

group remained in the ascendancy and were very active.

Yet the two tendencies continued to clash in the German Social Democracy. This has been noticeable at every convention. And since Bernstein wrote his famous book, they have also had a theoretical standard around which to rally.

The issues have been various. Sometimes labor-unions were discust, sometimes an agrarian program, or participation in the Prussian Landtag elections. Then again purely theoretic questions were raised by Eduard Bernstein—theories overthrown as to the progress of misery and its relation to the Socialist movement. Exceptions were also taken to the Marxian theory of concentration as far as agriculture was concerned. Of late the question of the general strike has been discust. The Revisionists favored it under certain conditions, but not to the exclusion of all other tactical means.

The note was always the evolutionary principle in its widest sense against the revolutionary principle in a narrow conception.

At first the representatives of the constructive tendency, except Bernstein, Auer, and Legien, were young men with a university education, many of whom have paid positions in the party and therefore had to take pains not to offend party traditions and party prejudices. And the reproach was made that they were "intellectuals," not real proletarians with a "callous fist," and this was given by their opponents as the reason why they were not "revolutionary." It was also unfortunate that Eduard Bernstein, the man who in 1898 took up the theoretic side of the question in the *Neue Zeit*, and from whom the faction very incorrectly has received its name, is anything but a practical statesman and still less a leader of the masses. But since most of the trade-union leaders and the adherents of the co-operative societies have accepted Bernstein's theories, this has changed the situation.

The struggle between the two principles will continue in future. But a split in the great German Social Democracy is out of the question. The sound sense and fine discipline of the German organized working men will prevent this, and so will the conduct of their opponents. Moreover, a victory of the evolutionary principle will not mean any weakening, but rather a strengthening, of the position of the working class. It will make the gradual but steady development of the German working class its main business, without giving up the idea of the revolution.

The result of the last election in Germany has shown that the Social-Democratic Party can no longer keep up its mainly negative program and make headway. Compared with the Socialists of France, of England, and even of Italy, the German Social Democracy, in spite of its grand organization and discipline, has played a small rôle. What it has achieved for the working class was done rather in a negative way, the ruling class fearing the ascendancy of the revolution, than by any positive program. An absolute change of attitude may be more difficult in Germany than in any other country, on account of the personality of the kaiser, who is very antidemocratic. But a way will have to be found to utilize the genius of the Social Democracy for the people now and in the future. We do not want to postpone its usefulness until some indefinite time.

The Revisionists were beaten by a good ma-

jority at the Social-Democratic convention in Lübeck (1901) and were censured and forbidden to promulgate their theories. They were beaten again at the Dresden convention in 1903. But ideas cannot be suppress in such a crude way, otherwise socialism would have been crushed long ago. And especially the idea of the Revisionists ("Bernsteinism"), which represents a principle that has striven for the supremacy in the German Socialist movement since its very inception, cannot be suppress by a simple majority vote of a party congress. It has taken deep roots among the trade-unionists of Germany. The work in the municipalities helps it along. It brings the party in close touch with the people. In short, the economic-revolutionary principle—which, by the way, does not exclude so-called revolutionary exploits, but rather includes them—is the best legacy of Carl Marx to his followers. Therefore it is bound to win.

VICTOR L. BERGER.

REYBAUD, MARIE ROCHE LOUIS: Historian; born Marseilles, 1799. He went to Paris in 1829, and became the leading historian of the Socialist school. Novelist as well as historian, in 1850 he was elected a member of the Academy. His "*Études sur les réformateurs ou socialistes modernes*" (2 vols., 1840-47) was the first work to bring the word socialism into general use. Died 1879.

REYNOLDS, JAMES BRONSON: Social reform worker; born 1861, Kiantone, N. Y.; educated at North Haven and New Haven; graduated from Yale University, 1884; Yale Divinity School, 1888; afterward did postgraduate work in Paris and Berlin; was fellow in sociology at Columbia University; law student at New York University. As official representative of the College Young Men's Christian Association, he visited Great Britain and the Continent from 1889-92, studying at the same time social problems. Member Committee of Seventy, 1893. In 1894 he became head worker of the University Settlement in New York. In that position he was member of a number of committees, e. g., City Club's committee to prepare for campaign of 1897; chairman of executive committee of Citizens' Union, etc. In 1900 Governor Roosevelt appointed him a member of the State Tenement House Commission; 1902-3 he was secretary to Mayor Low of New York; afterward went to Washington, D. C., as special adviser to President Roosevelt on municipal affairs of Washington; 1906 he was a member of the presidential commission to investigate the Chicago stock-yards. Member of numerous clubs: Address: The Century Association, 7 West Forty-third Street, New York City, U. S. A.

RICARDO, DAVID: Political economist; born in London, 1772, the son of a Jewish member of the Stock Exchange. At the age of fourteen he entered his father's office; but, when twenty-one, he separated from his father's family and entered the Church of England. Commencing business for himself, he was a man of wealth at twenty-five. In 1799 became interested in Adam Smith's great work, and henceforth devoted himself mainly to economic studies. In 1809 he wrote a series of articles on monetary questions to the *Morning Chronicle*, which led to considerable controversy. In 1815 he published an essay on the influence of

the "Low Price of Corn, or the Profit of Stock," in which he first stated the views as to rent afterward connected with his name, but which he explicitly states he derived mainly from Malthus (see RENT). In 1817 appeared Ricardo's great work, his "Principles of Political Economy and Taxation." In 1819 he entered Parliament, and was soon recognized as an authority in economics, and a strong supporter of the battle for free trade. In 1822 he published a tract on "Protection to Agriculture," and in 1824 was published, after his death, his "Plan for the Establishment of a National Bank." Ricardo died Sept. 11, 1823, James Mill saying of him that he knew not a better man.

Professor Ingram ("History of Political Economy"), says of Ricardo's views:

The principle which he puts first in order, and which is indeed the key to the whole, is this—that the exchange value of any commodity, the supply of which can be increased at will, is regulated, under a régime of free competition, by the labor necessary for its production. Similar propositions are to be found in the "Wealth of Nations," not to speak of earlier English writings. On this basis Ricardo goes on to explain the laws according to which the produce of the land and the labor of the country is distributed among the several classes which take part in production. [Professor Ingram shows where Ricardo got his theory of rent, and then says:]

The essence of the theory is that rent, being the price paid by the cultivator to the owner of land for the use of its productive powers, is equal to the excess of the price of the produce of the land over the cost of production on that land. With the increase of population, and therefore of demand for food, inferior soils will be taken into cultivation; and the price of the entire supply necessary for the community will be regulated by the cost of production of that portion of the supply which is produced at the greatest expense. But for the land which will barely repay the cost of cultivation, no rent will be paid. Hence, the rent of any quality of land will be equal to the difference between the cost of production on that land and the cost of production of that produce which is raised at the greatest expense. . . .

The great importance of the theory of rent in Ricardo's system arises from the fact that he makes the general economic condition of society to depend altogether on the position in which agricultural exploitation stands. This will be seen from the following statement of his theory of wages and profits.

Ricardian Law of Rent

The produce of every expenditure of labor and capital being divided between the laborer and the capitalist, in proportion as one obtains more the other will necessarily obtain less. The productiveness of labor being given, nothing can diminish profit but a rise of wages, or increase it but a fall of wages. Now, the price of labor, being the same as its cost of production, is determined by the price of the commodities necessary for the support of the laborer. The price of such manufactured articles as he requires has a constant tendency to fall, principally by reason of the progressive application of the division of labor to their production. But the cost of his maintenance essentially depends not on the price of those articles, but on that of his food; and, as the production of food will in the progress of society and of population require the sacrifice of more and more labor, its price will rise; money wages will constantly rise, and with the rise of wages profits will fall. Thus it is to the necessary gradual descent to inferior soils, or less productive expenditure on the same soil, that the decrease in the rate of profit which has historically taken place is to be attributed (Smith ascribed this decrease to the competition of capitalists, tho in one place, book i., chap. ix., he had a glimpse of the Ricardian view). This gravitation of profits toward a minimum is happily checked at times by improvements of the machinery employed in the production of necessities, and especially by such discoveries in agriculture and other causes as reduce the cost of the prime necessary of the laborer; but here again the tendency is constant. While the capitalist thus loses the laborer does not gain: his increased money wages only enable him to pay the increased price of his necessities, of which he will have no greater and probably a less share than he had before. In fact, the laborer can never for any considerable time earn more than what is required to enable the class to subsist in such a degree of comfort as custom has made indispensable to them, and to perpetuate their race without either increase or diminution. That is the "natural"

Wages and Profit

price of labor; and if the market-rate temporarily rises above it, population will be stimulated, and the rate of wages will again fall. Thus, while rent has a constant tendency to rise and profit to fall, the rise or fall of wages will depend on the rate of increase of the working classes. For the improvement of their condition, Ricardo thus has to fall back on the Malthusian remedy, of the effective application of which he does not,

however, seem to have much expectation. The securities against a superabundant population to which he inclines are the gradual abolition of the poor-laws—for their amendment would not content him—and the development among the working classes of a taste for greater comforts and enjoyments.

It will be seen that the Socialists have somewhat exaggerated in announcing, as Ricardo's "iron law" of wages, their absolute identity with the amount necessary to sustain the existence of the laborer and enable him to continue the race. He recognizes the influence of a "standard of living" as limiting the increase of the numbers of the working classes, and so keeping their wages above the lowest point. But he also holds that, in long-settled countries, in the ordinary course of human affairs, and in the absence of special efforts restricting the growth of population, the condition of the laborer will decline as surely, and from the same causes, as that of the landlord will be improved.

RICHARDS, T.: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for West Monmouthshire; born 1859 at Beaufort, Monmouthshire. Worked in a mine and became agent of the Ebbw Vale Company's Workmen in 1888. He is general secretary for South Wales and Monmouth of the Miners' Federation, and a member of the County Council for Monmouthshire; was chairman of the Ebbw Vale District Council in 1895. He was elected to Parliament in 1904, and returned in 1906 Breconshire unopposed. Address: Tyceudl, Beaufort, Monmouthshire, England.

RICHARDS, THOMAS FREDERICK: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Wolverhampton, West; born 1863 at Wednesbury; received but a scanty education since he had to go to work at the age of twelve, owing to his father's death; worked in various trades until 1882, when he was apprenticed to a boot- and shoemaker at Leicester. He was elected successively vice-president, 1894, and president, 1897, of the Leicester No. 1 Branch. He was delegate to the Cooperative Congress at Birmingham in 1906 from the Trade-Union Congress at Leeds. His party elected him town councilor in 1894 and successively for nine years. In his party he took an active interest in the Federation of Trade-Unions, and was a member of the management committee. He has been an active Socialist since 1887. Elected to Parliament 1906. Address: 115 Knollys Road, Streatham, S. W., London.

RICHARDSON, ARTHUR: Labor member British Parliament for Nottingham, South; born 1860; educated at the national school at East Bridford and the grammar school at Newark-on-Trent. He was apprenticed to a grocer in 1877, and later bought the business of E. Swan & Co., Nottingham. He was elected to Parliament by the Labor vote in 1906. Address: 6 Friar Yard, Nottingham, England.

RICHTER, J., DR.: Privy Councilor of the Imperial German Home Office; born 1856, at Königsberg, Germany. He devoted himself to the study of the law; became a referendar in 1879 and in 1886 was appointed assessor. In this capacity he entered the government of the Province of Posen. During his five official years in Posen he engaged in all the branches of administrative business, particularly with social-political questions. Called in 1891 to the Imperial Home Office, he was made Government Councilor in 1892, a reporting privy councilor in 1895, and in 1898 became a chief privy councilor. Dr. Richter is employed in the most varied business of the Home Office at Berlin, but to the public he is chiefly known by his connection with the great

expositions. He was Representative Commissioner of Germany at the Chicago Columbian Exposition. Imperial Commissioner for the Paris International Exposition in 1896. Since his return from Paris he has been principally occupied in the field of social politics, having been entrusted with the task of organizing into practical efficiency the various agencies, methods, and endeavors which are seeking to provide healthy and suitable dwellings at moderate prices for workmen and clerks with small salaries. *Address:* The Imperial Home Office, Berlin, Germany.

RIGHT RELATIONSHIP LEAGUE, THE: Organized in Chicago, Ill., 1898, largely through the efforts of E. P. Keyes. Its aim, as stated in its charter, is "to study, teach, and promote cooperation," but it uses cooperation in the largest sense and believes that this is only the first step in introducing right relationship in all matters—the "coming kingdom" of justice and equality in ownership, responsibility, authority, and privilege. It is organized without capital, not for profit, but for service.

It works on an especial form of cooperation which it considers "true cooperation": the equal ownership of stock (with shares at \$100); stockholders to vote without proxies, "one man one vote"; all business on a cash basis or product of labor; goods sold at market prices; net profits to be divided annually "among the members according to the amount of their individual patronage," after 8 per cent has been paid on shares and a fixt percentage for a reserve fund, education, and depreciation. Under its auspices some fifty stores have been established or have joined the league, mainly in Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio, and Minnesota, and the president reports them to be prospering in 1907. Also under its auspices a cooperative merchants' company has been formed, the purpose of which is stated by Miss Helen L. Sumner ("Labor Problems," p. 406) to be: "To form county organizations, which shall buy out already existing stores and shall employ as manager the former owner, consolidating different kinds of stores into departments under one general management and obtaining branches in other towns of the county as rapidly as possible. The stores bought are to be paid for in shares of the cooperative company, but all shares above \$100 are to be deposited and held in trust until purchased by non-members."

This company now supplies goods as a wholesale house to some 200 cooperative merchants. The present membership in the league is about 150, tho the president states that the league is not very active at present through the difficulty of securing the right workers. He reports the plan, however, to bring work, and to be slowly making headway. *President,* J. Burnett Swett; *secretary,* Clara J. Biddell, 427 Reaper Block, Chicago, Ill.

RIIS, JACOB AUGUST: Sociological writer and reformer; born in Ribe, Denmark, 1849. Coming to New York, he became a reporter on the *New York Sun*, and through this acquainted with the conditions on the East Side, which he has tellingly described, and which he has done so much to reform in the books which have given him his fame. Interested especially in housing and tenement reform, he was (1897) secretary of the New York Small Parks Commission, and 1896-97

executive officer of the Good Government Clubs. Since then he has mainly confined his efforts to the pen. Mr. Riis has said that he professes no other political or social economy than this—to so better the housing, the schools, and the whole environment of the tenement house population, whose influences make for unrighteousness, that the generation to come shall be able to choose their own political economy intelligently and righteously. Among Mr. Riis's best known books are: "How the Other Half Lives" (1890); "The Children of the Poor" (1892); "The Making of an American" (1901); "The Battle with the Slum" (1902); "The Peril and the Preservation of the Home" (1903); "Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen" (1904). *Address:* 524 North Beech Street, Richmond Hill, N. Y.

RITCHIE, DAVID G.: Born Jedburgh, Scotland, 1853, and received his school education there. Graduated with honors from the University of Edinburgh, 1874, he entered Balliol College, at Oxford, attending, among other lectures, those of Prof. T. H. Green. He was elected to an open fellowship in Jesus College, and since 1879 has been college lecturer and tutor in logic.

In politics Professor Ritchie was a radical, largely favoring State socialism.

Author: "Darwinism and Politics"; "Essays on Human Evolution"; "The Principles of State Interference"; "Four Essays on the Political Philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer, J. S. Mill, and T. H. Green"; "Darwin and Hegel"; with other philosophical studies and many review articles and essays. Died in 1903.

ROADS: The importance of good roads to a community is evident, tho not always remembered. Traffic, industry, communication, are dependent upon them.

The roads of the Roman Empire were expensive and have endured, but can be improved upon by modern engineering. Twenty-nine military roads centered at Rome, and had, according to Antoninus, a total length of 52,964 Roman miles. Ancient Peru and Mexico had good roads. In the Middle Ages roads were neglected. In 1350, in England, certain roads were given to private companies, to repair and collect tolls. In the eighteenth century, in the United States, turnpikes were maintained by private companies, and this custom still remains in some places, tho with poor results. In 1796 an act of Congress authorized a road from Baltimore westward, which was completed for 650 miles. Roads, however, in the U. S. created by local authorities with little or no scientific engineering have been for the most part poor. In 1889 New Jersey commenced the policy of state commission of and grants for good roads, and was soon followed by Massachusetts and other states, with the result that large improvement has been made. A National Good Roads Association was formed in 1900 (*secretary,* Arthur E. Jackson, Damariscotta, Me.), and much interest in the subject developed.

Where the roads are cared for by the farmers their time and money are often wasted. Civil engineering, at first expensive, is in the long run cheaper, and the results far better. The cost of macadamized roads varies from \$3,000 to \$9,000 per mile.

In Europe generally roads are far better than in the U. S., and built and kept under strict government supervision.

ROBERTS, GEORGE HENRY: Member British Parliament of Independent Labor Party from Norwich; born 1869 at Chedgrove, Norfolk. He was educated in the national schools and the technical institute at Norwich, whither his parents had removed in 1874. In 1883 he was apprenticed to the printing trade, and later went to London, where he came in touch with trade-unionists. On his return to Norwich he organized the Typographical Association, was its president, later secretary, and became organizer in 1894, having joined the Independent Labor Party in 1886. He has served as a member of the Norwich School Board since 1889. He was defeated in 1903 for Parliament as Labor candidate, but elected in 1906 on the same platform with a good majority. He is a hard worker, capable organizer, and a fair writer. Address: 34 Cardiff Road, Norwich, England.

ROCHDALE PIONEERS: The name given to the weavers of Rochdale (England), who started the great Rochdale cooperative movement. A rainy night in Nov., 1843, twelve men met in the back room of a mean inn and commenced this cooperative movement by organizing themselves as "The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers." They agreed to pay twenty pence a week into a common fund, tho only a few of the twelve were able to pay their pence that evening.

They began by buying a little tea and sugar at wholesale prices, which they sold to their members at little more than cost. In a year their number had grown to twenty-eight, and they had collected £28, with which they rented a little store, and stocked it with £15 worth of flour. For their after history, and the success of the cooperative movement which has grown out of this beginning, see COOPERATION.

RODBERTUS, KARL JOHANN (Rodbertus-Jagetzow he is sometimes called): Socialist economist; born 1805 at Greifswald; educated at Berlin, Göttingen, and Heidelberg. After practising law, and traveling, he bought, in 1836, the estate of Jagetzow in Pomerania. Here he devoted himself to economic and other studies, and became prominent in Prussian politics. In June, 1848, he was for a fortnight Cabinet Minister for Public Worship and Education; but differences in opinion caused him to resign. He was elected in 1849, once for the First Chamber, and twice for the Second. Defeated as a candidate for the first North German Diet, he retired from politics, and Lassalle, who wrote him, could not induce him to combine his socialism with a political agitation. His first great work, published in 1842, "Zur Kenntniss unserer staatswirthschaftlichen Zustände," outlines his position. He was a Ricardian, and from this position, before Marx, deduced socialistic economics. Many modern economists call him a greater Socialist economist than Marx. He died on his estates, Dec. 8, 1875. Professor Wagner calls Rodbertus "the first, the most original, and the boldest representative of scientific socialism in Germany," and "the most distinguished theorist of the purely economic side of scientific socialism."

Rodbertus speaks of his economic theories as a "logical development of the proposition introduced into science by Smith, and established more firmly by Ricardo's school, that all commodities can only be considered economically as the product of labor, and cost nothing but labor." This proposition he places at the beginning. He argues that, however the

productivity may increase, the laborers are ever thrown back by the force of trade upon a rate of wages which does not exceed the necessary subsistence. He defines rent as that income which is derived by virtue of a possession, and without labor, and he divides rent into rent from land and rent from capital. The food and means of subsistence paid to the laborers from the produce of the land are their wages, and the rest of the commodities produced are the rent retained by the owner of the land; this is land-rent. Similarly, capital-rent is all the income which remains to the capitalist after deduction of wages paid to his laborers. But all produce is the produce of labor, and with free competition the value of every commodity gravitates toward the value of the labor expended upon it; so that the relationship between the values

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of the raw and manufactured products is, on the whole, only regulated by the amount of labor expended upon each. Rodbertus points out that a change in the sum of a nation's productive force—in other words, a change in the number of laborers (apart, of course, from an alteration in productivity, or in the division of the produce)—only changes the sum of the national produce and the amounts (not the proportions) which fall to rent and wages. According as the sum of the productive forces employed increases or decreases, will more or less rent be received by the landowners, and more or less profit by the capitalists. Wages will not be higher with increased production, because, productivity and division being supposed the same, the increased produce falling to the laborers will be shared by the larger population. There can be no rent, then, first, unless the labor produce more than is necessary in order that the laborer may continue his labor; and second, unless institutions exist for depriving the laborer of this surplus, wholly or in part, and giving it to others, who do not themselves work, since the laborer is primarily in possession of the produce of his labor. This is especially seen in the case of slave-labor, where the laborer is allowed just as much of the produce as is necessary to the continuation of his labor. In modern times the arbitrary measures of the slave owner have been replaced by the wage system or contract; but, says Rodbertus, "this contract is only formally and not actually free, and hunger fully takes the place of the whip. What used to be called food is now called wages. . . . A very large part of the people is no longer able to live upon its own means, but is in some way or other thrown on the support of the other part of society. . . . This fact runs parallel with another equally indubitable, and making the first still more striking; the national wealth has simultaneously increased. Not only has the national income become greater, because the population has increased, and the increased population has therefore produced more; but if the increased national wealth be divided between the increased population there is a larger sum per head. These remarkable facts go together: (1) the

The Present

improvement in a nation increases out of proportion to the growth of population, while simultaneously (2) the national income increases at greater ratio than the population, and the national wealth also tends to grow. This phenomenon Rodbertus holds to be unique in history. The social condition of the working classes should be raised to the level of their political condition; but all that has been done so far has been to press it lower down. Rodbertus has no patience with the egotism which, "clothing itself too often in the garb of morality," says that the vices of the working classes are the causes of their misery and of pauperism. People call out to the laborer, *Ora et labora*, and enjoin upon him the duty of temperance and providence; but the fact is, says Rodbertus, that thrift is an impossibility, and to preach thrift where there is no chance of saving is pure cant and cruelty. Not, indeed, that morality is not to be enjoined on the working classes. Morality should never cease to enforce its categorical imperative everywhere, powerless as the human will is to attain to perfection; but the policy of merely reiterating the duty of morality is useless. He who gives bread to the hungry man, he remarks, protects him far more surely from stealing than he who repeats the command, "Thou shalt not steal." Nor has he much more respect for the *laissez-faire* school of economists. He sneers at the argument of "natural laws." Only in nature do natural laws act of themselves intelligently. For society, which is not natural, laws must be made.

Socialist Views

Rodbertus proposes to abolish the present wage-contract and to introduce in its place a normal workday with a normal form of wages; then to introduce labor-note money, the issue of which should be entirely in the hands of the State; and finally to establish a system of warehouses for commodities to be paid as wages. These contrivances would provisionally leave property in land and capital as at present, except that for the future the laboring classes would share in the increasing productivity; but the ultimate goal is the replacement of this form of property by a property of income alone, which would inaugurate a new and a higher State order than any that has gone before. But Rodbertus's workday does not mean with him what it means with most Socialists—a legally determined number of hours' work daily. He expressly says in one place that the expectation that such a normal workday will protect the

laborers from the greed of their employers, and secure them fair wages, is entirely without foundation. Nor does he regard the legal limitation of the period of labor in the case of adult males as tenable on practical grounds, or defensible when regarded from the standpoint of personal right, though he makes an exception with females and children. "As much as I am for the subordination of the individual to the State," he says, "I still maintain that the State has no right to say to a free man, 'You shall work no more than so and so many hours.'" The proper thing is to increase wages, and then, if the workman finds that he can earn in four hours enough to keep him for the day, there will be little fear of his working twelve. Even if the State were to restrict the hours of labor to eight, and to decree that wages should not be reduced, the material position of the working classes would not be improved. "Legislation which only restricts the hours of labor merely lops the branches of a poison tree. Legislation which at once fixes a definite amount of labor, or rather a definite performance (*Leistungsquantum*), lays the ax at its roots, plants in its place a healthy, fruitful tree, which it can then allow to shoot and blossom as freely as it will." "The way is long," he remarks in one of his letters, but for that reason it is desirable that the journey shall be begun without delay. Justice and prudence alike urge the necessity for movement, since the social question is fast taking this form: "Are the proprietors of the soil to be driven out, as in a migration of the nations, by those who are without property?" But the cost! "Certainly, the solution of the social problem will cost more than the printer's ink of a police order, simply because it is the social problem." He is confident that this problem will never be settled "in the street by means of strikes, paving-stones, or petroleum"; that social ills will not be "relieved, much less healed, by camomile tea." Permanent social peace, a strong executive power, enjoying the confidence and attachment of the working classes, and extensive preparations made in quiet and order, are all necessary preliminaries to the final settlement of a difficulty which becomes more dangerous the longer it is ignored.

Rodbertus's most important works, besides the above named, are "Soziale Briefe an v. Kirchmann" (1850-51); "Zür Erklärung und Abhülfe der heutigen Kreditnoth des Grundbesitzes" (1868-69); "Der normale Arbeitstag" (1871).

The best English account of Rodbertus is to be found in W. H. Dawson's "Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle," from which our account is abridged.

ROGERS, JAMES EDWIN THOROLD: Historian, economist; born in Hampshire, England, 1823. He matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1842; was graduated in 1846. He took holy orders, but later renounced them; In 1862 he was elected professor of political economy at Oxford, but failed of reelection in 1868, owing to his radical views. From 1880 to 1886 he sat in Parliament, and was reinstated professor at Oxford in 1888, where he died in 1890. Commencing an economist of the orthodox economic school, he devoted himself to economic historical research, and investigation soon convinced him that orthodoxy in this case was very radically wrong; this conviction grew still more upon him, and was stated with still greater force, as years went on.

With the conclusions that he drew from his labors in social and industrial history, later economists have felt themselves often compelled to disagree, but his learning and capacity for research none can question.

Twenty years of patient investigation he put into his "History of Agriculture and Prices." He collected thousands and thousands of records of prices actually paid for different commodities, or for various kinds of labor; put together the records of the different kinds belonging to the same year; averaged these, then averaged these averages for decades, and these decade averages for period averages; and has thus obtained results it is impossible to question, because based on statements written with no thought of the use to which they would be put.

Professor Rogers found these records in old

exchequer bills, college records, manor rolls, farm accounts, preserved, as it were, by accident, in the State, university, and municipal archives of English libraries. It was almost by accident that Professor Rogers discovered them and saw their unique value.

Author: "Six Centuries of Work and Wages"; "History of Agriculture and Prices," 6 vols.; "The Economic Interpretation of History"; "The Industrial and Commercial History of England."

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE: In this exposition social reform is understood as including specific activity directed toward the relations of labor and capital in the industrial process; the function of the State; the social constitution of the laboring class; the theory of property; the rights of the individual and of the family as invaded by actual economic conditions. Attention is not directed to the administration of charity, to measures or methods of temporary relief, or to the historical rôle of the Church in caring for the poor. As the reform activity of Catholics is adjusted to national, political and social conditions, one finds various degrees of intensity of effort and more or less divergent policies in different countries. In the United States and England the Catholic movement is not developed; in Italy it is governed by extraordinary local conditions. On the Continent it has reached splendid proportions. To this last attention is mainly directed.

The Church conceives her mission to be primarily spiritual and supernatural. She holds that she is divinely commissioned as teacher and sanctifier, that her constitution is divine, and that she alone is its qualified interpreter. She sees all life, truth, action in their organic unity, drawing inspiration and law for present life from the life to come. She sees spiritual in relation to material, temporal in relation to eternal, social in relation to individual. Hence the Church's judgment of social processes, institutions, problems, and reform is part of a comprehensive spiritual view of life.

Within the content of the Church's normal teaching are views on human rights and personality, justice, property, family; on social relations, the constitution of society, the sanction and function of authority, of law, of virtue, derived from revelation and from her understanding of the natural law. Social questions present themselves to the Church's mind primarily in the form of error or sin, to be met and conquered by truth and virtue. Hence her first impulse to social reform directs her, not so much to social institutions as to correction of minds by true teaching and reforming hearts by instilling virtue. When, however, erroneous teaching disturbs human relations and is incorporated into the customs, constitutions, and laws of a time; when injustice and oppression are due to these erroneous views, the Church will enter directly the field of reform to protect "morality, justice, human dignity, and the family." As modern society presents just such a condition of comprehensive error and widespread injustice, the social reform movement in the Church is aggressive, powerful, with a developed program of reform, an able and dignified press, and with a high type of leadership.

In all such effort the Church is conservative. A strong historical sense leads her to recognize the slow working of social laws; she is inclined to

recognize an established order as sanctioned, since all ethical relations are exprest in its terms, and she fears the disorder of unstable institutions; she believes in the reform value of truth and virtue, hence she is slow to advance against institutions as such. The thoughtful observer who is impressed by seeming paradoxes in the Church's social activity may find explanation of them by considerations such as these.

The founder and teacher of the Catholic social reform movement was Bishop von Kettler of Mayence (1811-77). A contemporary of

History

Lassalle (*q. v.*), he witnessed the political and industrial awakening of German democracy. He brought talent, energy, sympathy, and rare courage to the work, and by the year 1864 he had formulated a definite social program. He found the cause of suffering, degradation, and oppression in the supremacy of capital which was due to liberalism; he found that wages were regulated by supply and demand, with a tendency to fall to the level of subsistence. He rejected Lassalle's plans of reform, though sympathetic with much in his activity; he rejected likewise all proposals of the liberal party, and offered a definite plan of reform instead. He placed his main hope in Christianity's spirit of love, self-denial, and self-control. He advocated homes for disabled laborers, the restoration of the family through Christian teaching, higher wages based on the value of labor, shorter workday, protection of Sunday rest, exclusion of children, married women, and girls from factories, and the formation of productive associations.

The character of Bishop von Kettler, the definiteness of his teaching, and its break with accepted political philosophy, attracted wide attention and roused Continental Catholics to action. Germany and Austria accepted the program and organized. The *Kulturkampf* gave German Catholics a party, the *Centrum*, through which they had opportunity to give legislative expression of their thought. Laity, clergy, episcopate were quickly organized; Catholics became a political power; literature, organizations, methods developed and the social reform platform became one of the striking features of the Church's activity. In Austria Prince von Lichtenstein and Baron von Vogelsang, in Switzerland Cardinal Mermillod and Mr. Decurtins, appeared early as leaders, and national Catholic movements arose in close sympathy with Bishop von Kettler's in Germany. In France the new movement was engrafted on the already existing circles of Catholic laborers in 1870, and Count de Mun soon exerted great influence on them. De la Memnais and Le Play had remotely influenced the awakening in France, but it took its newer form under the able leadership of De Mun. Italy and Belgium also awakened, the latter somewhat slowly, but by the eighties Catholic Europe was organized, active, conscious. Principles had been formulated, policies were adopted, methods were developed. Institutions, temperament of peoples, political conditions affected the growth of the movement variously in the nations. Some differences appeared among leaders, tho the parties in the different countries exercised great influence in favor of advanced social reform legislation. The movement, sprung as it was from bishops, priests, and laymen, reached its doctrinal culmination in the encyclical of Leo XIII. on the condition of laborers in 1891. In this great action Pope Leo formally sanctioned the main principles

of the movement, threw the weight of his authority into it, and marked a new epoch in its history. With great generosity, he called Bishop von Kettler his predecessor in the work. Since the encyclical, the whole Catholic movement is based on it, as in fact the encyclical itself was based on the movement before.

Remotely the social question is due to desertion of Christianity; immediately it is due to false absolute theories of State, individual, property, liberty. Individualism has disintegrated the natural ethical constitution of society. Error in politics, in economics, in ethics, misleads the nations, exposes the weak to exploitation by the strong. Correct understanding of the ethical constitution of society, in which human rights and obligations are coordinated in harmony with moral law, must be the basis of any successful reform.

a. The Individual.—The individual is a person with dignity and rights antecedent to institutions.

He has a natural right to decent livelihood. An income sufficient to protect that right should be assured in social organization. The movement,

Doctrine

therefore, favors a legal guaranty of a minimum wage and increase beyond that by forms of profit-sharing, joint ownership, participation by organized labor in administration of the factory. Protection of health, of morals, of Sunday rest by law is earnestly advocated in the name of individual rights.

b. The Family.—The family is divinely constituted, its form, authority, and sanction being of revelation. While the zone of its action is more or less elastic, from the days of von Kettler to the present, the reconstruction and protection of the Christian family has been one of the chief concerns of the Catholic movement. Work of married women, of girls and children has been uniformly opposed and the majority of writers have drifted to the position that the average adult male wage-earner has a natural right to a family wage. The demand for shorter work-day and Sunday rest is made in the interest of family life as well as in the name of the individual.

c. The Laboring Class.—The laborers constitute a distinct social class on an economic basis. The movement has aimed uniformly to recognize and organize the class and give it definite political, social, and industrial functions. Influenced by the history of the old guilds, the Catholic leaders have hoped and still hope to see the laboring class organized and uplifted, allowing in their plans for the changes caused by machinery in modern industry and for differences of religion, in which features modern industry and life are unlike the Middle Ages. This ideal of reform accepts the solidarity of the laboring class, abandons individualism, proposes sweeping changes in constitution of government and in administration of industry, since the economic classes, organized, become political and social units. An outline of the plan is given in a document quoted below.

d. State Intervention.—In earlier days differences appeared among the leaders regarding State intervention, Germans being less opposed to it than French. But the encyclical of Leo XIII. formally committed the church to the principle of limited intervention, since which time only differences of detail appear. In the main, legislation is favored to secure minimum wage, to restrict work of women and children, to protect the Sunday, and to organize all forms of

working men's insurance. From early days in the history of the movement international labor legislation was favored. Possibly the Catholics have been the most persistent in organizing the international conferences which have been held to promote it.

e. Private Property.—Private property as an institution is uniformly defended. While the excesses of capitalism are denounced with significant emphasis, at no time does one find any wavering in the persistent defense by the movement of property and of methods to extend and protect private ownership. The duties of property are insisted on as strongly as the rights and various methods are advocated to curb speculation, hinder monopoly, and modify systems of credit. The mind of the movement sees and advocates moralized property, property fully conscious of its moral relations, moral mission and sanction. The liberal theory of property caused the social question: the Christian theory alone can settle it.

SPIRIT OF THE MOVEMENT.—One finds a strong spiritual element in the atmosphere of the movement. No reform will succeed except it be Christian at heart. Every practical measure proposed is in a direct way related to virtue, duty, faith, and charity for its effectiveness. Throughout the movement sin is recognized as the final social question. Patient acceptance of the limitations of life and of inequalities of fortune is advocated, tho brave effort is encouraged to reduce these to the smallest possible limits. The movement is skeptical of liberty, if not convinced of its failure. It hopes for and works for union of class and class in the bond of Christian charity, discourages the preaching of class antagonism, and centers hope of progress on the reconstruction of religion, property, and the family.

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION.—Many differences of policy and method as well as unlike understandings of principles have appeared. The Germans have been more inclined to State intervention than the French, the latter, influenced by Le Play, favoring non-legal social action. The encyclical of Leo XIII. officially sanctions intervention. Since its appearance the family wage is generally favored, tho on different grounds, some basing it on charity, some on justice. A doctorati dissertation recently accepted at the Catholic University in Washington advocated the family wage as due the average adult male wage-earner in justice. Differences have existed concerning the organization of the laboring class. Optional or obligatory incorporation, exclusion or inclusion of employers, political representation of labor corporations, self-help by the laboring class or action and assistance from upper classes, are points concerning which different views are held.

a. The Catholic parties in Europe are represented in the legislative bodies and they stand aggressively for the Catholic reform principles.

Organization They have worked earnestly for progressive reform legislation and have made an honorable record in it.

b. A picturesque and powerful manifestation of the social Catholic consciousness is found in the many pilgrimages of French laborers to the Vatican. The first was held in 1887. They have occurred frequently since, as many as 15,000 making the journey in one year. The pilgrimages were occasions of addresses and appeals to the pope and of declarations by him. It is scarcely to be doubted that they had an influence in shaping the thought of the encyclical in the

Holy Father's mind. *c.* Congresses of Christian Catholic laborers, notably in France; meetings of Catholic editors interested in reform, from all of which have emanated declarations of principle and policy which serve well to clear the consciousness of the Catholics on reform matters. *d.* Creation of mutual benefit associations, insurance and cooperative purchasing societies. *e.* Practical efforts to reconstruct the family of the laborer on a small property-holding basis by facilitating ownership of homes, cultivation of small gardens, and securing exemption laws. *f.* Encouragement of incorporation of bodies of laborers with a view to the acquisition and holding of property for common advantage. *g.* Organization of the Third Order of St. Francis to teach social truths and to combat injustice.

RELATIONS.—Although the name socialism is frequently applied to this Catholic movement, there is, strictly speaking, no socialism in it. In theology, ethics, philosophy; in spirit, method, aim, organized socialism is the antithesis of the Catholic movement. The Church has formally condemned organized socialism and organized socialists have strongly condemned the Church. That both should feel a common impulse to uplift man does not justify one in attempting to identify them. Nor is the name Christian socialism properly to be applied to the Catholic movement. The aim, method, and theology of Christian socialism as developed in England are quite unlike those of the movement fostered in Catholic Europe. There is much sympathy with the claims and institutions of organized labor; in many points the two movements are identical. The Church is more given to personal idealism than to institutional idealism. This trait seems to govern her relations with reform movements, and it marks her place as unique among the reform forces of the time.

LITERATURE.—The literature created by the Catholic reform movement in Europe is enormous, and much of it shows a very high order of ability and insight. First in the order of authority come the encyclicals of Leo XIII. and the *Motu Proprio* of Pius X. printed herewith, since it contains the latest official summary of principles to guide the Catholic movement. Numberless weekly and monthly publications are issued; many treatises on the fundamental principles of property, justice; on the family, the State, on the social question, social ethics, are to be found. Reports of congresses, declarations of principles, addresses by leaders exist in abundance. Every phase of the whole situation is thus lighted up and the movement is equipped admirably.

The Catholic reform movement has not reached great proportions in the United States or England, owing to the circumstances of national and religious life. Cardinal Manning in England did much to throw the weight of Catholic sanction toward organized labor, minimum wage, and reform activity in general. In the U. S. Cardinal Gibbons, by defense of the Knights of Labor against suspicion in Rome, paved the way for a literature and sympathy with organized labor, which have developed to fair proportions. One meets declarations of principles on social reform in meetings of many Catholic societies, and of the American Federation of Catholic Societies. In Catholic congresses, such as those held in Baltimore in 1889 and in Chicago in 1903,

resolutions are adopted but they rarely lead to definite action. Whatever the theoretical, literary, or local features of reform be in the U. S., the movement is not a national power nor even a vital element in the national life of the Catholic Church in this country. There is no whole plan of social reconstruction advocated as is the case in Europe. Expressions of view are usually confined to definite repudiation of socialism and general appeals to the sense of Christian duty.

DOCUMENTS.—The authoritative principles which are formally stated for the guidance of the Catholic reform movement are found in the *Motu Proprio* of Pius X. issued Dec. 18, 1903. Omitting a few paragraphs which have reference to Italy, it is printed herewith, the translation being taken from *The Dolphin*, Feb., 1904:

Our illustrious predecessor, Leo XIII., of holy memory, traced out luminously the rules that must be followed in the Christian movement among the people in the great encyclicals *Quod Apostolici Muneris* of Dec. 28, 1878; *Rerum Novarum* of May 15, 1891; and *Graves de Communi* of Jan. 18, 1901; and further in a particular Instruction emanating from the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs of Jan. 27, 1902.

And we, realizing, as did our predecessor, the great need that the Christian movement among the people be rightly governed and conducted, desire to have those most prudent rules exactly and completely fulfilled, and to provide that nobody may dare depart from them in the smallest particulars. Hence, to keep them more vividly present before people's minds, we have deemed it well to summarize them in the following articles, which will constitute the fundamental plan of Catholic popular movement.

I. Human society, as established by God, is composed of unequal elements, just as the different parts of the human body are unequal; to make them all equal is impossible, and would mean the destruction of human society. (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*.)

Fundamental Regulations II. The equality existing among the various social members consists only in this: that all men have their origin in God the Creator, have been redeemed by Jesus Christ, and are to be judged and rewarded or punished by God exactly according to their merits or demerits. (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*.)

III. Hence it follows that there are, according to the ordinance of God, in human society princes and subjects, masters and proletariat, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, nobles and plebeians, all of whom, united in the bonds of love, are to help one another to attain their last end in heaven, and their material and moral welfare here on earth. (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*.)

IV. Of the goods of the earth man has not merely the use like the brute creation, but he has also the right of permanent proprietorship—and not merely of those things which are consumed by use, but also of those things which are not consumed by use. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

V. The right of private property, the fruit of labor or industry, or of concession or donation by others, is an inconvertible natural right; and everybody can dispose reasonably of such property as he thinks fit. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

VI. To heal the breach between rich and poor, it is necessary to distinguish between justice and charity. There can be no claim for redress except when justice is violated. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

OBLIGATIONS OF JUSTICE

VII. The following are obligations of justice binding on the proletariat and the workman: To perform fully and faithfully the work which has been freely and, according to equity, agreed upon; not to injure the property or outrage the person of masters; even in the defense of their own rights to abstain from acts of violence, and never to make mutiny of their defense. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

VIII. The following are obligations of justice binding on capitalists: To pay just wages to their working men; not to injure their just savings by violence or fraud, or by overt or covert usuries; not to expose them to corrupting seductions and danger of scandal; not to alienate them from the spirit of family life and from love of economy; not to impose on them labor beyond their strength, or unsuitable for their age or sex. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

IX. It is an obligation for the rich and those who own property to succor the poor and the indigent, according to the precepts of the Gospel. This obligation is so grave that on the day of judgment special account will be demanded of its fulfillment, as Christ Himself has said (Matthew 25). (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

X. The poor should not be ashamed of their poverty, nor

disdain the charity of the rich, for they should have especially in view Jesus the Redeemer, who, though He might have been born in riches, made Himself poor in order that He might enable poverty and enrich it with merits beyond price for heaven. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

XI. For the settlement of the social question much can be done by the capitalists and workers themselves, by means of institutions designed to provide timely aid for the needy and to bring together and unite mutually the two classes. Among these institutions are mutual aid societies, various kinds of private insurance societies, orphanages for the young, and, above all, associations among the different trades and professions. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.)

XII. This end is especially aimed at by the movement of Christian popular action of Christian Democracy in its many and varied branches. But Christian Democracy must be taken in the sense already authoritatively defined. Totally different from the movement known as *Social Democracy*, it has for its basis the principles of Catholic faith and morals—especially of not injuring in any way the inviolable right of private property. (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*.)

XIII. Moreover, Christian Democracy must have nothing to do with politics, and never be able to serve political ends or parties; this is not its field; but it must be a beneficent movement for the people, and founded on the law of nature and the precepts of the Gospel. (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*, Instructions of the S. Cong. for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs.) Christian Democrats in Italy must abstain from participating in any political action—this is under present circumstances forbidden to every Catholic for reasons of the highest order. (Instructions as cited.)

XIV. In performing its functions, Christian Democracy is bound most strictly to depend upon ecclesiastical authority, and to offer full submission and obedience to the bishops and those who represent them. There is no meritorious zeal or sincere piety in enterprises, however beautiful and good in themselves, when they are not approved by the pastor. (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*.)

XV. In order that the Christian Democratic movement in Italy may be united in its efforts, it must be under the direction of the Association of Catholic Congresses and Committees which during many years of fruitful labor has deserved so well of Holy Church, and to which Pius IX. and Leo XIII., of holy memory, entrusted the charge of directing the whole Catholic movement, always, of course, under the auspices and guidance of the bishops. (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*.)

XVI. Catholic writers must, in all that touches religious interests and the action of the Church in society, subject themselves entirely in intellect and will, like the rest of the faithful, to their bishops and to the Roman Pontiff. They must, above all, take care not to anticipate the judgments of the Holy See in this important matter. (Instruction as cited.)

XVII. Christian Democratic writers must, like all other Catholic writers, submit to the previous examination of the Ordinary all writings which concern religion, Christian morals, and natural ethics, by virtue of the Constitution *Officiorum et Munerum* (Art. 41). By the same constitution ecclesiastics must obtain the previous consent of the Ordinary for publication of writings of a merely technical character. (Instruction.)

XVIII. They must, moreover, make every effort and every sacrifice to insure that charity and harmony may reign among them. When causes of disagreement arise, they should, instead of printing anything on the matter in the papers, refer it to the ecclesiastical authority, which will then act with justice. And when taken to task by the ecclesiastical authority, let them obey promptly without evasion or public complaints—the right to appeal to a higher authority being understood when the case requires it; and it should be made in the right way. (Instruction.)

XIX. Finally, let Catholic writers take care, when defending the cause of the proletariat and the poor, not to use language calculated to inspire aversion among the people of the upper classes of society. Let them refrain from speaking of redress and justice when the matter comes within the domain of charity only, as has been explained above. Let them remember that Jesus Christ endeavored to unite all men in the bond of mutual love, which is the perfection of justice and which carries with it the obligation of working for the welfare of one another. (Instruction.)

The foregoing fundamental rules we of our own initiative and with certain knowledge do renew by our apostolic authority in all their parts, and we ordain that they be transmitted to all Catholic committees, societies, and unions of every kind. All these societies are to keep them exposed in their rooms and to have them read frequently at their meetings. We ordain, moreover, that Catholic papers publish them in their entirety and make declaration of their observance of them—and, in fact, observe them religiously; failing to do this they are to be gravely admonished, and if they do not then amend, let them be interdicted by ecclesiastical authority.

But as words and energetic action are of no avail unless preceded, accompanied, and followed constantly by example, the necessary characteristic which should shine forth in all

the members of every Catholic association is that of openly manifesting their faith by the holiness of their lives, by the spotlessness of their morals, and by the scrupulous observance of the laws of God and of the Church. And this because it is the duty of every Christian, and also in order that he *who stands against us may blush, having nothing evil to say of us.* (Tit. 2:8.) From this solicitude of ours for the common good of Catholic action, especially in Italy, we hope, through the blessing of God, to reap abundant and happy fruits.

The following declaration, made a few years since in Germany, is indorsed by the best known and ablest Catholic students and writers on social reform. It states the ultimate ideal as well as the actual reforms favored. It may be taken as fairly representative:

The anti-Christian ideas of liberalism on the unlimited liberty of man and the unrestricted right of property have caused serious disturbance in the actual social and economic order. These principles worked into legislation have resulted in the domination of the economically stronger and in the misunderstanding of the dignity and rights of labor which they have abandoned to the caprice of capital. They have almost entirely destroyed the stability of the middle class; they have caused an accumulation of wealth in the hands of a small number and the impoverishment of the great majority, making almost impossible the material well-being of the laboring classes.

Catholic sociologists regard that situation as unhealthy, untenable, threatening society with ruin, and they hold that it urgently demands a remedy.

They reject the ideas and principles of liberalism which have caused the situation. They reject as well the tendencies of socialism, which would take away private ownership of the means of production and transfer it to society, because they are in contradiction with the natural right of man to acquire property for himself, because they dishonor man and make impossible the peace and prosperity of society. They believe that the social evils of the present day can be remedied only by the application of the principles of Christianity to economic life, as exposed in the encyclicals of the sovereign pontiff on the Christian constitution of states and the condition of the laboring class. They hold it to be one of the most important missions of well-regulated civil society to protect the material interests of all in a way to favor the inherent desire of human nature for liberty and independence. To accomplish that purpose they recommend a more equitable distribution of profits and of private property for the advantage of a middle class comprising the largest possible number of citizens. As one of the most efficacious means for the reconstruction and preservation of an independent middle class, they propose the organization of professional interests into different states (*états*) for the protection and development of common and of particular interests.

All Catholic sociologists set up as the end of their social reform efforts a professional organization of society on the basis of Christian principle, adapted to actual economic and social conditions, with rights guaranteed by the constitution to the states; autonomy of administration and representation of their interests in the legislative body.

To facilitate the gradual accomplishment of this desideratum, the undersigned demand that the State protect and favor all efforts based on principles of justice and Christian charity—to organize into corporations the agricultural, industrial, commercial, and liberal professions.

The document then summarizes the actual demands made to meet present abuses. In the interests of *agriculture*, demand is made for corporate organizations of farmers, thorough regulation of credit, inheritance, landholdings, speculation. For protection of *industry*, the signers favor obligatory incorporation of trades, legal regulation of proof of skill, of apprentices, legal demarcation of trades. As regards greater industrial enterprises, demand is made for guaranty of capacity and character of those in charge, of sanitary conditions, and of rights of surrounding population. Laws for general protection of laborers, to secure just wages, stable occupation, reduction of hours of labor, suppression of work of married women, and restriction of work of girls and children; regulation and inspection of domestic labor when

**Measures
Advocated**

done for commerce; guaranty of the right of laborers to organize; creation of organizations including employers and employed. In the in-

terests of *commerce*, the document favors measures to guarantee the moral character and ability of those engaging in business; suppression of unfair competitive methods; rigid control of speculation. Among measures of a general character favored are these: efficient protection of the Sunday; suppression of vagrancy and of usury; income tax; municipal employment bureaus; creation of associations to build working men's homes. The document concludes: "May the world be convinced of the urgent need of organization of society on a professional Christian basis. May the State take in hand at once the accomplishment of effective reform to obviate an imminent catastrophe, to promote the welfare of the laboring class, for the glory and blessing of the country."

The Count de Mun, best known of French Catholic leaders, summarizes the Catholic position as follows:

The ensemble of our demands should tend to assure to the people the enjoyment of essential rights misunderstood by individualism; legal representation of their interests and necessities in place of pure numerical representation; the preservation of the home and family life; a wage which will support the worker's family; protection against insecurity due to accident, illness, unemployment, and old age; insurance against inevitable helplessness; profit-sharing and joint ownership of capital; protection against speculation and stock-jobbing. . . . Two agencies should unite to realize this program: professional organization and legislation.

These reforms would be vain, inefficient, or impossible if they were not founded on Christian education, which is the basis of morality; on the teaching of the catechism, which leads one to know and respect the rights of God; single guaranty of the rights of man; on the doctrine of the Gospel which teaches the practise of reciprocal duties as well as respect for natural rights, which commands men to love one another and makes of charity a duty as well as justice, which shows to the poor as to the rich, above and beyond the legitimate pursuit of material things, their immortal destiny as the supreme end of life, and shows them voluntary sacrifice as the means to attain it; if they are not founded, last of all, on the liberty of the Church, a condition essential to its apostolate, to its work of enlightenment and mercy, to its entire moral and material influence.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

REFERENCES: Papal documents referred to; Turman, *Le Catholicisme Sociale*, an excellent summary of doctrines, bibliography and documents, used freely in this exposition; Hitze, *Kapital und Arbeit* (in French translation also), an able critique and plan of social reconstruction; von Kettler, *Die Grossen Sozialen Fragen der Gegenwart und Die Arbeiter Frage und das Christenthum*, containing the best expression of the author's views; De Mun, *Discourses*, 5 vols.

ROME: Rome, in political science, may be said in a large degree to stand in philosophical antithesis to Athens. As in Greek political thought, the individual is conceived as springing from the State, in Rome, to a large extent, so far as its foundation was philosophically analyzed at all, the State is considered to spring from the individual. Philosophically Rome was individualistic where Athens was socialistic. Undoubtedly this distinction must not be prest too far; neither city consistently developed its basic thought into either socialism or individualism. Rome especially was practical and utilitarian rather than theoretic. Nevertheless, it is to Rome rather than to Greece that we go to find the beginnings of the modern individualistic theory of natural rights developed by Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau, Jefferson, and all individualists which conceives of the State as a compact or creation in some form of individual wills, so that we say that governments only derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. It was Rome that first developed the distinction between the *jus gentium* and the *jus civile*. (See NATURAL RIGHTS.) It is to the Roman juriconsults that we mainly

go for the foundation principles of modern jurisprudence.

It works out continually in Roman history. Roman history may be said to be one long struggle of individuals or groups of individuals contesting for their rights. Families, tribes, gentes, plebeians, patricians, each struggle for their own. Having thrown off their kings, out of this individualistic political competition, the strongest survive. A steadily lessening number of individuals wield the power as their rivals go down in the struggle. Thus we have the plebiscite, the comitia centuriata, tribunes, quaestors, decemvirs, censors, curules, consuls, triumvirs—finally Caesar, the one man—a tumultuous stream, with many windings but one general course. Out of the individualistic basis, the struggle for rights, came at last the strong man and the death of freedom, even as in Athens, while she held to her State basis, came the greatest amount of individuality the world has ever known. (See ATHENS.)

Yet even the Caesar ruled and issued edicts and built his monuments in the name of the Senate and people of Rome (S. P. 2 R.). The forms of individualistic freedom were preserved long after the actuality had departed. "The various offices of the republic were not annihilated but gradually concentrated in a single man" (Lecky, "History of European Worlds," vol. i, chap. ii.).

Yet Rome very slightly developed her politics in conscious thought. She adopted Greek ideas and gave them a twist and a development they had never known. Her genius was practical constructive military rather than philosophic. Polybius in his analysis of the Roman Constitution and Cicero in his presentations of Greek thought are almost the only Roman writers on political science. In political economy they did even less.

In spite of their practical views of life and utilitarianism, they produced no highly developed system of manufacture or exchange. The agricultural habits of the first Romans soon gave place, through the increase of militarism, to an extensive system of slave-labor. Large estates took the place of small holdings, and drove the peasant proprietor to the city streets. Commerce and industry were regarded by the free citizen with contempt, and even the noblest Romans were not free from this disdain of manual labor. Some signs of economic thought are to be found in the writings of the philosophers and jurists; but most of their ideas were taken from the Greeks, and none of their original conceptions are of much scientific value. The philosophic writers express the general feeling of industrial decay, and the increasing tendency toward luxury and immorality. To be sure the virtues and pleasures of rural life and agriculture are much dwelt upon, but chiefly with no higher purpose than to glorify the hardihood of the early Romans. As to the social evils which surrounded them they were very largely indifferent and short-sighted. Pliny, "The Elder" (23-79), who is not so much an independent thinker as an Encyclopedist, in his "Natural History" favors agriculture on the large scale, but protests against the slave-tilled *latifundia*. He expresses a preference for barter rather than for a money exchange, and deprecates the use of gold. Varro and Columella are to be credited with having perceived the superiority of free labor to that of slaves; and, together with Cato, they advocate a return to agriculture as the best means to avert the flood of corruption and immorality which was then felt to be approaching the empire. Cicero translated Xenophon's "Economics" and also praised agriculture.

Economics

As to the general principles of industrial progress they have little to say. In general, the Roman theorists agreed with the Grecians in disapproving of interest, Cato going so far as to liken it to murder. In B.C. 341 the taking of interest was entirely forbidden by the *Genucian Law*. Both Greeks and Romans approached social problems from the political rather than the economic side. Political economy is necessarily a modern science.

REFERENCES: *Development of the Roman Constitution*, by Ambrose Tighe; *History of the Roman People*, by C. Seignobes; *History of Rome* (Fr.), by J. V. Duruy; *The City-State*, by W. W. Fowler; *History of European Morals*, by Lecky (vol. i.).

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE: Twenty-sixth President of the United States; born in New York City, 1858. From private schools in New York he went to Harvard University and graduated in 1880. Traveling in Europe and making hunting expeditions in the West, he returned to New York and took part in the politics of his own ward. He was sent to the Assembly in 1883, 1884, and 1885, where he made a record as an independent Republican and a relentless foe of political jobbery and corruption. He procured the Roosevelt investigation and some administrative reforms. In 1886 he was unsuccessful Republican candidate for mayor against Abram S. Hewitt and Henry George. In 1889 he was appointed Civil Service Commissioner and threw himself actively into the work, which he continued till 1895, when he became president of the New York City Police Board, thinking that the "storm center" was there. By his vigorous enforcement of Sunday-closing laws he made many friends and bitter enemies. In 1897 he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy, which position he resigned in 1898 to help organize the First U. S. Cavalry Volunteers (Rough Riders), which distinguished itself for gallantry in the Spanish War. The same year he was elected Governor of New York State, Jan., 1899, to Dec., 1900. In 1900 he was nominated vice-president by the Republican Party and elected. On the death of McKinley, Sept. 14, 1901, he became president, and was reelected to a second term in 1904. He has been aggressive for the reforms he believes necessary, in the controlling of the monopolies by the federal government and in giving "a square deal" to all. (For his views, see REPUBLICAN PARTY.) Besides writing upon the West and hunting trips, his main works have been "Naval War of 1812" (1881); "The Winning of the West" (4 vols., 1889-95); "History of New York" (1890); "Essays on Practical Politics" (1892); "American Ideals and Other Essays" (1897); "The Strenuous Life" (1900). Address: The White House, Washington. Summer residence, Oyster Bay, Long Island, N. Y.

ROSCHER, WILHELM GEORG FRIEDRICH:

Philosopher; economist; born 1817, in Hanover; studied at Göttingen and Berlin. In 1838 took the degree of doctor of philosophy at Göttingen, where, in 1840, he became privat-docent for history and economics. In 1843 he was appointed extraordinary, and 1844, ordinary professor. In 1848 he was called to Leipsic, where he remained, tho repeated calls came from other universities—Munich, Vienna, and Berlin—till his death in 1894.

Dr. Roscher achieved a lasting fame as the founder of the historical school of political economy, and many learned associations have delighted to do him honor. Professor Cohn says of him:

In the foremost rank we must place a man, who shortly before had acquired a reputation by a philological-historical work, and then turned to political economy, Wilhelm Roscher. His "Vorlesungen über Staatswirtschaft nach geschichtlicher Methode" (Lectures on State Economy on Historical Method) were only the outlines of his lectures . . . but the one happy analogy by which Roscher applied the results of the historical school to political economy was a scientific achievement. The conclusions which he drew from this analogy, in regard to the mission of the historical school of political economy, are the same which the historical school of law had drawn for their science a generation previous—even his quotations from Justus Moser and Bacon are borrowed from Savigny; nevertheless, the service he rendered to our science is a great and lasting one.

Roscher's conclusions as to the mission of political economy were as follows:

(1) The study of the economy of the State is a political science, whose mission is to understand men, and control men. . . . (2) We need an investigation of the earlier stages of civilization in order to understand the nature of modern civilization; and further of (3) the economic development of different nations, with especial reference to the nations of classic antiquity, whose development lies before us in its totality. (4) Out of all this arises the practical demand which the science makes upon us, viz.: the task of constructing modern measures of economic policy on an historical basis, or, in other words, learning what is suited for the present time by studying the historical growth of individual institutions.

Author: "Grundriss zu Vorlesungen über die Staatswirtschaft nach geschichtlicher Methode"; "System der Volkswirtschaft," vol. i.; "Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomik," vol. ii.; "Nationalökonomie des Akerbaues und der verwandten Urproduktionszweige," vol. iii.; "Nationalökonomie des Handels und Gewerbelebens," vol. iv.; "System der Finanzwissenschaft"; "Ansichten der Volkswirtschaft aus dem geschichtlichen Standpunkte."

ROSS, EDWARD ALSWORTH: American sociologist and publicist; born Virden, Ill., 1866. Graduate Coe College, 1886; taught at Fort Dodge, Iowa, 1886-88; University of Berlin, 1888-1890. Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1891; professor economics and social science, Indiana University, 1891-92; University associate, Cornell University, 1892-93; professor Stanford University, 1893-1900; studied abroad, 1898-99; professor University of Nebraska, 1901-6; professor of sociology at University of Wisconsin, 1906. Professor Ross holds neither to individualism nor to collectivism, but avows as his creed social energism of which the cardinal points are: minimization of wasteful conflict, maximization of cooperation, unleashing of human energy, diffusion of security, socialization of the higher goods of civilization, and conscious acceleration of progress. Author of "Sinking Funds"; "Honest Dollars"; "Social Control"; "The Foundations of Sociology." Address: University, Madison, Wis.

ROUSSEAU, JEAN JACQUES: Philosopher of the naturalistic school; born of French parentage, Geneva, Switzerland, 1712. His mother dying when he was very young, his dissipated father abandoned him and he was taken charge of by a relative and placed under the tutorship of a clergyman at Bossey. In his twelfth year he was apprenticed to a notary, and a year later to an engraver; in 1728 he ran away, and in Savoy came under the protection of Mme. de Warens, but soon left and went through a variety of experiences, for a short time footman to Mme. de Vercellis in Turin. Later he returned to Mme. de Warens and became her lover as well as her protégé. His tendency to wander took him away from her; returning to find her gone, he resumed his wanderings and adventures; in 1732 he went to Paris and secured a position in the service of Sardinia, but found Mme. de Warens again and was installed in her household, and when his health failed he went with her to Chambray, passing the time with music and reading. In 1741 he returned to Paris, read a paper on the theory of music before the Academy of Sciences, but being unfavorably received he became for a year and a half secretary to M. de Montagne, French ambassador at Venice. He came back to Paris, still a wanderer, now and again led into immorality, yet making friends and earning a pre-

carious living by copying music and acting as secretary to Mme. Dapin. At this time he married a servant girl, Thérèse Levasseur. Five children were born to them; all were committed to the foundling hospital. He now gained some literary notoriety. Diderot accepted him as a contributor to his "Encyclopédie." In 1749 he won the prize offered by the Academy of Dijon for an essay on the effect of the progress of civilization, arguing the superiority of the state of nature. Its publication in 1750 made him famous.

He embraced the Catholic faith in 1754; he returned to Protestantism and went to Geneva as a free citizen; in 1756 returned to Paris and occupied the "Hermitage" for a year, during which time he wrote "La Nouvelle Héloïse." He quarreled with his friends and left, going to Montmorency. Here he wrote against the drama, attacking also Voltaire and Diderot. In 1762 he produced at Amsterdam "Le Contrat Social," for which he received 1,000 louis, and the same year "Émile," a treatise on education, for which he received 6,000 louis. He was now generally attacked, by the Conservatives for his "Le Contrat Social," by the moralists for his "Nouvelle Héloïse," by the Church for his "Émile." In 1762 he fled from a threatened arrest and escaped to Switzerland and then to Prussia, where Frederick II. seemed willing to protect him, and whence he wrote letters denouncing his enemies. Here he was attacked by the populace and he fled to Isle St. Pierre in the Lake of Burme till ordered to leave by the Swiss Government. He eventually went, invited by David Hume, to England, which he reached in 1766. Partly lionized, partly condemned in London, he went to Derbyshire, where he wrote most of his "Confessions." He quarreled with Hume and other English friends, and made to believe that he was being plotted against by the King of Prussia he fled to France in 1767, where he wandered from place to place, finishing his "Confessions," at last going to Paris and earning a living by copying music. He was welcomed and aided by the Marquis de Mirabeau and others, but quarreled with all friends and was thought by some to be at this time half insane; he died in a fit of apoplexy, July 2, 1778, leaving many smaller writings besides the above-mentioned works and a mass of correspondence.

(For a review of his social teachings, see article NATURAL RIGHTS.)

ROWNTREE, BENJAMIN SEEBOHM: Manufacturer; writer; born 1871, York, England; educated at the Friends' School, York; studied chemistry at Owen's College. Actively engaged in business, as well as in social and political work, Mr. Rowntree's sympathies are with the advanced radical section in English politics. He firmly believes that a deepening of the spiritual life of the nation is an absolutely necessary and essential condition to any permanently effective social reform. Author: "Poverty"; "A Study of Town Life"; "Betting and Gambling: a National Evil." Address: The Homestead, Clifton, York, England.

ROWLANDS, JAMES: Member British Parliament, of the Labor Party for Dartford, Kent; born 1851; had an elementary education; became a watch-case maker, and a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company. He was the pioneer and later

the secretary of the Leasehold Enfranchisement Association; an honorary secretary of the Land Law Reform Association. He is a member of the National Liberal Club. He was returned to Parliament in 1906 chiefly by the Labor vote, assisted by the Liberals. Address: 119, Mercer's Road, Tufnell Park, N. London, England.

ROYCROFTERS: An industrial community at East Aurora, N. Y., organized in 1895 by Elbert Hubbard (*q. v.*). The community has a capital stock of \$300,000, fully paid in, and a membership of 500 people, 100 of whom are stockholders in the institution. The rest enjoy the various privileges that the community affords, such as admission to lectures, classes, musicals, and the use of the library and art gallery.

The Roycrofters manufacture artistic books, terra-cotta, ornamental iron-work, and furniture.

The community also raises most that it needs for food. (For its profit-sharing plan, see HUBBARD, ELBERT).

RUGE, ARNOLD: Professor; revolutionist; born Bergen, island of Rügen, 1802. He studied philology and philosophy at Halle, Jena, and Heidelberg; in 1824 he was imprisoned for five years at Colberg, for membership in a secret political society; 1831 he was appointed professor of esthetics at Halle, and attracted much attention as a philosophical critic; 1843 he joined Karl Marx (*q. v.*) in Paris, and they published the "Deutsch-französische Jahrbücher." He was elected to the German Parliament in 1848, and the same year founded the paper *Reform* at Berlin. This was soon suppressed, and after attempts at revolutionary intrigue in Dresden and Carlsruhe he went to London in 1849 and formed a European Democratic committee with Ledru-Rollin and Mazzini in London. He died at Brighton, 1880. Besides the above-mentioned works he published "Zwei Jahre in Paris"; "Poetische Bilder" and "Politische Bilder"; "Unser System"; "Ausfrüherer Zeit"; "Manifest an das deutsche Volk."

RUSH, BENJAMIN: Abolitionist; born Byberry, near Philadelphia, 1746. He studied medicine in Philadelphia, Edinburgh, London, and Paris; began practise in Philadelphia in 1769, and made professor of chemistry in the medical college there. In the provincial conference in Pennsylvania he moved the resolution to formulate its sentiments for a Declaration of Independence; chosen to the Continental Congress; became one of the signers to the Declaration of Independence. Dr. Rush was made surgeon-general of the middle department of the army, and soon after physician-general.

In 1778 he resigned his position because of wrongs done to the soldiers in regard to the hospital stores, and resumed practise in Philadelphia. About 1785 he planned there the first dispensary in the United States.

In the state convention he was a staunch supporter of the federal constitution. He was a member of the convention of Pennsylvania to form a state constitution.

While the yellow fever prevailed in 1793, Dr. Rush was estimated by Dr. Ramsay to have saved 6,000 persons in Philadelphia from death by that disease. He received many honors therefor from Europe as well as America. He was president of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery and of

many other moral and religious societies, and a frequent writer on reform themes. Treasurer of the U. S. Mint from 1799 till his death in 1813.

RUSKIN, JOHN: Born in London, 1819, the son of a wealthy wine merchant. He was educated at home and at Christ Church, Oxford. He then devoted himself to painting, under J. D. Harding and Copley Fielding. In 1843 he published the first volume of "Modern Painters," the noted defense of Turner's art. He published the second volume in 1846, and the remaining volumes in 1856 and 1860, after a residence in Italy and a careful study of Italian art. In 1849 appeared the "Seven Lamps of Architecture," and from 1851 to 1853 the three volumes of the "Stones of Venice." In 1869 he was elected Slade professor of fine arts at Oxford, and reelected in 1876 and 1883; failing health compelled him to resign in 1884, since when he lived in retirement at Brantwood, Coniston. His first writing on economic subjects was "Unto this Last," essays republished from the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1862. This, with "Munera Pulveris" (1862-63), "The Crown of Wild Olive" (1866), and the letters to working men, "Fors Clavigera" (1871-84), embody his economic teachings. He and Carlyle may be said to be the prophets of the modern English Socialist movement.

The essence of his social teaching may, perhaps, be put in one of his own phrases: "There is no wealth but life; life including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration."

From this teaching springs all else. Because noble life is wealth it follows, with Ruskin, that that country is richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that that man is wealthiest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others.

Moreover, because life is wealth, it follows that only that which contributes life has a right to return in wealth; hence interest, the return of money for the use of dead money, is wrong—only those have a right to share in the products of industry who have put into the operation some industry themselves, some outgo of their own life.

These two conceptions, the law of wealth and the law of service, run through all of Ruskin's works. He teaches that wealth is "the possession of the valuable by the valiant"; that service bids English men and women to become "Soldiers of the Plowshare as well as Soldiers of the Sword."

Ruskin taught from these principles, first, the law of "Property to whom proper"—or that land and tools belong to those who can use them; secondly, that he who can, should use his tools—use his tools to develop life, the highest life in himself and others; thirdly, that this highest life can only be by cooperation instead of by competition, the thought of what we can give rather than of what we can get, the thought of what we are rather than of what we have. This, added to Ruskin's teaching as regards art, constitutes Ruskin's social system. His theory of art and his theory of society he never divorces, because they are both part of his one theory of life. Of art he taught, first, that the life of art is in religion; secondly, that its food is in the ocular and passionate love of nature; thirdly, that its health is in the humility of its artists. Applying this to his social teaching, his outcome was that society should be a cooperation

or communism of artists, submitting themselves humbly to the law of love, and in the joy of beauty working to produce the highest and the noblest that is in them.

Ruskin calls himself a communist—in his own phrase, “the reddest of the red.” Yet, in equality of property he did not believe. In creating his St. George’s Guild he distinctly says that there should be “no equality upon it, but recognition of every betterness, and reprobation of every worseness.” He believed in government, in the State; in the cooperation of workers in the State; in award for worth; he did not believe in interest; he did not believe in the capitalist; he was the bitter-terse foe of the wage system and of the *laissez-faire* political economy.

Ruskin was not, however, a Socialist in all things. Politically, he was conservative. His socialism was paternal, not fraternal. He would not seek for reform through political action. He shrank from the rough and prosaic machinery of politics. The gospel of art has rarely been married to the gospel of the ballot box. Politically, Ruskin became reactionary.

Yet Ruskin attempted the concrete, altho this not so much for the value of the concrete itself as because, in trying to carry out his ideas, he could alone be consistent. His St. George’s Guild was an inevitable consequence of his teaching.

“The more I see of writing,” he says, “the less I care for it; one may do more with a man by getting ten words spoken to him, face to face, than by the black-lettering of a whole life’s thought.”

A valuable account of the Guild may be found in Edward Cook’s “Studies in Ruskin”:

“It was in May, 1871,” says Mr. Cook, “that the scheme was first made public. In the *Fors* for that month Mr. Ruskin called on any landlords to come and help him who would like better to be served by men than by iron devils, and any tenants, and any workmen, who could vow to work and live faithfully for the sake of the joy of their home. All who joined St. George’s standard were to do as Mr. Ruskin undertook to do; to give the tenth of what they had and what they earned, not to emigrate with, but to stay in England with, and to make a happy England of her once more.”

The Guild had an agricultural, an industrial, and an artistic character. On land bought by the Guild, to which Ruskin himself largely contributed, an attempt was made to carry on an agricultural community according to Ruskin’s “Laws of Life.” Mr. Cook says of this:

“The agricultural experiments of the St. George’s Guild have not been a brilliant success. Perhaps they have not been given a fair chance. Perhaps the times and seasons have been unpropitious. But whatever explanations or excuses there may be, the fact remains that the St. George’s farms have produced very little except a plentiful crop of disappointments. Mr. Ruskin has drawn many charming pictures of his ideal settlements; but the realities have for the most part been either grim or grotesque, or (more often) both. The Guild is, however, the owner of several acres of land in different parts of the country, and there is some reason to hope that past failures will lead to future successes.”

Other industrial experiments of Mr. Ruskin have been in the way of fostering village industries. He writes: “Whatever may be the destiny of London, or Paris, or Rome in the future, I have always taught that the problem of right organization of country life was wholly independent of them.”

Mr. Ruskin’s aim was not to organize industrial villages, but to revive, in existing villages, village industry.

Foremost in work in this direction stands Mr. Albert Flemming’s attempt, under Ruskin’s influence, to bring back the old industry of the spinning-wheel to the homes and villages of Westmoreland. In a measure it has succeeded, as one can see by reading Mr. Flemming’s own account of it, printed in “Studies in Ruskin.”

Another experiment was the making of “St. George’s cloth” in the Isle of Man, undertaken with Ruskin’s help by Mr. Egbert Rydings. The mill was built in romantic architecture by the St. George’s Guild, the motive power being water and not steam. This still exists, tho it has passed into other hands than those of the Guild.

The main concrete result of the St. George’s Guild has, however, not unnaturally, been artistic, in the creation and maintenance of the unique and beautiful Ruskin Museum at Meresbrook Hall Sheffield.

Besides these industrial experiments Ruskin largely used his inheritance of some £200,000, by aiding Miss Octavia Hill (see TENEMENTS) in her model tenement experiments, in making loans without interest, and in other philanthropic ways.

REFERENCE: *The Life and Work of John Ruskin*, by W. G. Collingwood (2 vols., 1893).

RUSKIN COLLEGE (Oxford, England): A workingman’s college, founded 1899, as the result of agitation by Walter Vrooman, but soon passing out of his hands. Tho started with the aid of funds of friends, it has been largely sustained by the contributions of working men themselves. Says a report of 1904:

Ninety-five thousand members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers have raised £1,350 by means of four levies of one penny each, and with the amount of their last levy are maintaining nine of their members at the college for a year; the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants have devoted £300 to the building fund and established three scholarships; the Northern Counties Weavers have sent sums amounting to £90, and have established two scholarships; the London Society of Compositors, the Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society, and many working-class organizations have sent contributions; many of the students who have been in residence at Ruskin College were sent and paid for by their fellow working men, and there have even been cases in which men have undertaken to provide for the wife and children of a comrade during his absence at college.

The college is intended for working men who are desirous of taking part in public and social work, and the subjects taught bear principally upon social and industrial questions—viz., political economy, industrial history, history of social movements, citizenship, local government, sociology, and logic. The work is carried on in two ways: (1) by residence at the college, and (2) by means of a correspondence school, which enables those who cannot leave their work to learn the same subjects through the post. The fees for residence at Ruskin College are £52 per annum, including board, lodging, and tuition. The fees for membership of the correspondence school are 1s. entrance fee and 1s. per month. The movement is under the control of a council.

One distinctive feature of the life at Ruskin college is that the men themselves do most of the housework, taking their turns at scrubbing floors, washing up crockery, etc. There are no servants except a cook.

That the students are genuine working men may be seen from the following list of the occupations of the thirty-four in residence in 1904: engineers, 9; miners, 9; weavers, 4; chain maker, bricklayer, dock laborer, railway workers, 3; clerk, blacksmith, carpenter, boiler-maker, mason, cloth-looker, 1 each. Nearly all are members of trade organizations, and several hold representative positions in their societies.

At first laughed at in Oxford, the best minds in the university soon recognized Ruskin College. Men like Dr. Caird, the Master of Balliol; Dr. Goudy, the regius professor of civil law, and the late Prof. F. York Powell, became members of the council of the college, and several of the professors threw open their lectures to the young workmen.

The correspondence department of the Ruskin College is quite as remarkable in its way as the work among the resident students. By its means men and women in all parts of Great Britain and in many of the colonies are studying from week to week. Printed outlines of the month’s course of study are sent to every member, and in addition to the text-book, which all study, parallel

readings are suggested for those who are able to read more widely.

Principal of Ruskin College, Dennis Hird, M.A.; vice-principal, H. B. Lees Smith, M.A.; general secretary, Bertram Wilson.

RUSKIN COOPERATIVE COLONY: In 1893 Mr. J. A. Wayland, editor of *The Coming Nation*, then published at Greensburg, Ind., with a circulation of 17,000, conceived the idea of establishing a cooperative colony to be operated as nearly upon the plans laid down in Bellamy's "Looking Backward" as the present competitive system would permit. He proposed to make *The Coming Nation* the organ and basis of the movement. If the workers, who had pushed the circulation so far, would increase it to 100,000, the profits would amount to \$23,000 a year. This he would turn over to an association to buy land and to found a cooperative village, to which he would transfer the printing plant. Each member, man or woman, was to have an equal voice, whether contributing much or little. No one would be obliged to work for the community. Every one was to be free to do as he or she willed, so long as in so doing the equal rights of others were not infringed.

This proposition met with favor. The circulation of the paper grew rapidly. Steps were taken to select a site, and by July 25, 1894, when the printing plant was moved to Tennessee City, Tenn., the subscription list had reached 60,000, and a Ruskin cooperative association was formed under the laws of Tennessee, with Mr. Wayland as president. But dissensions rose almost from the start; anarchistic and socialistic elements could not combine. Mr. Wayland was criticized for selecting the site despite the adverse report of his own agent. It certainly was not favorable. The circulation of the paper, however, grew, and the colonists had to some extent to change their ideals. A stock company was organized under a mining and manufacturing charter, the stock limited to \$500,000. The actual capital was \$17,050.40. This included 1,000 acres of land, the plant of *The Coming Nation*, and contributions from the members. Shares were sold to the members at \$500 each. Wives of charter members were given shares to put them on an equal footing with their husbands. Not adopting communism, it became necessary to fix a wage scale, that all might be able to purchase supplies, and dissension arose over this. The colony also began to purchase produce of the neighboring farmers and sell this at a profit, a proceeding much criticized by many in the community. Dissensions with Mr. Wayland were more serious. Mr. Wayland was determined to have full control of the printing plant and *The Coming Nation* or sever his connection with the body; so he made a proposition to lease the plant and paper on terms which he named, and gave the stockholders just fifteen minutes to decide. Fearing disaster to the colony should President Wayland quit the management of the paper, his proposition was accepted by a vote of 35 to 2. But the vote was a reluctant one, made under pressure and afterward regretted. Resignations followed thick and fast. Timid members withdrew, receiving in all cases the full amount paid for their stock. This practise on the part of the colony, while indicating a strong desire to avoid injustice, was undoubtedly a source of weakness, as many members withdrew who would

otherwise have remained and become peculiarly useful. But, despite withdrawals, the colony seemed to be making progress when Mr. Wayland made a demand for the ownership of a new perfecting press which had cost the association \$5,000. This was regarded as unjust, and refused.

Mr. Wayland left the colony (1895) and started *The Appeal to Reason*, at Girard, Kan., and later the colony itself removed to a better site at Cave Mills, Tenn., six miles from Tennessee City.

In less than a year the work of building the new homes had been accomplished. But the colonists were hardly established in their new quarters before fresh troubles began. New members had come in, and the old charter members began to fear that they were to lose control. So they did some scheming to retain their places. They refused to issue stock to the wives of the new members on the same conditions as it was issued to their own.

Feeling became intense and bitter. Finally, the "charters," as they were called, resigned in a body and helped to elect the most turbulent of their opponents, thinking that a short experience under the new management would result in a return to the old. But this did not happen. *The Coming Nation*, entirely controlled by the editor, had for some time been favoring the anarchistic policy. Individuals, it taught, should be free to do as they pleased, independent of the collectivity. Articles were published scathing religion and expressing contempt for the marriage bond. When a petition, signed by twenty-two members, was presented to the board of directors, now controlled by the charter members, asking that *The Coming Nation* declare itself for socialism and opposed to anarchy, it was promptly tabled. This was the beginning of a bitter and relentless conflict between the socialistic and anarchistic elements which ended in a series of injunctions, most of which failed to hold, but one of which (based on the claim that the building of houses and the running of schools, a lyceum, and a dining-hall were inconsistent with the charter of a mining and manufacturing company) resulted in throwing the colony into the hands of a receiver, and stripping it of property valued at \$100,000, tho the corporation did not owe a dollar. The disappointed colonists met and organized anew. They were able to retain their printing plant and some of their personal effects, but "their land, springs, caves, communal house, dwellings, college building, and other appurtenances, valued at over \$100,000, were sold to a company which, it is said, included court officers and attorneys who figured in the legal proceedings."

Over 250 of the colonists, however, unconquerable in spirit, determined to try again. At great expense they moved to Duke, Ga., in Ware County, and with great energy successfully started anew, calling it the Ruskin Commonwealth, and still publishing *The Coming Nation*. All the members were pledged to the principles of the community, which were socialistic, and to an obedience to the Golden Rule in word and deed. Strenuous endeavor brought considerable success, but gradually members resigned till at last the colony was ended.

RUSSELL, HOWARD H.: Founder of the Anti-Saloon League and present state superintendent of the league in New York State; born 1855 at Stillwater, Minn. A lawyer in Iowa

from 1878-84, he prepared for the ministry, and was a Congregational clergyman at Kansas City and Chicago until May, 1893, when he originated and started the Anti-Saloon League in Ohio. He has since devoted all his time and talents to the spreading of the league throughout the country. A federation of the churches against saloons has thus been formed in forty-four states and territories, with nearly 400 persons employed; and the league now raises and expends about \$400,000 per year. Dr. Russell is an optimistic opportunist who believes in omnipartizan methods for attaining political results, and he firmly trusts the power of the Gospel and the churches to reform and transform untoward social conditions. He received the degree of D.D. in 1897.

Dr. Russell is author of "A Lawyer's Examination of the Bible" and many articles on the temperance reform. Address: 110 East 125th Street, New York City.

RUSSIA (see also RUSSIAN REVOLUTION): An autocracy; the present czar, Nicholas II., emperor since 1894, is descended in the female line from Michael Romanof, elected czar in 1613, after the extinction of the house of Rurik. Peter I. first adopted the title of emperor 1721.

I. Statistics

Area in Europe, 2,122,527 sq. m.—including Poland, Finland, and Ciscaucasia—with 125,161,000 population in 1905; possessions in Asia—exclusive of the southern part of Sakhalin, Manchuria, and Mongolia—6,207,662 sq. m., with 19,125,000 estimated population in 1897. Total area of Russian Empire, including inland waters, 8,647,657 sq. m.; population, 144,286,000. The population consists chiefly of Aryan stock—about 100,000,000; 92,000,000 Slavs; there are over 5,000,000 Jews; 17,669,000 Uralo-Altayans, e. g., Finns, Samojeds, Tatars, and Tunguz; 33,600 Hyperboreans, e. g., Eskimos, Chukchis, Kamchadals, Ainns, Korikas, etc. The principal cities are: St. Petersburg, 1,429,000; Moscow, 1,092,360; Warsaw, 756,426; Odessa, 449,673; Lodz, 351,570; Kiev, 319,000; Riga, 282,230; Kishinev, 125,787; Kronstadt, 59,525; Nizhnij-Novgorod, 90,053; Helsingfors, 106,067; Baku, 106,133; Vladivostok, 38,000.

There were in 1901 in *European Russia*: 4,801,190 births; 3,218,501 deaths; a surplus of births, 1,582,689; and 862,408 marriages. The proportion of illegitimate births was 2.6 per cent in 1901. The increase of population according to religious confessions per 1,000 was: Mohammedans, 19.8; Orthodox, 15.9; Jews, 14.5; Roman Catholics, 12.0; Protestants, 10.0. Averages per 1,000 population:

Vital

births, 47.9; deaths, 32.1; increase, 15.8. With the exception of European Russia, where there are 102.9 women to 100 men, the male population preponderates largely over the female, there being, e. g., in Turkestan only 83 women to 100 men.

In the whole *Russian Empire* there were in 1900: births, 6,142,423; deaths, 3,830,210; surplus, 2,312,213. There were in the total population 71,909,300 males and 72,070,800 females.

In 1905 Russia gained by immigration 390,417, and lost by emigration 473,710; the emigrants were mostly Jews going to the United States (136,093 in 1903).

The Orthodox-Catholic (Greek Church) is the established religion and is supported by the State. The emperor is theoretically the *Summus Episcopus* of the church, altho he exercises that right only in regard to appointments and never concerning ritual and doctrine. Nominally, all religions are tolerated; practically, all but the Orthodox are persecuted, particularly the Jewish. In 1897 the Orthodox and Uniate churches had 87,123,604 members; the Roman Catholic, 11,467,994; the Lutheran, 3,572,653; the Mohammedan, 13,906,972; the Buddhists, 433,863. The Dissidents (Stundists, etc.) from

the Orthodox Church numbered 2,204,596; the Armenian Gregorians, 1,179,241. The Orthodox Church is governed by the Holy Synod. There are 3 metropolitans, 14 archbishops, and 50 bishops. In 1902 there were 49,703 churches—private and public—and 18,946 chapels; 46,827 priests and deacons; and 58,529 cantors. The monasteries numbered 862 with 8,455 monks and 10,000 nuns, besides numerous aspirants of each sex. The expenditure of the Holy Synod in 1906 was: 29,126,155 rubles from the imperial budget, and 1,752,146 from that of the Ministry of the Interior.

Russia has made vast strides in education during the last twenty-five years, both in regard to higher and elementary instruction. In 1873 there were 6,145 students in the universities; in 1904, 19,394. There was one school for 2,665 and one pupil for 48 inhabitants in 1885; in 1903 the proportions had changed to 1,533 and 26 respectively. The percentage of the school population was 3.3 of the total, against 2.6 in the U. S. Nevertheless, the percentage of illiterates for the empire is 73 for the population over nine years of age. It is smallest in Esthonia, 20.1; largest in the Steppes, 94. In 1903 there were 90,942 elementary schools with 209,394 teachers and 5,344,747 pupils—3,793 male and 1,551,739 female. The middle schools of various kinds for both sexes number 15.86 with about 413,500 pupils. Higher education is fostered by nine universities and a number of technical and special schools, among which a medical school for women deserves special mention. The State granted in 1906 through its various agencies 76,691,499 rubles for education.

Finland needs separate treatment in regard to education, since its system of instruction is entirely independent of and vastly superior to that of the other parts of Russia. Its percentage of illiteracy is among the smallest in Europe. It has a university at Helsingfors with 1,921 students, among them 328 women in 1904. The school-age lasts from the seventh to the fifteenth year; attendance is compulsory, and strictly enforced.

The great majority of the population of Russia is occupied in agriculture. About 125,613,300 people lived in the country or in villages, and 18,366,800 in cities. The State and the imperial family owned (1905) in Russia proper: 393,968,000 acres, or 34.0 per cent; the peasants, 374,034,000, or 32.3 per cent; private owners and towns, 298,307,000, or 25.7 per cent; the remainder, 92,455,000, or 8 per cent, is unfit for culture.

Industry

In 1899 the State and the crown owned in Poland: 1,808,000 acres, or 5.9 per cent; the peasants, 13,584,000, or 44.5 per cent; private owners, towns, etc., 15,106,000, or 45.0 per cent; unfit for culture, 1,389,000, or 4.6 per cent. In 1904 the areas under crops in the empire were: cereals, 224,730,000 acres; potatoes, 10,318,000; meadows, 92,404,000; total under cultivation, 327,452,000 acres. The crop of cereals of the empire in 1905 amounted to 3,783,810,000 pounds—each equal to thirty-six pounds; that of potatoes, 1,747,446,800; of hay, 2,972,008,800. Transcaucasia produced 17,043,000 gallons of wine in 1899 on 250,675 acres of vineyards; tea planting is also extending in this province. In the whole empire the tobacco crop yielded 99,459 tons in 1903 from 175,720 acres.

The cotton crop is becoming important, chiefly in *Turkestan*; the yield in 1888 was 325,148 *cwt.* from 214,115 acres; in 1902, 950,320 *cwt.* from 531,037 acres. Transcaucasia produced (1902) 240,000 *cwt.* of raw cotton; Khiva and Bokhara, 628,000. Turkestan produced 2,670,000 *cwt.* of rice and 77,380 *cwt.* of cocoon silk in 1903.

The live stock of the empire in 1904 numbered 29,539,000 horses; 40,504,000 cattle; 64,394,000 sheep and goats; 13,668,000 swine; the number of these animals in European Russia was: 24,051,000; 33,208,000; 47,496,000; 12,197,000, respectively.

A large area of the empire is covered by forests, but only that of European Russia can be estimated with any approach to certainty. Russia proper has 474,000,000 acres of woodland, or 39 per cent; Finland, 50,500,000, or 63 per cent; Poland, 6,700,000, or 23 per cent; the Caucasus, 18,700,000, or 17 per cent. The total for this region is 550,000,000 acres, or 39 per cent of the total area. The State is the largest owner of forests, possessing 64 per cent in European

Forestry

Russia; private owners with 23 per cent come next; peasants with 9 per cent follow; the crown owns 3 per cent, and 1 per cent is divided among municipalities, villages, etc. The total area of the State forests in the empire, including the Amur region, covered 948,073,763 acres; the revenue in 1904 amounted to 60,452,000 rubles; expenses, 11,142,000; surplus, 49,310,000.

Russia is rich in minerals. The output in 1904 was: Gold (unrefined), 37,502 kilograms; platinum, 4,933; silver, 1,032; lead, 326 tons; zinc, 10,445; copper, 8,480; pig iron, 2,900,000; iron and steel, 2,408,000; coal, 18,620,000; naphtha, 9,042,000; salt, 1,844,000. About 500,000 people were engaged in various mining concerns. In 1903 Russia had 16,713 manufacturing establishments with 1,711,755 employees—1,111,717 men, 399,388 women, 180,881 children, and 19,769 people whose sex and age were not stated. Textile industries employed 708,186; articles of food, 303,213; metal working, ex-

clusive of mining, 252,215; pottery, 150,809. In 1905 Russia worked 16,280,100 poods of cotton with 6,554,597 spindles and 154,577 looms; 2,431 distilleries produced 96,788,000 gallons of alcohol; 276 sugar works had an output of 55,596,000 poods of beet-sugar from 1,391,740 acres under beet-root. In 1903 tobacco plantations covered 175,720 acres, producing 99,459 tons of tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, etc. The manufacturing and financial corporations of various kinds numbered (1903) 1,455 with an estimated capital of 2,015,595,082 rubles in shares—about 20 per cent of which was foreign capital.

Exports in 1905, 1,047,017,000 rubles; imports, 582,086,000. Both exports and imports are made chiefly through Russia's European frontier and the Black Sea. Only 9.2 per cent of the customs duties are from the Asiatic frontier.

The exports consisted chiefly of articles of food, 685,189,000 rubles; raw and half-manufactured articles—chiefly lumber and hides—292,381,000. The imports, chiefly raw and half-manufactured articles, 395,344,000 rubles;

Commerce

and manufactured goods, 155,128,000. Trade was principally with Germany; imports, 232,937,000 rubles; exports, 254,940,000; United Kingdom, 95,471,000 and 249,239,000.

Russia had 3351 vessels with 666,415 tons in the mercantile marine in 1904—821 steamers with 382,866 tons, and 2,533 sailing vessels with 283,549 tons. The Baltic ports had 5,910 ships entered with 3,850,000 tons; the Black Sea ports, 4,919 with 6,942,000; in the former ports 5,968 ships cleared with 3,920,000 tons; in the latter, 4,866 with 6,922,000. European Russia has 76,500 miles of rivers, canals, and lakes—16,680 navigable for steamers, 8,105 for sailing vessels, 26,800 for rafts. In 1900 about 26,154 vessels with 138,872 men carried 2,402,000,000 poods of freight on the rivers and canals. The naphtha flotilla of the Caspian Sea numbers 57 steamers and 263 sailing vessels which carried over 30,000,000 *cwt.* of naphtha.

In 1906 Russia had 40,748 miles of railroads; 32,743 in Europe and 8,005 in Asia. Of this railway net 26,816 miles were owned and operated by the State. In 1897 the railway net amounted in all only to 25,626 miles. The railroads carried in 1905 about 109,166,000 passengers, 7,858,000 poods of freight, and received 564,800,000 rubles in European Russia exclusive of Finland. The railroads in Asiatic Russia carried 3,605,000 passengers, 254,000,000 poods, and received 41,694,000 rubles.

The posts are extending with the railways. In 1904 Russia had 100,096 miles of telegraph lines with 256,020 miles of wire, and 87,746 miles of telephone wire. The revenue from these three services was 66,876,037 rubles; expenditure, 40,545,845; surplus, 26,330,192. The figures in 1899 stood: revenue, 29,440,717; expenses, 33,156,423; deficit, 3,715,706. Previous to 1901 these services had always deficits, since that time surpluses.

The ordinary revenue amounted to 2,024,558,452 rubles in 1905; ordinary expenditures, 1,925,176,047; surplus, 99,382,405. *Extraordinary* revenues, 793,515,197; expenditures, 1,279,576,862. The principal sources of the ordinary revenue were: taxes direct, 126,896,225 rubles; indirect, 408,653,541; duties, 99,995,401; State monopolies, 685,767,651; State domains, 553,049,567; redemption of land, 55,425,756; miscellaneous, etc., 77,729,696. The extraordinary revenue came chiefly from State loans. The ordinary expenditures were chiefly for: war, 378,077,115 rubles; Ministry of Finance, 339,055,502; interest on loans, 306,556,193; navy, 116,694,465. The extraordinary expenditures were chiefly for the war with Japan, 1,137,298,614. The total national debt on Jan. 1, 1907, was 8,375,645,948 rubles, or over 58 rubles per capita.

The army and navy of Russia are being reorganized since the Japanese war in 1904 and 1905, and are at present in a transitive stage. The peace strength of the army is about 1,200,000 men; the war footing, 4,000,000; that of the navy, 69,000 and 100,000 respectively.

Owing to the recent political upheaval in Russia everything is in a state of chaos, and the percentage of offenders is large. In 1901 the total number of persons in prisons was 709,807—631,699 men, 78,108 women; 20,894 of this number were voluntarily following parents or husbands into exile—9,801 men and 11,093 women. The number of persons condemned during 1904 was 58,931; acquitted, 28,620; discharged, 21,354.

II. Constitution

The government is an autocracy, under the czar, Nicholas II. Apart from the Duma (for which see RUSSIAN REVOLUTION), the czar has four chief councils: (1) the Council of the Empire, the members of which he appoints; (2) the Ruling Senate, partly deliberative and partly executive, which promulgates all laws and is the high court of justice; (3) the Holy Synod, which superintends religious matters; (4) a Committee

of Ministers, reorganized in 1905. The empire is divided into 9 general governments, Finland, Poland, Wilna, Kieff, Moscow, the Caucasus, Turkestan, the Steppes, and Irkutsk, each with a governor-general, having full civil and military powers. The governments are divided into 815 districts, with their own administrative institutions, and with special governors over the larger towns. In European Russia the country is divided into communes, groups of which form cantons. The districts are ruled by zemstvos, in some governments made elective, and in which the landowning nobility have the main power. District zemstvos have 60 to 65 members, about half being nobles and half peasantry. Provincial zemstvos are limited to the nobility.

The empire, however, is in a state of transition and details are continually changing. Finland, Poland, and the Baltic provinces are separately governed, and are granted special rights.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, THE PRESENT:

The causes that have made Russia revolutionary are as profound as those that have governed the social transformation of any people. The race belongs to one of the highest of the white types, the country is rich and vast, the harmful traditions of many other European nations have been absent. The system of immemorial little republics has been spread over the land. The peasants have always governed their village affairs through the most thoroughgoing and democratic of institutions. There has been no vestige of class distinction among them. The property both of the family and of the village has been owned, and to a moderate extent also operated, on social principles rather than on the competitive principles of private property. Along with a rather moderate amount of superstition there is a somewhat pure and sound form of primitive Christianity—a type of religion and morality, if not the highest, at least much higher than that which has during the same period governed in neighboring European countries. The great curse of the land has been not the native institutions, but the barbaric government left by the Tatar invasions and the hard and inflexible bureaucratic conception of government brought in by Peter the Great from Germany in her worst absolutist period. It is, however, impossible in this place to even suggest all the fundamental qualities of the Russian character and the general conditions that have created a nation ready for revolutionary ideas. We must be satisfied with tracing the specific origin of the present revolutionary movement. For this purpose we may divide the history of the revolution into five parts: (1) The Revolution of Ideas; (2) The Revolutionizing of the People; (3) The Revolution in Action; (4) The Revolution of Institutions; (5) The Revolution in the Individual and Society.

Under Peter the Great Russia secured a considerable contact with the ideas of the rest of Europe; but they were imported by Peter himself and forced on the court and officials by autocratic will. Catherine II. pursued an entirely different policy. In bringing to her court Diderot and other leaders of European thought, she did not force her own ideas on the upper classes, but allowed them to see its advantages by personal contact with some of the leaders of European civilization. Again, the Napo-

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leonic wars sent young Russian officers all over Europe, and some of these became so deeply affected as to organize (in 1825) a conspiracy to overthrow czarism. These were the *Decembrists*, and they are still known among educated Russians as the forefathers of the revolution.

About the same time Russian literature began to take a more distinct form, and writers of every kind, from historians and publicists to poets and novelists, were filled with the idea of regenerating Russian institutions. Autocratic Russia, with perfect justification, considered all these ideas to be revolutionary. Even before the emancipation of the serfs (1861) nearly all Russia, which took a pride in its education or culture, was tinged with liberal, radical, and revolutionary ideas. With the emancipation came the effort of tens of thousands of the Russian youth to secure a real knowledge and leadership of the peasantry by living among them. The very act of the emancipation centered the attention of all Russians on the broadest political, economic, and social problems. The brutal treatment by the government of the participants in this movement made martyrs of the best of the Russian youth. Since that time, and for a whole generation, the Russian universities have been centers of revolutionary sentiment, until to-day more than nine tenths of the students of the higher educational institutions are both Socialists and revolutionists, not only in theory but in fact. Tens of thousands have gone to prison or exile for the cause; thousands have been put to death.

The revolution of ideas, however, is by no means restricted to the youth. The educated people of Russia are known as a single class by the name of the "intelligentsia." The whole intelligence—professors, school-teachers, doctors, scientists, journalists, writers, and artists—is permeated with revolutionary ideas. Many of the leaders of the merely liberal parties have for years been members of the Socialist organizations. Russian literature is revolutionary; the Russian press is revolutionary; Russian art is revolutionary. For a century advanced Russians have been expecting sooner or later a complete and fundamental revolution of their institutions. They have looked forward to the time when every person of character, intelligence, and practical capacity should take a part in reshaping Russian society. All Russians of any considerable quality of mind or heart have dedicated a large part of their energy and aspirations toward preparing themselves for the coming change. Russian writers, philosophers, and publicists have realized that they were dealing with a nation whose traditions—whether of religion, politics, or education—have been forced on it from above; and that some day that nation would wish to get rid of those traditions and that there would be created a new type of human society. Like Count Tolstoy, they have not only been studying Russian history and modern ideas in general, but they have given a large measure of their thought and feeling toward the most fundamental, universal, and permanent of human problems: what is the *desirable* evolution of the human type and what is the *desirable* form of society? Perhaps never before in the history of the human race has such an army of gifted and emancipated individuals been given over to the conscious consideration of the development of a new type of man and society.

The results of the work of the intellectuals early began to tell among the people. After the emancipation there were a thousand peasant revolts that had to be suppressed by force of arms. These revolts were not

2. The Revolutionizing of the People

aimed at the overturning of czarism, but at changing the conditions of ownership of land. They were, however, inspired with a spirit of active rebellion against the local and visible arms of the government, and the spirit which was then rife made a very fruitful soil for more fundamental revolutionary ideas. In some Russian villages the revolutionary idea has predominated for more than a generation. Of course such villages are few. The idea of self-government was spreading slowly among the villages when Russia began a sudden industrial development. Soon after the emancipation Russia's financiers discovered the advantage of a high tariff to promote home industry. With the increase of this tariff several industries rapidly grew up during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In the early "nineties" a second and more important way to develop industrial Russia was discovered. Count Witte began his policy of obtaining enormous loans from France and other countries for the development of Russian railways and other enterprises. Under the stimulus of an immense amount of railway construction, many other industries flourished, and Russia's working class rapidly increased in numbers. The working class was drawn from the villages; but as every peasant has a permanent right to a share in the village property, these working people often return to their villages where they spread the opinions and ideas they obtained in town.

In the late "eighties," and again shortly after the coming of Nicholas II. to the throne, eras of strikes broke out, and the world-wide trouble between employers and employed was introduced in the Russian Empire. With the rise of industry rose also the socialistic ideas, first among the students, and then among the working men themselves. By the time of Father Gapon's petition to the czar (Jan. 22, 1905), which resulted in the St. Petersburg massacre, a very large part of the working men had been reached by the Socialist doctrines carried to them principally by the students long since imbued with the German Marxist ideas. A year after the massacre, at the time of the great general strike, it was evident to the whole world that Russia's industrial working class was fairly permeated with revolutionary ideas.

This spread of socialistic and revolutionary ideas among the city laborers has doubtless been the principal cause for the present revolutionary attitude of the great mass of the Russian peasants. There are few villages that do not have in the midst of them working men who have lived long in the cities, have seen something of the industrial conditions of our times, have taken part in strikes, joined revolutionary organizations, and, finally, participated in revolutionary violence. When the present period of revolutionary violence began, a very large part of the Russian peasants were already converted to an attitude of rebellious hostility toward the government.

Since the war with Japan, the revolutionary ideas gradually called forth action. The beginning of this revolution, and perhaps the beginning

of the peasant revolutionary movement, may be dated from an act of violence. In July, 1904,

3. The Revolution in Action

when the war was at its height, the minister of the interior, Von Plehve, was killed by a member of the social revolutionary party. Von Plehve had embodied in himself every principle of despotism, and had taken into his own hands a large part of the State power. He was a master of the arts of tyranny and had succeeded fairly well in bottling up the revolutionary opinions and movements that were at that time ripening. Russia heaved a sigh of relief at Von Plehve's death.

Von Plehve had not been long dead before a leader of liberal opinion, Prince Sviatopolsk Mirsky, came into power. His advent to the ministry of the interior marked an entirely new period in Russian history. For several months there was a moderate freedom of press and assembly. All Russia took advantage of this freedom to give the spirit of revolution a voice, and protest against the terrible war that had been waged against its will. The reign of comparative freedom did not last long, but it brought the whole of Russia to a condition of extreme excitement. The liberals express their desire for a constitutional government mainly through the congress of the *Zemstvos*, a sort of local government board elected by landlords, which had fallen into the hands of a liberal minority through the inertia of the majority of conservative proprietors. This body was so bold as to ask for a constitution in so many words, naming for the first time in many years a word—*Duma*—that is itself considered revolutionary by servants of the czar. They were soon followed by other public congresses, such as those of the physicians, the professors and school-teachers, the engineers, the journalists and writers. But the aspirations of the merely intellectual classes did not lead directly to any action.

When, however, these ideas of a constitution and a representative assembly for the Russian people, fostered by the revolutionary organizations, came to the ears of the working classes, they quickly made up their minds to act. Since the war, both the economic conditions and the police régime in the factories had become harder than ever. Strikes had become more frequent, and the working people were very rapidly joining the most active revolutionary organizations. Father Gapon preached to them the possibility of presenting their wishes directly to the czar with some chances of a favorable hearing.

Father Gapon

He knew in the first instance that the attempt to present the petition might lead to violence on the part of the troops. The Socialists had made the petition still stronger with the full expectation that it might lead to a violent crisis. The massacre of Jan. 22, 1905, marked the transition of the revolution from a stage of mere conviction and feeling into action. After the massacre the whole situation was changed. All the organizations took on a more distinctly revolutionary tone. They no longer petitioned but demanded, and the language of all the demands clearly suggested the ultimate appeal to force in case of necessity. The labor organizations definitely abandoned the idea of asking anything from the government, and have ever since relied solely on revolutionary means. They are interested in the first and second *Dumas*, and only

want to use them as a means for overturning the government. The organizations of the professions were soon banded together in the Union of Unions which declared for a constitutional assembly. The congress of the *Zemstvos* was held in spite of the government prohibition, and also passed over into a form of action. All the members of the congress pledged themselves to take no part in the functions for the St. Petersburg government.

As to the revolutionary organizations themselves, which had formerly been busy with the general propaganda among the peasants and working men, they now began to turn the larger part of their attention toward the army and navy. The result was hundreds of "strikes"

Mutinies

among the soldiers, the mutiny of a large majority of the total personnel of the army at Sebastopol, Reval, and Kronstadt, and the sporadic mutinies in many parts of Siberia, at Kiev, and in many points in the center of Russia. This was a period of some of the most dramatic events of the revolution—the successful capture by the revolutionists and the holding for several weeks of the cruiser *Kniez Potemkin*, and the partial destruction of Kronstadt and Sebastopol. However, the government soon mastered the military situation.

In October, 1905, the situation underwent a sudden and fairly complete change. The Union of Unions and the leading labor organizations, especially the railway union, succeeded in spreading the ideas of a general strike. The strike was precipitated by the attempt of the government to arrest the congress of the railway union and destroy the organization. The temper of all the city population and working classes was ready for a trial of strength. The railway union declared and succeeded in effecting a general strike on all the important railway lines. A large majority of the factory population followed;

Universal Strike

the postal and telegraph employees joined in the strike, the street-cars stopt, and even the drug stores were closed. The administration was so complete and effective that the czar and the court party were sufficiently alarmed to listen to the relatively liberal opinion of some of the higher government officials, such as Count Witte, and the czar issued the manifesto of Oct. 17, 1905.

The October manifesto was hailed by a certain rather moderate section of Russian opinion as a real constitution; but it proved to consist of mere promises like many former liberal ukases issued by the czar. The principle of autocracy remained as before, and the czar preserved in fact, if not in principle also, the right to withdraw his promises or to interpret them to suit himself.

Immediately after the sudden forcing of the manifesto in the fall of 1905, when, after the great general strike, the czar became alarmed and promised some sort of a parliament and some sort of individual freedom, some of the more educated and thoughtful members of the bureaucracy endeavored to form an organization which might have a chance of obtaining a measure of popular support. They even hoped, as did the czar and his chief advisers, that this organization might secure a majority in the elections. There could be no better or more stupen-

Party of Legal Order

dous example of the total ignorance of the czar and his advisers of their own people. This organization, the Party of Legal Order, together with the League of Pure Russian Men and a third reactionary organization composed largely of military officers, obtained altogether not more than half a dozen representatives in the Duma, with all the coercion and police measures of the government to aid them.

The Party of Legal Order secured its more active help among the bureaucracy itself. It is a most conservative organization, but it is after all a political party, and not a semimilitary organization, like the League of Pure Russian Men.

The League of the Seventeenth of October demands something more than law and order. Its ideal government is that of the Prussian state,

where not only order and legality exist within the bureaucracy, but where the rights of the individual are adequately protected and where every person has his place in society.

This party, moreover, demands a share for the people in the government. Autocracy, the party claims, is to be preserved, but the control of the government finances is to be shared with a popular assembly. This popular assembly is not, and in fact should not be, entirely elected on a basis of universal suffrage, and the suffrage should certainly not be either equal or direct. These things the czar seemed to have promised in his manifesto of the 17th of October.

All the other parties of importance in Russia are revolutionary. It is a sufficient recognition of their revolutionary character that the government has declared them all "illegal," and that it does not allow them to hold meetings, or to make public or even private propaganda of any kind. The great liberal party in Russia, and the most powerful party in the last Duma under the restricted suffrage, that allowed the peasants and working people only a fraction of the influence of the propertied and professional classes, were the Constitutional Democrats, who later changed their name to that of the Party of the Freedom of the People.

The Constitutional Democratic Party can be easily understood in the light of its leading demand, which is this: that the ministers of the

League of October the Seventeenth
 czar should be responsible to the Duma and subject to its control. It follows that the finances would be in the hands of the popular assembly.

Another phase of the program equally important, if perhaps a little less sincere, is the demand for universal suffrage. The bulk of the Constitutional Democratic Party comes from the propertied middle classes of the towns and the relatively prosperous professions. The elections have shown almost certainly that the party can rely on scarcely any support from the working people, and that the majority of the peasants are bent on an even more radical and revolutionary program. The Constitutional Democratic Party has played the most brilliant rôle so far in the political phase of the revolution. By the radical nature of its program, including universal suffrage and the expropriation of the landlords, it was able to demand the cooperation of the still more radical parties in the Duma. By the careful moderation and wisdom of its immediate demands, it was also able to secure the support, in nearly all of its parliamentary action, of the more conservative elements. It was the

leaders of this party that framed the policy of the Duma and drew up the address to the throne—the Magna Charta of the Russian Revolution.

This Russian Magna Charta, it will be remembered, secured the almost unanimous support of the Duma—a most astounding feat and a

Address to the Throne

death-blow to czarism. To-day, on the eve of the second elections, it remains a unifying platform on which all the revolutionary and opposition parties really stand. Of course, other

demands are urged before the people, but the leaders are perfectly aware that the fight is most likely to come on the Duma's address to the throne. This address stood for a responsible ministry, universal suffrage, expropriation of the landlords, and last, but not least, complete amnesty of all the revolutionists of every description in prison or exile. For one of the most marked characters of the Constitutional Democratic Party is that, while it has never in any way openly encouraged violence, it has always encouraged the revolutionary attitude of mind, and the individual members have always aided the revolutionists to avoid the clutches of the government both before and after arrest. The Constitutional Democrats are never weary of asserting that the government is so brutal that it has never listened to any argument except that of violence. They are honest and realistic enough to confess their gratitude to the organized violence of the revolutionary parties.

The government was right in calling the Constitutional Democratic Party a revolutionary organization. Immediately after the dissolution of the Duma, it was this party that was largely responsible for the manifesto at Viburg that was signed or indorsed by nearly all its members as well as by practically every one of the members of the extreme left. In that manifesto the government was declared to have broken the terms of the constitution which had already been granted to the people; the refusal of taxes and recruits was advised, and all future foreign loans were declared without legal sanction in the name of the people. The measures of passive resistance, having proved entirely impractical and inadequate as a means for overturning the government, were withdrawn from the party program in the party's congress a few weeks later, but the denunciation of foreign loans remained, and the leading political party in Russia denies to the government the right to secure the means absolutely necessary for its existence, and announces to foreign money-lenders that the future government of Russia will refuse to honor any contract made by the present government in the name of the Russian people. This may not be revolutionary violence, but it is certainly revolution.

All the other parties in Russia, somewhat less important in the first Duma on account of unequal representation, but which have the support of the overwhelming majority of the people, are not only revolutionary in the sense of disobedience to the present orders of the government, but in the sense of open violence against the government and all its tools.

Labor Group

The party which has the best claim to represent the people in the first Russian Duma was undoubtedly the so-called Labor Group. The twenty millions of Russian peasant voters had never participated in an election before. A large majority of about two hundred rep-

representatives sent by the peasantry came uninducted to the Duma. Over such a vast empire and under the system of police coercion, no organized peasant party had been possible during the elections even if the peasants had conceived a sufficiently clear political idea. But a large majority of the peasants' delegates were radical to the very verge of violent rebellion. Practically the only conservatives among them were those whom the government was able to influence by threats or promises after the elections. The majority, however, unaccustomed to organization, came together shortly after the convocation of the Duma, and formed the Labor Group, which had the adherence perhaps of one fourth or one fifth of the total members of the body. Under a system of universal suffrage they would undoubtedly have controlled it. The Constitutional Democrats, who actually did control it, are demanding universal suffrage, and therefore very wisely and modestly gave more weight to the "group of toil" than its actual numbers demanded. The leaders of this group were consulted in everything the Duma did from the address to the throne to the Viburg manifesto.

The guiding principle of the Labor Group is that of the most extreme democracy. They consider themselves as representing the pauperized peasants and the working people.

Demands of Labor Group

They demanded a universal suffrage, not in some future Duma, but as a condition of the continued existence of the first popular assembly. They demanded not only expropriation of the landlords, but also that the terms of this expropriation should be decided by the people of the eighty-nine governments under the direction of the central Duma. They went so far as to demand that the local governments should have the right to declare the land common property and to distribute the landlords' estates on this basis. As is well known, the peasants of nine tenths of the villages of the central districts of Russia, that part which is called Great Russia, own their land on the communal basis. Great Russia contains nearly half the population of the empire, and by its central situation and purely Russian character, has more influence than all the rest. And continued communal ownership of land in this enormous section, as well as in other provinces where the system is more or less in vogue, would very much limit the institution of private property as a basis of the new Russian State.

This party, which claims to represent more than all others the Russian peasants, has been, of course, the center of intelligent interest in Russian affairs the world over. Count

Labor Group's Constituents

Tolstoy expressed recently in private conversation the most natural question concerning it. Wishing to know whether it was composed primarily of peasants or of educated idealists who are using it as an embodiment of a great social idea, Count Tolstoy asked: "Are the Labor Group working men? Are their hands callous?" The answer was given that a large part of the group, perhaps a third or fourth of the total, do have callous hands. Another still larger part were born peasants and raised as peasants, later receiving the education of a pauper priest's son, of a starving village school-teacher, or of a miserable village official. Another, but much smaller part, have perhaps spent a considerable part of their lives among educated people as newspaper

men, writers, employees of progressive local government boards, or high-school teachers. Still they have lived nearly all their lives in provincial towns and a large part of their lives in the villages, are known to the leading peasants, and they were elected because they were known to understand and represent the peasants' leading ideas. The leaders of the group were Anikine, a born peasant and a village school-teacher; Jhilkin, a St. Petersburg newspaper man, originally from a small town; and Aladyin, likewise from a poor family of a small provincial town, and in turn a university student, an exile, and a professional agitator among the peasants.

The last action of the Labor Group before the government managed to arrest and exile a large part of its members and drive others abroad, was

Government Guilty of High Treason to declare before the people that the government, in closing the Duma, had betrayed the people and was guilty of high treason; that therefore the people owed no allegiance to such a government; that it was the duty

of the army and navy to revolt, and of the peasants as quickly as possible to form local self-governments of their own, and to refuse to obey orders from St. Petersburg. This proclamation was premature and did not have much influence in the army or among the peasantry. However, it finally reached a large part of the Russian villages, and was nearly everywhere warmly and sympathetically received. The peasants were rejoiced that there was a body of men speaking so courageously in their name. But the favorable moment had not yet arrived. The peasants' party—the Labor Group—declared open war on the government, and of course it at once became the object of the oppression of the enormous governmental machine. Its organization was more or less destroyed. Nevertheless, at the time of the second elections, it is still the dominating factor in peasant opinion, and with fair elections and universal suffrage, there can be little question that it would control the Duma. As it is, it is sure to be a powerful influence.

The Labor Group proposed to apply the principles of socialism to the ownership of the land. The Social-Democratic Party proposes to apply

Social Democrats

them to all private property and capital. It recognizes, however, that it is first necessary to establish a democratic republic. The Labor Group centered its attention very largely on an economic question—that of the land. The Social-Democratic Party is centering all its energies on obtaining a democratic republic, and for that end it considers necessary only the calling of a constituent assembly on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage. This party, which has taken its political and economic philosophy almost entirely from a German social-democratic party, has secured the following of a very large proportion of the city working men as well as of the students, and a considerable part of the professional classes. The more influential part of the party does not expect to achieve any socialistic ends during the present revolution; but it hopes that Russia may go so far in the direction of democracy that the political basis for socialism may be more favorable than in any other land. Another part of the party, also important numerically, hopes that the present revolutionary impulse may last until the revolutionary and socialistic tendencies in

other European countries have also reached a point of fruition. This might create a favorable condition for the foundation of a Socialist state without waiting for a long industrial revolution.

A democratic working men's party in the Russian cities would seem to be an anomaly. Nevertheless, the following of this party among the educated classes, which in truth have dominated it up to the present moment, makes it a center of discussion in Russian politics. In the present elections the question everywhere is how far there may or may not be cooperation between this confessedly revolutionary and socialistic party, striving for a democratic republic, and the Constitutional Democrats, who still hope to proceed by an orderly and peaceful evolution to a democratic and constitutional monarchy of the English type. A cooperation of the two parties has been secured in many places, another sign of the revolutionary attitude of the mass of the Russians, for the Social-Democratic Party not only participated in the revolutionary proclamation of the Labor Group, but took part as the most active and often organizing factor in many of the insurrections and all the general strikes. Its fighting organization is ever busy spreading the spirit of rebellion in the army. Its leaders, whenever recognized, are exiled, and members of its fighting organizations are hanged or shot every day, as are those of the other revolutionary parties.

The Socialist Revolutionary Party is the most typically Russian of the revolutionary organizations. It took its origin from the movement of the aristocratic and educated youth toward the people a generation ago, immediately after the emancipation of the serfs. The hopes of all Russia had been stirred by this great and important act. But it was found that the serfs, freed from personal bondage, had become the practical slaves of the police state, and were suffering as much from petty officials as they had been suffering from the landlords. It was also found that they were on the whole in the actual possession of considerably less land than they had before the emancipation act. Their rights over this land were greater, but they were in possession of a lesser part of the fruits of their toil than they had been before. All the great hopes of the Russian youth for a nation to be regenerated from the bottom up, were dashed to the ground, and a great idealistic impulse swept over the land. The youth decided to go and live among the people, to study them, and then to demand a new regeneration of Russia from the basis of actual experience and real fellowship. Of course czarism scented the danger of this movement and it failed. However, the government was so barbarous in uprooting this entirely peaceful revolutionary idea that it pushed a large part of the young people of Russia very far in the direction of violence.

Russia's most typical revolutionary organization owes its importance largely to the fact that it is considered that Russia must in the end be saved by the peasants. It has therefore largely directed its attention to the peasantry. In the governments of Saratof, Kazan, Chernigof, and others, its agitators have succeeded in arousing a large part of the peasantry to the necessity of overthrowing czarism by

violence. The memory of the young students who devoted themselves with such entire sacrifice to an ideal of the popular regeneration of Russia, and the impression of party's power given by its successful act of retaliation on those generals and chiefs of police and other officials who dealt most brutally with the revolutionists, have succeeded in impressing the peasantry with the sincerity and promise of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. In the past two years tens of thousands have gone to prison or exile for the organization, and it is no longer an association of the most radical section of educated Russians, but is also a thoroughly democratic movement.

The Social-Democratic Party regards the first two Dumas largely as a means of preparing for a violent revolution, tho there is some opinion in the party that this may possibly prove to be unnecessary.

There are still other and still more radical revolutionary tendencies in the country. Some of the younger and more determined members of the socialist revolutionary parties went off from the main organization to form the revolutionary group called the Maximalists. This organization, however, has nothing to do directly with the elections. Its brilliantly executed series of robberies of large banks, however, have had an indirect effect. The robbery of government institutions is under certain conditions approved by both the large revolutionary organizations. But this does not apply to private institutions. The Maximalists have, however, secured several million rubles in this way, and they have actually succeeded in turning over a considerable part of this money into revolutionary agitation. The dangers of this form of revolutionism even to the movement itself are obvious. A large part of the leaders of the Maximalists have already been executed by the government; the central organization is very loose; and already a part of the expropriated money is leaking into private hands. Nevertheless, Maximalism is an important factor in the revolution, and shows few signs of abatement. It is important as showing at once the limit to which the revolutionary parties are willing to go, and the extremes to which parts of the people are driven by the government. Maximalism, both as regards expropriation of private property and the free killing of lower and irresponsible officials which it involves, has been sweepingly denounced by both revolutionary organizations.

Perhaps one other tendency of revolutionary opinion should be mentioned as it seems a direct result and counterpart of the League of Pure Russian Men, and is equally without real roots in the nation. The league stands for absolute autocracy and for every governmental violence. The small, isolated groups of communist anarchists seem to be most flourishing in Odessa and in the neighboring cities, where the league is most powerful. They also announce themselves in favor of every form of violence, even the least organized—but *against* the government. Against autocracy they oppose the idea of no government whatever, and they claim to hope that the respect for private property will so far decay before the end of the present revolution that it will altogether cease to exist. Maximalism has proved the cloak for a number of scoundrels, and communist anarchism seems to be principally used

**Socialist
Revolutionists**

**The
Peasantry**

**Communist
Anarchists**

for this purpose. It is well worthy of observation in an effort to understand the revolution, precisely because it has such a limited and scattered following. None of the powerful revolutionary organizations has any relations with it whatever.

The great economic question now and for many years to come will be that of the land. Russia is still an agricultural state, four fifths of the people and a large part of the national wealth being engaged in agriculture. All the advanced and popular parties are agreed that all the land is to be declared the property of the nation, and that it is either to be handed over to the local governments and villages to be leased for short terms to individuals or organizations, or to be let out to individuals by the national government itself for longer terms.

The form of the government in Russia has been largely foreign. Based for a long time either on foreign arms or on foreign mercenaries within Russia, it was later sustained largely to afford an effective obstacle to terrible Tatar or Turkish invasions. At present it is solely by virtue of a flood of foreign gold that the government is able to sustain itself at all. The true Russian nation is as yet unborn, because neither Russian society nor any single individual in Russia has been able to ignore for a moment the terrible pressure of this almost wholly external régime. The Russian nation has yet to be created, but we can vaguely feel what some of its characteristics must be. The leading Russians in public life to-day are men of a new type, imbued with new ideas of the organization of society.

5. Revolution in the Individual and Society

II. The Second Duma and Its Dissolution

Since the election of the Second Duma, its brief session, and dissolution by the czar, Mr. English has written the editor of the Encyclopedia, from Russia, in brief as follows:

"At last the wishes of the Russian people are known, and at last the Russian people know they have nothing to hope from the present government. Revolution only is left, and is now being prepared for.

"The Russian Moderate Party, that of the Constitutional Democrats, were credited abroad with a large part of the success in the elections to the Second Duma on account of their sweeping victories in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other cities—where the impossible election law allowed the middle classes ten electors to the working men's one. But to have seen in the elections a victory only of the Moderates, was to fail entirely to grasp the import of the Second Russian Parliament.

"Surely Prof. Paul Melyukov, leader of the Constitutional Democrats, was fitted to speak finally on the question—whatever may have been the perversions of the governmental press, and on Feb. 22d, after some five hundred members of the Duma had been elected, Professor Melyukov said:

"'We have had a truly unexpected defeat. The Extreme Left has triumphed. It is the first example in history of a parliament in which there is an absolute majority of Socialists.

"'We are on the verge of a grave crisis,' he continued. 'The Socialist parties have detached themselves from us and are independently pur-

suing their own way. The majority of the country is following them. For I must confess that without the enormous arbitrariness of the government the Duma would be even more Socialist than it is.'

"The Moderates as well as the government did indeed meet a defeat at the hands of the definitely revolutionary parties. In the

Composition of Second Duma First Duma there were 18 Social Democrats and Social Revolutionists; in the Second there were more than 60. In the First there were some 85 peasant Socialists; in the Second nearly twice that number, while the then 160 Constitutional Democrats were reduced to about one half their former strength. The declared Socialists may not have mustered quite a majority, but they have supporters in progressives and independent members of the Left who were elected by Socialist as well as Moderate votes and were often privately known as Socialists.

"Such a Duma could not last. Between the present Russian Government and the Group of Toil, conscious of having the people back of them, there can be no peace. When the government found what the people of Russia want and that their representatives in the Duma intended to get it, the only thing to do was to dissolve the Duma and not to appeal to the people again. Not to have done so would have been to have abdicated."

III. Postscript, July, 1907

The Second Duma has proved to be the last. The czar's ukase of June 16th amounts to a *coup d'état*, the final abolition of the last guaranty of constitutional government and a return to the traditional absolutism and autocracy of the czarism. The new election law provides for what the government is pleased to call "another Duma," but the new body will be shorn even of that shadow of real representative character and legislative power enjoyed by the former assemblies. It is doubtful if Russia's hundred million peasants or her ten million working people will be able to send a single representative to the new "parliament." This is not even that half-parliamentary body known as a Duma, it is more like the ancient zemsky sobor, in use in autocratic Russia several centuries ago. It is a House of Lords, a body of landlords and rich burghers with whose aid the government hopes to delude the world that its budgets and foreign loans are ratified by a national parliament.

The conclusion from the Dumas then is this: The government made its brief experiment with semiparliamentary methods solely for financial reasons. The revolutionary movement was certainly not strong enough to maintain the institution; it was probably a very minor influence in creating it. The revolution and the government are, broadly speaking, where they were before—the government in supreme control of all the wealth and physical forces of the nation, the revolution supreme mistress of public opinion. But this great and incalculable change has taken place. The government thought it could find support among the peasants and other elements of the people. It now sees that practically the whole population, except the wealthiest classes, are with the revolution, and that it must rely more than ever on the sheer violence by which it

has always maintained its power. The revolutionary nation has seen that there is no hope that the government will soon collapse, as it were, of its own accord; that there is no chance of financial necessity forcing it to give freedom, representative government, or any fundamental reform, and that the nation must, therefore, rely solely on its own necessarily illegal power since the now thoroughly alarmed government has again become the sole arbiter of the law. The Russian

people, therefore, see before them a long, bitter, and violent struggle, infinitely more costly than all that has gone before. But they are now certain of their own numerical and moral power, they are united on the end to be attained and in agreement that revolutionary means are necessary to attain it. The revolution continues, ripened by the recent struggle and enlightened by the new experience it has gained.

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

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SAINT-SIMON, CLAUDE HENRI, COMTE DE: Social reformer; born in Paris, 1760, of a noble family, tracing its origin to Charlemagne. He entered the army at sixteen, and a year afterward came to America and fought under Washington. He distinguished himself for bravery. Returning to France he was made colonel, but soon gave up the military career. He visited Mexico and started a project for uniting the Atlantic with the Pacific by a canal, and for a canal from Madrid to the ocean. But the French Revolution drew him to France. In spite of family traditions, he sided with the people, and was elected president of the commune where his property was situated. He renounced his title of count, but this did not prevent his imprisonment for nearly a year on account of his nobility. Acquiring some money by speculation he contracted an unhappy marriage, which was later dissolved. He began scientific studies, and in order to acquire a complete knowledge of life plunged deliberately on occasions into dissipation. When his money was spent and his health broken, he changed his mode of life and became a copying clerk, working nine hours a day for less than \$200 a year. It was not till his forty-ninth year that he felt himself fully qualified to appear as a social reformer. He wrote two works—"Sur la Science de l'Homme" and "Sur la Gravitation Universelle." His characteristic Socialist views were first developed in "L'Industrie" (1817), and further developed in "L'Organisation" (1819), "Du Système Industriel" (1821), "Catéchisme des Industriels" (1823), and most important of all, "Nouveau Christianisme" (1825). In the latter work, having previously called in vain upon the pope to head a new crusade of the Church against poverty and suffering, he outlines a new Christianity where with religious fervor the world should be exploited in a scientific way, and society organized for the benefit of the poor and of all classes. His works, however, at first elicited little attention.

At sixty years of age his marvelous tenacity gave way, and, influenced by despondent thoughts, he attempted suicide. This brought dilatory friends to his side, and he rallied and set to work again. In 1825 he died in the midst of his followers. One of them has chronicled his last words. Calling his friends around him, he said:

"You have arrived at a period when, by your combined efforts, you will achieve a great success. The fruit is ripe; you are able to gather it. The last of my labors, the 'New Christianity,' will not be immediately understood. It has been thought that every religious system ought to disappear because men have succeeded in proving the weakness and

insufficiency of Catholicism. People are deceived in this. Religion cannot disappear from the world; it can only be changed. . . ."

He paused for a few moments, then, in the final struggle, added: "The Party of Laborers will soon be formed; the future is ours."

Professor Ely says, in speaking of Saint-Simon:

Saint-Simonism is the first example of pure socialism, by which I understand an economic system in which production is entirely carried on in common, and the fruits of labor distributed according to some ideal standard, which appears to the promoters of the scheme just. The Saint-Simonians held that men were by nature unequal, and that it was right to reward superior power, when exerted for the general good. Their idea was that each one should labor according to his capacity and be rewarded according to the services rendered. They wished to organize civil society on the plan of an army. This thought is distinctly expressed by one of their leaders in these words: "In the army gradations in rank and authority are already established, while in civil life that is precisely what is wanting; and in an enterprise conducted upon the principle of association, a central administration is imperiously required." The officers are the directing authority in the scheme, and they decide on the value of the services rendered to society and reward the citizens accordingly. As society consists of priests, savants, and industrials—the industrials comprising those engaged in manufactures, agriculture, and commerce—so the government consists of the chiefs of the priests, the chiefs of the savants, and the chiefs of the industrials. All property belongs to the Church, i. e., to the State, and every profession or trade is a religious exercise and has its rank in the social hierarchy.

After Saint-Simon's death his followers became numerous, especially about 1830, under the leadership of Enfantin and Bazard (*qq. v.*). The *Globe*, their organ, attracted much attention. Brilliant men like Comte and Thierry belonged for a while to their school. They attempted a community at Menilmontant, but it broke up finally in a split on the subject of marriage (see *BAZARD*).

The Saint-Simonians regarded all idlers as thieves. They therefore rejected inheritance, and asserted that every man's property at death should become common. All should start with equal advantages. Land, capital, and all the instruments of labor should be held in common. They believed in monogamy, that woman is the equal of man, and that the social unit should not be man, but man and woman. They believed that "the exploitation of man by man" should be replaced by the exploitation of the globe by man associated with man. They would organize society on scientific lines to develop the globe scientifically. Several of the school after its break up became civil engineers and took part in opening the Isthmus of Suez and other works.

SALT, HENRY STEPHENS: Hon. Secretary of the Humanitarian League; born at Nynee Tal, India, 1851; educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, England. Assistant classical

master at Eton College, 1875-84; turned to literary work and questions of social reform. Editor of *The Humanitarian* and *The Humane Review*. Mr. Salt has also written a large number of pamphlets and magazine articles on literary and humanitarian subjects. He is a Socialist, a vegetarian, and freethinker, and believes that the ethics and religion of the future will be based on the recognition of the kinship of all sentient life. Author: "Percy Bysshe Shelley, Poet and Pioneer"; "The Life of Henry D. Thoreau"; "Richard Jefferies, His Life and His Ideals"; "De Quincey"; "The Life of James Thomson" (B.V.); "Animals' Rights"; "The Logic of Vegetarianism." Address: 53 Chancery Lane, London.

SALTER, WILLIAM MACINTIRE: Lecturer of the Society for Ethical Culture, Chicago, Ill.; born at Burlington, Iowa, 1853. Graduated from Knox College, 1871; Harvard Divinity School, 1876; studied at Göttingen, 1876-77; School of Political Science, Columbia University, 1881-83. While at Columbia he came under the influence of Felix Adler (q. v.) and the ethical movement. He began lecturing on similar topics in Chicago, 1883; agitated for the eight-hour day and against the wholesale sentence of the Chicago anarchists, 1887; and organized the "Economic Conferences between Business Men and Working Men." In 1892 he removed to Philadelphia, where he assisted in the formation of the "Toynbee Club"; espoused the grievances of the street-car employees, and agitated against the Russian Treaty. In 1897 he returned to Chicago and founded the Henry Booth House.

Mr. Salter considers scientific socialism—which means action by society to social ends—and individualism—which means action by individuals for private ends—to be complementary tendencies, and both necessary. He is the author of "Ethical Religion" (1889); "First Steps in Philosophy" (1892); "Anarchy or Government? An Inquiry in Fundamental Politics" (1895). Address: The Society for Ethical Culture, Chicago, Ill.

SALVATION ARMY, SOCIAL WORK IN THE UNITED STATES OF THE:

The learned writer who referred to the man who could by the alchemy of science produce two blades of grass where only one had hitherto grown as a public benefactor, spoke truly and well, but it will not be thought out of place, at any rate by those who have been generous enough to take more than a cursory glance at the social branch of our many-limbed Salvation Army tree, if I say that with the life-giving sun-rays of the warm, rich blessing of Almighty God ever descending upon it, and the refreshing dews of His power and love nourishing the tender shoots, it is causing moral and spiritual grass to grow in hitherto totally barren spots, and if "the desert" has not as yet altogether been made to "blossom as the rose," beautiful human flowers have been produced in this reclaimed soil in sufficient numbers to prove the possibility of mighty fragrance for future days and to induce within us the twin graces of courage and hope to prosecute the beautiful work of soul-culture with greater zest and vigor than ever.

If it could be brought about that vital Christianity could enter as a leaven into our strenuous twentieth-century life, and society at both ends,

and all the way through, adopt it as a life-principle, the problems of sin and suffering would soon be solved. Failing this, we must be content for the time being with the ones and twos and threes and fours—with the individual reformation of the victims of depravity and vice, their rehabilitation and spiritual and moral uplift.

Down in the depths—the inferno of human sin, degradation, misery, and squalor—our forces are persistently, courageously, and hopefully at work. They are thoroughly organized, constant in their endeavor to scatter sunshine in shady places and to carry light into dark corners, and they know neither faltering nor hesitation. Wherever there are poor neighbors, slums or red-light districts, with the sin-stricken and poor, you will find them at work. Our officers do not meddle with metaphysics but deal with world problems. They are neither deterred by summer's heat nor winter's cold. They fear not the pestilence that walketh in darkness or the destruction that wasteth at noonday.

The Salvation Army's system of relief lasts all the year round, and it is impossible to tell whether gaunt Poverty in its greatest hideousness is greater in summer or winter. Certain it is, our hands are kept just as full and our brains just as busy at one season as the other, and, to make the truth complete, there are no gaps between.

Our precious officers, whose training has taught them to become the servants of all men and to minister to the wants of the most needy, never regard their work as finished. There is always the need of ministry as long as the necessity exists, whether it is in the line of finding work for the unemployed, persuading the would-be suicide to make a new trial of life, giving the ex-convict an opportunity to redeem the time that "the locusts have eaten," restoring lost ideals to the fallen girl, endeavoring to raise the orphan to a proper Christian citizenship, paying rent for those in danger of eviction, providing summer camps for slum dwellers and Christmas dinners for the hungry, gathering up the thousand ends of our Salvation life-line and throwing them to those in danger of engulfment in the chill waters of despair—truly if the labors of any can be literally measured up to the scriptural standard of "in season and out of season" it is theirs. They assist humanity from the cradle to the grave. The lives of new-born babes have been saved by our consecrated slum lassies, and it is no less true that the death-beds of the aged have been cheered and the path into eternity smoothed and Christian burial given by them where those less Christlike might have been tempted, more or less justifiably, perhaps, to regard the friendless dead as of little moment—merely a repetition of "Rattle his bones over the stones" to the poor man's Golgotha known as Potter's Field.

That it may be perfectly clear in the reader's mind what I mean by our social work, I will state that it is composed of those branches whose principal duty is not mainly the conducting of religious services and engaging in strictly spiritual ministrations—dealing with the soul of man in contradistinction to his body. While thus stating, I must be just as insistent in placing the

two side by side. In fact, the twain are so indissolubly wedded that they cannot be separated. Our social work sprang from the fact that a man's soul could not be well reached and benefited while his body was suffering or his material

Principles

circumstances were such as to preclude the blessing received from becoming permanent.

The strong aiding the weak, and the weak strengthening the strong in numerous subtle ways; out of it comes the perfect Christian whole which Jesus Christ meant when he instructed the righteous, law-abiding but unsatisfied young ruler thus: "If thou wilt be *perfect*, go sell all thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven." It was not enough that he was a model son, a model citizen, an upright and generous neighbor; the personal touch was lacking, the warm, vitalizing, divine love that would gladly spend and be spent for the poor, sinful, wayward brother-man; for it was this sort of a life Jesus invited him to when He added, "And come and follow Me."

Twain are joined together; the social leans against the spiritual, the spiritual supports the social, one against the other. To separate them would mean the collapse of the whole, and out of the union rises that grand, that most magnificent work of God's—man; man made in His own likeness, man risen from the ruins of awful pasts, man degraded, cast out, all image of God obliterated by years of hideous sinning, helped up, propped up, held up by his brother-man, and in his turn bringing forth in his fellow a host of divine graces—pity and sympathy and long-suffering patience and a love second only to that of Jesus Himself.

The social without the spiritual would be as an engine without steam, and the spiritual without the social would be to neglect that part of the whole duty of man that teaches us "to deal bread to the hungry" as well as to keep "unspotted from the world." Thus we believe God meant the combination to be, forming the only perfect and successful federation that comprizes the brotherhood of man.

Our latest social figures (for the year 1906) comprize the following:

STATISTICS

Number of industrial homes.....	65
Accommodation.....	1,686
Number of men admitted during the year.....	8,696
Number of men passed out during the year.....	8,552
Total number of meals supplied.....	1,318,044
Total number of beds supplied.....	463,550
Number of working men's hotels.....	77
Total accommodation.....	7,990
Total number of beds supplied.....	2,114,837
Number of colonies.....	3
Number of acres.....	2,569
Total number of persons.....	428
Number of new cases of missing friends searched for.....	1,194
Number found.....	210
Number of rescue homes.....	22
Accommodation per night.....	599
Admitted during year.....	1,701
Number passed out during year.....	1,724
Number of meals supplied.....	739,930
Number of children's homes.....	4
Accommodation.....	225
Number in home at end of year.....	180
Number of beds supplied.....	71,700
Number of meals supplied.....	197,000
Number of slum posts.....	20
Number of families visited.....	26,290
Number of persons temporarily assisted.....	38,303
Number of tons of coal distributed.....	275
Number of pounds of ice distributed.....	836,412
Christmas dinners supplied.....	302,000
Total number of persons found temporary or permanent employment.....	66,621

COMMANDER MISS BOOTH.

SALVATION ARMY COLONIES (United States. For England, see **LABOR COLONIES**).

This enterprise now comprizes three colonies:

1. Fort Amity, in Colorado, in the fertile valley of the River Arkansas.

2. Fort Romie, in California, not far from the famous Hotel del Monte, near the Bay of Monterey.

3. Fort Herrick, in Ohio, about twenty miles from the city of Cleveland.

Early in April, 1898, a section of land, consisting of 640 acres (since increased to nearly 2,000 acres), was purchased in the neighborhood of Holly, on the line of the Atchison,

Fort Amity Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad, 267 miles east of Denver, in the valley of the Arkansas River. An abundant supply of water from the Buffalo Canal is supplemented by a still more abundant subsurface underflow. Hence this colony is the most important we have on hand, with an almost unlimited opportunity for expansion. The soil is rich and the climate superb, the elevation being some 3,500 feet above the level of the sea, thus avoiding the extremes of heat and cold. The mining camps of Colorado afford an excellent market on the one hand, while on the other the colony is on the highway to the principal cattle markets of the mid-Western states, being linked to both by the Santa Fé Railroad.

The principal crops include the famous "netted gem" cantaloup, for which Colorado has gained so great a reputation.

The establishment of a sugar-beet factory by the American Sugar-beet Company in the valley of the Arkansas River, within easy reach of our colony, has brought to our very doors another valuable crop for which good prices can be obtained upon the spot.

A large stone building, hitherto occupied as an orphanage, is now transformed into a sanitarium for consumptives, the children having been transferred to our other orphanages in the East and West. The magnificent climate marks out this colony as peculiarly suitable as a location for a sanitarium.

Two schoolhouses have been erected by the county in the center of our colony. A post- and money-order-office has also been established. The recent erection of a freight depot and siding by the railroad company has further enhanced the value of our colony and improved its prospects, while arrangements have just been completed for the erection of a passenger depot.

There are now about 400 colonists, including men, women, and children, on our Fort Amity Colony.

About twenty small stores have been established on the town site, and an artesian well supplies the settlement with pure drinking water.

Nestled in the beautiful valley of the Salinas, near the Bay of Monterey, is our California colony. A fine sweep of over 500 acres

Fort Romie of rich agricultural land has been purchased. Cottages have been built and the land divided into ten- and twenty-acre tracts, while an irrigation pumping plant has been erected, supplying water from the adjoining river. There is also a gravity canal.

The soil is admirably suited for potatoes and alfalfa, as well as for almost every other variety of agricultural produce.

There are now about 120 colonists, including men, women, and children, upon this colony,

and one of the families has already paid for its land.

Within about twenty miles of the city of Cleveland and close to the childhood home of President Garfield, is a beautiful sweep of level land, fringed with wood and

Fort Herriek

covering some 288 acres.

The owners of the land, Hon. Myron T. Herrick, governor of Ohio, and Mr. James Parmelee, have deeded the land to us for colonization purposes. This extremely generous gift has given a splendid start to our Ohio colony, and we fully intend to make it a model institution of the kind. Owing to its location and character this colony has partially assumed an industrial character, which will make it of the utmost importance as a training-ground for future workers.

SALVATION ARMY AND SOCIAL REFORM

(International. See also "Salvation Army, Social Work in the United States," by Commander Miss Booth; Salvation Army Colonies).

The Salvation Army, which was organized under that name in 1878 by General Booth as an outgrowth of the Christian Mission he had established in East London in 1865, commenced in 1890 a social reform movement. With the strictly religious portion of the work of the Salvation Army we do not deal in this Encyclopedia, tho it should be recognized that the Army never divorces its social from its more strictly spiritual work, and believes that to do so would be fatal. It believes also, however, that the social work needs the spiritual element, and it was in this thought that in 1890 General Booth wrote and published "In Darkest England," a book which at once arrested attention around the world; partly because of its revelations of the destitution and wretchedness in London and all England, and even more because of the plan for social work that the book proposed in clear, business-like form.

General Booth prefaced his plan by laying down seven propositions, which in his opinion should govern such a plan, which we abridge from his book, as follows:

The first essential that must be borne in mind as governing every scheme that may be put forward is that it must change the man, when it is his character and conduct which constitute the reasons for his failure in the battle of life. No change in circumstances, no

Principles

revolution in social conditions, can possibly transform the nature of man. Some of the worst men and women in the world, whose names are chronicled by history with a shudder of horror, were those who had all the advantages that wealth, education, and station could confer, or ambition could attain.

The supreme test of any scheme for benefiting humanity lies in the answer to the question, What does it make of the individual?

Secondly.—The remedy, to be effectual, must change the circumstances of the individual, when they are the cause of his wretched condition and lie beyond his control.

Favorable circumstances will not change a man's heart or transform his nature, but unpropitious circumstances may render it absolutely impossible for him to escape, no matter how he may desire to extricate himself. The first step with these helpless, sunken creatures is to create the desire to escape, and then provide the means for doing so.

Thirdly.—Any remedy worthy of consideration must be on a scale commensurate with the evil with which it proposes to deal. It is no use trying to bail out the ocean with a pint pot. The evil is one whose victims are counted by the million. There must be no more philanthropic tinkering, as if this vast sea of human misery were contained in the limits of a garden pond.

Fourthly.—Not only must the scheme be large enough, but it must be permanent. That is to say, it must not be merely a spasmodic effort, coping with the misery of to-day.

Fifthly.—But while it must be permanent it must also be

immediately practicable. Any scheme, to be of use, must be capable of being brought into instant operation with beneficial results.

Sixthly.—The indirect features of the scheme must not be such as to produce injury to the persons whom we seek to benefit. It is no use conferring sixpenny-worth of benefit on a man if, at the same time, we do him a shilling's worth of harm.

Seventhly.—While assisting one class of the community, it must not seriously interfere with the interests of another. In raising one section of the fallen, we must not thereby endanger the safety of those who with difficulty are keeping on their feet.

Of his proposal General Booth said in brief:

The scheme I have to offer consists in the formation of these people into self-helping and self-sustaining communities, each being a kind of cooperative society, or patriarchal family, governed and disciplined on the principles which have already proved so effective in the Salvation Army.

These communities we will call, for want of a better term, colonies. There will be:

- (1) The city colony.
- (2) The farm colony.
- (3) The over-sea colony.

To-day the Army's operations are carried on in 49 countries and colonies, embracing 7,210 posts, under the charge of 16,857 officers and employees, with 45,339 local officers, 17,099 brass bandmen, and about 50,000 musicians. Sixty-three periodicals are published in 31 languages, with a weekly circulation of about 1,207,223. There are 644 social relief institutions in the world, under the charge of nearly 3,000 officers and employees. About 7,000 fallen women annually pass through the 116 rescue homes, and from 80 to 90 per cent of these are permanently restored to lives of virtue. About 1,500 ex-convicts pass annually through the prison-gate homes. There are 132 slum settlements in the poorest districts of great cities, the worst dives, saloons, and tenements being regularly visited. The number of annual conversions in connection with the spiritual work have averaged from 200,000 to 250,000 during the past 10 years, making a total of over 2,000,000 of whom not less than 200,000 were converted from lives of drunkenness.

The Army's international headquarters are at No. 101, Queen Victoria Street, London.

SANBORN, FRANKLIN BENJAMIN: Journalist and publicist; born at Hampton Falls, N. H., Dec. 15, 1831. Educated at home and Harvard College (B.A., 1855). He took part in the expulsion of slavery from Kansas, 1856-58; favored John Brown in his attack on slavery in Virginia and Missouri. He assisted in the organization of public charities in Massachusetts, 1863-88, and aided in founding the Social Science Association in 1865; of the National Conference of Charities, 1874; of the Concord School of Philosophy, 1879-88; and of the Anti-Imperialist League, 1900. In social reform he favors the gradual improvement of the condition of the poor and the limitation of inordinate wealth in a legal manner. He is the author of *Lives of Bronson Alcott*, *Emerson*, *Thoreau*, *Dr. S. G. Howe*, *John Brown*, etc. Also editor and writer of numerous reports on charity, prison reform, and history of New Hampshire. *Address:* Concord, Mass.

SANDERS, WILLIAM: Organizing secretary of Fabian Society; born 1871; educated in elementary schools of London. Secretary of the political labor organizations of Battersea, London, until 1900. Elected, 1904, alderman of the London County Council, term expiring 1910. In

1906 he contested Portsmouth as parliamentary Labor candidate. Sanders has written and lectured extensively on labor, social questions, and socialism; he was chairman of the Union of Ethical Societies from 1905-7. *Address*: 3 Clements Inn, Strand, London, W. C., England.

SANGER, SOPHY (MISS): Honorary secretary British Association for Labor Legislation; born 1881, Westcott, near Dorking, Surrey. Educated at Newnham College, Cambridge, where in 1901 she took the Mathematical Tripos, Part I., and in 1903 the Moral Science Tripos, Part II., Economics. Miss Sanger has been honorary secretary, Legal Advice Department of Woman's Trade Union League, since Oct., 1903. She is strongly in favor of free trade, and specially interested in labor legislation and trade-unionism. Author of miscellaneous articles and lectures on labor legislation and trade-unionism. *Address*: Women's Trade-Union League, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E. C.

SANITARY SCIENCE AND PUBLIC HYGIENE: The division of medical science and hygiene which treats of the preservation of health, prevention of disease, and the prolongation of life, particularly in application to communities. The factors which condition public health are: (1) the environment; (2) proper action by the citizens to prevent disease; (3) the individual care of health so as to enjoy and prolong life.

1. Few individuals are able to live in surroundings chosen by themselves. Economic, social, and climatic factors largely determine the selection of sites for villages, towns, and cities. If these are not healthy, owing to conditions of the soil or drainage, the individual is practically helpless, and it becomes the duty of the public authorities to correct them as far as possible. The correction of conditions dangerous to health requires, however, special study and, in large cities, special departments. Owing to this necessity, various boards and departments have been established, e. g., that of health, whose function lies in the realm of examining foods, supplying pure water, etc., that of street cleaning, tenement-house inspection, regulation of buildings, etc.

The necessity of passing sanitary laws was recognized in England in the times of Henry VIII. and of Elizabeth. They were, however, not observed, because there was no board to enforce them. The invasion of the Asiatic cholera, causing the death of 70,000 persons in a single year, brought the question to the fore again. Legislation was busy, but the laws were ineffective, and several epidemics were the result. Finally, in 1848, laws were enacted which were effective, because they made provision for special boards to enforce them. France had passed similar legislation in 1832, which has become the model for other Latin countries; in these countries the prefect, mayor, or any other chief official looks after the enforcement of the sanitary laws, which are passed on the recommendation of *councils of health*. In Germany the medical faculties of the universities have taken the initiative, and the government passes and enforces corresponding legislation. In England and America the federal, state, and municipal constitutions usually provide for the creation of boards or bureaus of health, under whose supervision come all endemic, contagious, and epi-

demic diseases, and other matters pertaining to public health, e. g., sanitary codes, purity of food-supply, water-supply, vital statistics, etc.

Efficient street cleaning is one of the most important civic functions. The magnitude of the problem may be inferred from the facts that

**Street
Cleaning**

Greater New York employed in 1906 2,455 sweepers who covered 1,581 miles a day, and 1,316 drivers of carts; over 1,000 tons of refuse is taken to Barren Island each day, and an addition of 233 acres is going to be made to Riker's Island with the balance of about 1,200,000 cubic yards per year. Refuse also must be disposed of so as not to endanger the health of the city. This is no small task, since the waste is enormous in bulk. Various means are used, e. g., incineration, dumping into the deep sea, making new land, etc., or by saving the valuable parts—for which a contractor pays \$650,000 in New York City alone. Several English and continental cities carry on profitable municipal farms with the refuse. (For tenement-house inspection and bureaus of buildings, see articles TENEMENT-HOUSE REFORM and HOUSING.)

2. The instruction of citizens concerning ways and means how to prevent disease is a new departure in sanitary science. It is, however, becoming more important every day, and involves directions how to dispose of the waste in houses, and the

Teaching

inculcation of sanitary rules into the minds of children. The first is done by directions of the board of health, and requires that they should be plain and simple. The instruction in preventive measures is done chiefly in the schools, in the departments of civics, physiology, and hygiene. Great progress has been made in the art of teaching children the simple tho necessary rules of both private and public rules of health. Colonel Waring, the first street commissioner of New York, gave the school children an opportunity to apply their knowledge to the problems of street cleaning by forming juvenile leagues for this purpose. The leagues were organized in 1896; they had their own constitution, officers, etc., and weekly business meetings, at which they discuss means and ways how to keep the city clean. The boys and girls did not confine themselves, however, to discussion, but reported lawbreakers to the department, warned offenders, and tried in every way to keep their own blocks free from garbage and refuse. The league had a monster parade in the latter part of 1896; similar organizations were started in other cities, e. g., Denver, Pittsburg, Utica, Philadelphia.

Another manner in which cities as a whole may be taught preventive measures, is that by inculcating the value of fresh air and outdoor life, and by the creation of parks, and the provision of opportunities for exercise in the open air. (See articles PARKS; PLAYGROUNDS; RECREATION CENTERS.)

3. The individual care of health involves proper food, clothing, exercise, and personal cleanliness. A vast amount of research work has been done concerning the value of various foods in recent years, and their respective costs. Tables and other helps, showing the proportion in which different foods should be partaken, have been compiled, so that

**Individual
Care of
Health**

**Boards
of Health**

any one may know just what to eat and what to avoid. Dietetics has, consequently, become one of the most important divisions of sanitary science. Similar studies have been made about clothing, as to their ability to keep the body warm in winter, cool in summer, and at all times dry. Exercise is necessary for the development of the muscular system, for the improvement of digestion, and for the more rapid throwing off of waste substances of the body. Sanitary science has made extensive studies in regard to the particular kind of exercise which different individuals need in order to be benefited rather than injured by it. Personal cleanliness is more and more recognized as an important item in the preservation of health and the prolongation of life. Acting on the frequently and urgently made suggestions of public health officers, nearly all large cities have erected public bath-houses at large expense in order to enable those of their population to bathe whose means do not permit them to have baths in their homes. (See article BATH-HOUSES.)

Sanitary science has made vast strides in every direction since the discovery of disease microbes by Louis Pasteur in 1865, and many thousands of lives have been saved from tuberculosis, diphtheria, cholera, and other ravaging diseases.

The supply of water is one of the most pressing needs of large cities. The question is, where to get it? Owing to the density of population in most civilized countries, the amount of sewage is so vast that it is likely to infect drinking-water, even if it be taken five or ten miles away, because microbes are hard to kill. The problem is, consequently, not only to provide for clean and pure water, sometimes from a distance of fifty to 100 miles, but to disinfect sewage, because water will have to be taken from rivers which have received a large amount of sewage. Cleveland, Ohio, solved the problem by removing its water intake pipes about ten miles out into the lake; the result was that the deaths from typhoid fever in 1905 numbered 2 for February, 5 for March, 7 for April, instead of 45, 50, 27, for the corresponding months in 1904. The city of Lawrence, Mass., had to resort to filters, because she had to take her water from the Merrimac River, already polluted with the sewage of three large manufacturing cities farther up-stream. The study of microbes had taught biologists that sand in some way or other was dangerous to the typhoid bacillus. Lawrence constructed huge sand filters, covering 2.5 acres; and when two years later a typhoid epidemic broke out at Lowell—an event which previously had invariably meant a heavier siege for Lawrence—the death-rate in the latter city was only 20 per cent of what it used to be.

In a similar way another dread disease, diphtheria, has been made practically harmless through the study of microbes. In 1890 Dr. Emil Behring announced his discovery of the cure for diphtheria by the antitoxin of the bacillus which produces this disease. Detroit, Mich., New York City, and some other large cities now keep a number of horses for the sole purpose of preparing antitoxin in their blood. The death-rate for diphtheria has been reduced from 40 to 8 per 100. The discovery of other bacilli, e. g., of hydrophobia and of yellow fever, has led to respective preventives in each case. (For the modern treatment of consumption, see article

TUBERCULOSIS, and for that of smallpox, VACCINATION.)

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: Reid, *Practical Sanitation*, 1901; Sedgwick, *Principles of Sanitary Science and the Public Health*, 1902; Frances Gulick Jewett, *Town and City*, 1906.

SAVINGS-BANKS: The first savings-bank is said to have been founded in Brunswick, Germany, in 1765, and to have been followed by several in Germany and Switzerland. In England Jeremy Bentham (*q. v.*) proposed a well-devised system of "frugality banks" in 1797. Various plans followed his encouraging savings among the poor, but the first savings-bank of the modern type in Great Britain was organized by the Rev. Henry Duncan, of Ruthwell, Scotland, in 1810. In 1817 two acts were passed by Parliament encouraging savings-banks. Since then they have grown rapidly. In 1861 postal savings-banks (*q. v.*) were begun. The savings-banks system of France dates from 1818.

In the United States the first savings-bank was organized in 1816, in New York City, tho a savings-bank seems to have been actually opened in Philadelphia before the New York bank was really under way. The first incorporated savings-bank was opened in Boston the same year. The statistics on the following page are from the "Statistical Abstract of the U. S." (1906).

For the growth of savings-banks in the U. S., see article PROGRESS, U. S. Caution, however, is necessary in using savings-banks as proof of the prosperity of the working classes. The *Outlook* said as far back as Sept. 7, 1895:

In the last number of the *Yale Review* Professor Farnam follows the same line of argument as did Secretary Carlisle in his Memphis speech, and attempts to show that the public is mistaken in supposing that the interests of the creditor class are the interests of the comparatively rich. In his argument he lends the weight of his authority to Secretary Carlisle's savings-bank statistics. He says:

"The total deposits in 1890 were \$1,524,844,506, distributed among 4,258,893 persons, making an average of \$358.03 for each depositor. The savings-bank deposits alone represent more than half as much again as the farmers' debt, owned by five times as many persons."

If it is true that there are over 4,000,000 savings-bank depositors among our 12,000,000 families, then it is true that a large portion of our small property owners belong to the creditor class. But the fallacy in this has been repeatedly exposed in official reports. The official reports are for deposits and not depositors. Three millions and a half of the deposits are in New York and New England, where there are only 2,000,000 families altogether, and not to exceed 1,000,000 depositors. But this is not all. The working-class depositors nowhere furnish the bulk of the deposits. The large depositors and the multiple depositors belong to an entirely different class. In Massachusetts, where $\frac{1}{2}$ of the deposits are made in sums less than \$100 (and presumably belong to the working classes), the aggregate of these is only a quarter of the total amount deposited. These conclusions from the Massachusetts investigations are strikingly confirmed by the present investigation in Baltimore. In Baltimore, also, there are more savings-bank deposits than families, yet in Baltimore only one family in three possesses personal capital of any description, while the aggregate holdings of $\frac{1}{2}$ of these is but 6 per cent of the total.

This subject was most fully investigated in Massachusetts as early as 1872; by the Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of Labor in 1872, 1873, and 1874.

On returns from 30 banks the report for 1872 (p. 316) found that $\frac{1}{16}$ of the deposits was nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the amount in those banks, the remaining $\frac{15}{16}$ depositing only a little over $\frac{1}{2}$. The $\frac{1}{16}$ of the deposits were those of \$300 or over, and it was the argument of the report that since, except in the rarest instances, and under the most exceptional circumstances, no ordinary wage-worker could possibly save more than \$300 a year from his earnings (see WAGES), the amount deposited by that $\frac{1}{16}$, or nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total amount, could not have been deposited by wage-workers. This conclusion was supported by abundant quotations from various reports of the

SAVINGS-BANKS OF THE WORLD (POSTAL AND OTHERS)

COUNTRY	Population	Date of reports	Number of depositors	Deposits	Average deposit account	Average deposit per inhabitant
				Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
Australia, Commonwealth of.....	4,048,000	1904-5 ¹	1,123,284	175,785,416	156.49	43.43
Austria.....	26,741,000	1903-4 ²	5,325,062	979,282,787	183.90	36.62
Belgium.....	7,101,000	Dec. 31, 1905.....	³ 2,311,845	³ 151,640,983	65.59	21.18
Bulgaria.....	4,075,000	1904.....	124,007	2,723,180	21.96	.67
Canada.....	6,441,000	June 30, 1906.....	⁴ 209,563	⁴ 61,910,622	295.43	9.61
Chile ⁵	3,206,000	Dec. 31, 1903.....	71,532	2,055,183	28.73	.64
Denmark.....	2,525,000	March 31, 1904.....	⁶ 1,291,569	⁶ 205,723,639	159.28	81.47
Egypt.....	9,734,000	Dec. 31, 1905.....	31,411	1,168,624	37.20	.12
France.....	39,200,000	Dec. 31, 1904.....	11,767,772	890,398,872	75.66	22.71
Algeria.....	4,740,000	.....	18,128	858,131	47.34	.18
Tunis.....	1,820,000	Dec. 31, 1903.....	3,863	703,845	182.20	.38
Germany (including Prussia).....	58,569,000	.....	16,612,771	2,639,590,400	158.89	45.07
Prussia ⁷	36,713,000	Dec. 31, 1904.....	⁷ 10,211,976	⁷ 1,847,339,300	180.90	50.32
Luxemburg.....	240,000	.....	48,972	7,634,029	155.88	31.81
Hungary.....	20,114,000	.....	1,475,764	349,250,375	236.66	17.36
India, British ⁸	231,900,000	March 31, 1905.....	1,058,813	43,496,821	41.08	.19
Italy.....	32,966,000	Dec. 31, 1904.....	⁹ 7,383,331	⁹ 549,556,418	74.44	16.67
Japan.....	46,732,000	1904-5.....	10,279,598	54,714,693	5.32	1.17
Pormosa.....	3,080,000	.....	63,174	464,926	7.36	.15
Netherlands.....	5,431,000	Dec. 31, 1903.....	1,412,881	77,786,900	55.05	14.32
Dutch East Indies.....	28,747,000	1904-5 ¹⁰	10,566,588	10,492,198	86.87	.17
Dutch Guiana.....	75,000	1904.....	4,967	205,876	41.45	2.74
New Zealand.....	889,000	Dec. 31, 1905.....	316,350	47,504,947	150.36	53.50
Norway.....	2,312,000	.....	790,307	100,250,602	126.85	43.36
Peru.....	4,500,000	.....	10,914	1,391,803	127.53	.31
Rumania ¹¹	5,912,000	Sept. 30, 1903.....	145,507	7,426,031	51.04	1.26
Russia (including Asiatic part) ¹²	142,000,000	May 31, 1906.....	5,300,040	488,825,100	92.12	3.44
Finland.....	2,816,000	Dec. 31, 1904.....	246,532	24,464,582	99.23	8.69
Spain.....	18,900,000	Dec. 31, 1905.....	415,196	54,799,182	131.98	2.90
Sweden.....	5,261,000	Dec. 31, 1905.....	1,915,294	167,155,405	87.27	31.77
Switzerland ¹³	3,100,000	1900.....	1,300,000	193,000,000	148.46	62.26
United Kingdom.....	43,221,000	Nov.-Dec., 1905 ¹⁴	11,694,918	996,827,404	85.24	23.06
British Colonies, n. e. s.....	17,779,000	1904-5.....	430,666	37,513,427	87.11	2.11
Total.....	784,235,000	.....	83,246,689	8,319,092,311	99.93	10.61
United States.....	84,662,000	.....	8,327,192	3,482,137,198	83.79	41.13
Grand total.....	868,897,000	.....	91,273,881	11,801,229,509	129.29	13.58

¹ Figures for New South Wales and Tasmania relate to Dec. 31; figures for the other states to June 30.

² Figures for postal savings-banks relate to the end of the calendar year 1904; figures for the other savings-banks to the end of 1903.

³ Deposits with the State-controlled Caisse Générale d'Epargne. Includes savings deposits with post-offices. Moreover, accounts are published in the *Annuaire Statistique* of four municipal and five private savings-banks for the year 1904. At the end of that year these nine institutions had 42,279 depositors, credited with \$9,379,623 worth of deposits.

⁴ Exclusive of data for the "special savings-banks," the total deposits in which, on June 30, 1906, amounted to \$27,399,194. The total deposits in all savings-banks amount thus to \$89,309,816, making the average deposit per inhabitant \$13.87. This total does not include the savings deposits in the chartered banks ("deposits payable after notice or on a fixed day"), which on Dec. 31, 1906, were \$398,765,182.

⁵ Figures for the two savings-banks in Santiago and Valparaiso.

⁶ Includes all savings institutions. Figures for savings-banks proper, exclusive of branches of ordinary banks, were 996,615 (number of depositors) and \$160,621,194 (total deposits plus interest due on said deposits at the end of the year).

⁷ Not included in the grand total.

⁸ Exclusive of population in native states. Data for postal savings-banks only.

⁹ Exclusive of 132,009,802 lire of savings deposits with the so-called "Società ordinarie di credito" and 313,407,272 lire with the "Società cooperative di credito" at the end of 1903. No data are given with regard to number of depositors in these institutions.

¹⁰ Data for postal savings-banks and the five principal private savings-banks. Figures for the former are for the calendar year 1905; figures for the latter are for the calendar year 1904.

¹¹ Figures for the "Casa de economie" only.

¹² Preliminary data for all government savings-banks as published by the *Viestnik Finansov* No. 37, 1906, exclusive of securities held for depositors, the nominal value of which, on Dec. 31, 1905, was \$115,431,000.

¹³ Estimates of M. Guillaume Fatio in the *Journal de Statistique Suisse*, 1900, No. 4.

¹⁴ Year ended Nov. 20 for trustee savings-banks; year ended Dec. 31 for postal savings-banks.

Bank Commissioners of the state, who say, in 1870: "These institutions are becoming still more the favorite place of deposit, not only for persons of small means, but also for those seeking investment for very considerable amounts." Governor Claflin is quoted as saying in his message for 1871: "It is very evident that a large share of this increase is not the savings of labor. Each year shows more deposits by capitalists." Repeated instances were found of men having in each of many banks deposits to the limit of the law. Still more instances were found of one man or woman having deposits under several accounts, as for himself or herself, and as trustees for children, etc., indicating again depositors not of the wage-working class. One man was reported to have a deposit in each bank of the state; another will deposit for each member of his family and a part of the alphabet. From this, and other similar evidences, the report concluded (p. 332): "It is evident from these returns that the great bulk of depositors is from the wage classes, and it is equally evident that the great sums, generally credited to them, are not the savings of wage labor, but are the results of profits upon labor in some form."

This report made somewhat of a sensation in Boston and

in Washington. From the report of 1873 we learn that in Congress, during a discussion of the tariff, certain Western congressmen, opposed to protection, made

use of the report before it had been officially presented to the legislature of Massachusetts, to show that Massachusetts wage-workers were not as well off as was claimed by the protectionists. This incensed some Massachusetts capitalists, and the Committee on Banks and Banking of the Massachusetts legislature, the majority of the committee being connected with savings-banks, undertook to disprove the offensive report. A hearing was called. The Bureau of Labor was invited to come before it

"in order that it might make suggestions"; but, when the hearing took place, the bureau found itself with little or no warning, confronted with a hired counsel who called witnesses from 11 banks to disprove the bureau's report, based on 30 banks, the counsel arguing that the bureau's report was untrustworthy, because it was based on reports from only 39 banks.

The bureau ably defended its report, and demanded that

if the committee questioned its conclusions, it was only fair, before they condemned it, to have a fuller examination, and not condemn, on picked evidence, from 11 banks, a report carefully based on returns from 39 banks. The committee, however, would not hear, and voted the report a mere "matter of inference," and not reliable. The personnel of the bureau, too, was changed that year. Mr. H. K. Oliver (chief) and G. E. McNeill (*q. v.*), who had formed the bureau publishing the offensive report, were displaced, and Messrs. Carroll D. Wright and George H. Long were put in their places. Before Mr. Oliver and Mr. McNeill, however, were displaced, they obtained evidence from 91 banks and from the Bank Commissioners' reports of 1868, 1869, 1870, and 1871, abundantly sustaining their position. From 91 banks they found and stated (p. 197) that $\frac{1}{3}$ of the deposits were of \$300 or under, i. e., might possibly be deposits of working men, but that these $\frac{1}{3}$ of the deposits represented only $\frac{1}{10}$ of the amount deposited. From the Bank Commissioners' reports they found and stated (p. 227) that in 1868 and 1869 $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole number of deposits amounted to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole amount deposited; that in 1870 $\frac{1}{4}$ amounted to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole amount, and that in 1871 $\frac{1}{4}$ of the deposits amounted to nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total amount, thus not only abundantly supporting the former report of the bureau, but showing that the proportion of large depositors in the savings-banks was on the increase.

The next year, 1874, Messrs. Wright and Long sign the report. The subject of savings-banks is naturally handled very lightly, but even according to their table (pp. 244-245) we learn that over $\frac{1}{2}$ of the deposits were deposits of \$300 or over, showing that the number of large depositors was even greater than the former reports had claimed, and that these large deposits amounted to nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole amount. Five-sixths of the deposits equaled not much over $\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole sum; an abundant proof that the large amount of money in Massachusetts savings-banks cannot be taken to prove the prosperity of the Massachusetts working people.

(See also the article SCHOOL SAVINGS-BANKS, page 1100.)

SAVONAROLA, SOCIAL WORK OF: Municipal reform in Florence in the latter part of the fifteenth century was wrought by Savonarola, a monk who had had no experience in affairs of State. But he had utter disregard for rank and authority and a great passion for the poor and oppress. Fearlessly he denounced the greed of the priests and derided the assumptions of the rich.

In the scheme of government which he found in operation in Florence changes were brought about by means of *Parlamenti*, a spurious pretense of popular government. The people were assembled unarmed in the Piazza which was guarded by the armed attendants of the Signory. Then the Signory appeared on the balcony in front of the palace and asked the right of *Balia* for themselves or their friends. The *Balia* really signified *carte blanche* to do as they chose, for it was a species of dictatorship conferred either for months or for years, a concession which, under the conditions, it was not hard to secure. The Medici were expelled, but there were other tyrants ready to exploit the people.

The Prior of St. Mark's secured the abolition of *Parlamenti* and the establishment of a Great Council on the Venetian plan. This council was not to discuss laws but only to vote them. All citizens were eligible as members provided they had attained the age of twenty-nine years and were *netti di specchio*, i. e., had paid their taxes and were *beneficiati*, which, by the terms of an ancient law, signified those who had been in one of the higher magistracies, or had enjoyed this benefit in the person of their father, grandfather, or great-grandfather. There were other provisions of the new law, but suffice it to say that the council was so restricted as not to make it too democratic.

Savonarola was not an iconoclast, but was constructive and irenic. His passion for the poor did not lead to extremes. His frequent plea to Florentines was: "Forsake pomps and vanities, sell all superfluous things and bestow the money

on the poor." He did not advocate poverty nor ask the rich to strip themselves of all they possess, but only of superfluities. After the liberation of the people, Savonarola secured the establishment of a Monte di Pietà to save the poor from the extortion of usurers. Under his passionate appeals women gave their jewelry and precious stones. To cover the expense of administration from 5 to 7½ per cent interest was charged on loans.

A revision of taxes was also brought about, taxes being levied under the new régime on real property alone. Savonarola insisted on the right of taxation. To the people he said: "Citizens! I would have you steadfast in devotion and help to your commune. The son owes so much to his father that he can never do enough for him. Wherefore I say to you—your commune is your father and thus each one of you is bound to give it assistance. And if thou wouldst say, 'I get no good from it,' know that thou mayest not say this, inasmuch as the commune protects thy property, thy household, and thy children."

In the space of one year the liberty of Florence was established, the people authorized to carry arms, the system of taxation revised, usury extinguished by the Monte di Pietà, a general peace made, justice reorganized, *Parlamenti* were abolished forever, and the Great Council was constituted; in all which Savonarola was the moving spirit. His motive was brotherhood; his power, preaching.

PAUL MOORE STRAYER.

SAY, JEAN BAPTISTE: French political economist; born Lyons, France, 1767. Educated for a commercial career, he spent a part of his youth in England; returning to Paris he worked on Mirabeau's paper, *Courrier de Provence*. Later he was secretary to Clavière, minister of finance; 1794-1800, he edited *La Décade*; he was a member of the Tribunal of 1799. His dissent from Napoleon's policy drove him into private life, and he established a spinning-mill, but after Napoleon's fall was made professor at the *École des Arts et Métiers* in 1819, and at the *Collège de France* in 1831. He died in Paris in 1832. Cossa considers him among the first of the continental writers to have appreciated and popularized Adam Smith. Author: "*Traité d'Économie Politique*"; "*Catéchisme d'Économie Politique*"; "*De l'Angleterre et des Anglais*."

SAY, JEAN BAPTISTE LEON: French economist; minister of finance; grandson of Jean Baptiste Say; born in Paris, 1826. He devoted himself to political economy; for many years was contributor to the *Journal des Débats*. Returned to the National Assembly in 1871, he became prefect of the Seine the same year; minister of finance in 1873-75-77, and 1882. In 1880 he was appointed ambassador to London, but returned in a few weeks, having been elected president of the Senate. Author: "*Les Solutions Démocratiques de la Question des Impôts*"; "*Le Socialisme d'État*." He edited "*Le Dictionnaire des Finances*"; and conjointly with Jos. Chailley, "*Le Dictionnaire d'Économie Politique*."

SCHÄFFLE, ALBERT EBERHARD FRIEDRICH: Austrian political economist; born Nurtengen, Württemberg, 1831. Studied theology at Tübingen, but became professor of political economy there in 1861. Sat in the Württemberg

Landtag from 1862 to 1865; for a short time in 1871 was minister of commerce for Austria. On the fall of the ministry he went to Stuttgart and devoted himself to economics. His "Quintessence of Socialism," translated in 1889, is considered by many one of the ablest presentations of socialism, and is considered by some to show Schäffle a Socialist, which Cossa thinks is scarcely disproved by his latter work, "The Impossibility of Social Democracy." In his "Bau und Leben des Sozialen Körpers," Schäffle, under the influence of Comte and Spencer, outlines a comprehensive plan of an analysis of the social body. He died Dec. 25, 1903, in Stuttgart. Author: "Die Nationalökonomie," third edition of which was published under the title "Das Gesellschaftliche System der Menschlichen Wirtschaft"; "Kapitalismus und Sozialismus"; "Quintessenz des Sozialismus"; "Die Aussichtslosigkeit der Sozialdemokratie." "Memoiren," posthumously, 1904.

SCHIAVI, ALESSANDRO, D.C.L.: Secretary of the Società Umanitaria of Milan; born 1872 at Cosenatico, Province of Forlì, Italy. From 1896 to 1903 on the staff of the chief Italian socialistic paper, *Avanti!* Since that time has been secretary of the Società Umanitaria. Signor Schiavi believes that nothing short of an economical transformation wrought through the slow, unceasing effort of associations of workers, trade-unions, cooperative and political organizations can improve the standing of the working classes. They must daily train themselves to bear the full, enlightened responsibility of the collective system of production which is to replace the present individualistic one. As such an education comes more through things than words, every social reformer must aim to directly pervade the people's life in order that it may spontaneously, surely, tho slowly, be raised to a higher level. To give clean, well-ventilated, gay-looking houses with baths to poor and neglected families is worth scores of lectures or pamphlets. Believes that assistance ought to be limited to those who are already striving to better their condition, as being most likely to profit by it. Private and public beneficence come in, at best, but to complete and perfect the help which individuals and associations afford themselves. Author of reports on unemployment in rural and town districts, and papers on strikes and sundry other economical topics contributed to *Critica Sociale* and *Riforma Sociale*. Address: Via Alessandro Manzoni, 9 Milan, Italy.

SCHMOLLER, GUSTAVE: Political economist; member of the Berlin Academy of Science, the Prussian House of Peers, etc.; born in Heilbronn 1838; student of political science, philosophy, and history at Tübingen; successively professor at Halle, Strasburg, and Berlin. Perhaps the leading German Socialist of the Chair (*q. v.*), having opened the famous congress at Eisenach in 1872. Since 1881 he was editor of the important *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft*. Best known as one of the leaders of the historical school (*q. v.*). He began with an essay on economic ideas in the time of the German Reformation, 1860; then approached the modern industrial question in his excellent book, "Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Kleingewerbe im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert" (History of the Smaller Industries of Germany in the Nineteenth Century, 1870); but

he soon changed his line of study, centering his efforts upon a history of the Prussian administration. Portions of this history have appeared as a series of articles contributed to the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, to the *Zeitschrift für preussische Geschichte*, and recently to his own *Jahrbuch*. Besides these works he has published, as a result of a study of the Middle Ages, "Die Strassburger Tucher- und Weberzunft, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Weberei und des deutschen Gewerberechts vom XIII. bis XVII. Jahrhundert" (The Weavers' and Cloth Makers' Guild of Strasburg; a Contribution to the History of the German Weaving Industry and German Industrial Law, from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries). This work, consisting of documents and explanations, together with a glossary and index, appeared in 1879. In close connection with these studies, Schmoller has edited a collection of historical investigations by other writers in the "Staats- und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen" (Investigations in Political and Social Science), of which 122 volumes have been issued since 1879.

Author: "Der französische Handelsvertrag und seine Gegner," 1862; "Ueber einige Grundfragen des Rechts und der Volkswirtschaft," 1875; "Strassburg zur Zeit der Zunftkämpfe," 1875; "Ueber einige Grundfragen der Sozialpolitik und der Volkswirtschaftslehre," 1898; "Acta Bornssia," published by the Royal Academy of Science, 1894-1907; "Grundriss der allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre," 2 vols., 1900-4. Also numerous articles in scientific periodicals. Address: Berlin, W 62; Wormser Strasse 13; Villa Schmoller.

SCHOOL CHILDREN, PHYSICAL WELFARE

OF: In recent years an increasing amount of attention has been paid to this important question, both in this country and Europe. The provision of school meals (see **FEEDING SCHOOL CHILDREN**) has been attempted much more largely in Europe than in the United States, where, as yet, there have been only a few small experiments of a semiprivate and eleemosynary nature.

Perhaps the most important social work carried on in connection with the public school system is that of medical inspection and supervision. In Europe this has also been carried on to a much greater extent than in the U. S. In Norway and Sweden, for example, children are regularly examined and those needing it provided with medicine and cod-liver oil and other tonics, free of charge. In Belgium medical inspection is regular and thorough in most schools. For example, in Brussels every child in the public elementary schools is medically examined once every ten days. Its eyes, teeth, ears, and general physical condition are overhauled. Medicines and tonics are provided and parents advised as to diet, etc. In France inspection is generally regular and thorough; glasses are provided, often free of charge, for all children needing them.

Until quite recently the medical inspection common to our American public schools was most perfunctory, attention being confined mainly to infectious diseases. Recently, as a result of much agitation, great advance has been made. Now many of the large cities have a much more efficient system of inspection, and visiting nurses attached to the schools visit the homes of the children and care for them. It has been found

that a very large percentage of backward, dull, and refractory children are victims of physical ailments, often unnoticed by the teachers. In one year (1906-7) all the boys sent to the truant schools in New York City were medically examined and physical defects calculated to interfere with a child's capacity to learn or observe school discipline were found in every case.

In several German cities the system of medical inspection is so thorough that, beginning with a child's entrance into the public schools, a record is kept of its physical condition up to the time of leaving. Parents are advised as to dietary and other matters of home care. Children suffering from cardiac weakness, for example, are not permitted to join in violent games, teachers are urged to protect them from violent agitation, they are excluded from the vigorous physical exercises of the school, and parents warned in a similar manner of the dangers which violent games or excessive agitation will expose the children to. Children showing signs of a predisposition to tuberculosis are specially watched, and school sanatoria are maintained in many places for their special benefit.

These school sanatoria are maintained in Norway, Switzerland, France, and a few other countries, the French sanatoria being generally known as *colonies scolaires*, or school colonies. Some of these school colonies are open for all children in certain grades, the children being sent to them for short periods during the summer vacation period. Others are maintained as convalescent homes for school children all the year round, while still others are sanatoria for sick children. The Forest School at Charlottenburg, Germany, is one of the finest in the world and is devoted mainly to caring for children suffering from pulmonary troubles. We have as yet no similar institutions in connection with any of our public schools.

Defective teeth are responsible for a great deal of pain among children of all classes, but especially the very poor. They are frequently the cause, also, of serious digestive troubles which handicap the sufferers through their school life. In a few foreign cities dental clinics have been established in connection with the public schools at which the children are treated free of cost to themselves, teeth being cleaned, stopt, extracted, etc. Strasburg, Germany, has probably carried this work further than any other city. Nothing like it exists in this country, tho there is frequently some agitation in favor of the establishment of such clinics in connection with the schools in our larger cities. In many American cities close attention has been given to the vision of the school children, especially since the publication of some rather startling figures in Minnesota and New York. Glasses are not provided at the expense of the school authorities, however, as is the case in many European cities, tho the proposal to do so has attracted much serious attention in New York and elsewhere.

JOHN SPARGO.

SCHOOL GARDENS are intended to give city children an interest in the raising of flowers and foodstuffs, and to bring them into contact with nature; or, if in the country, to give them an intelligent view of the processes employed by man and nature in raising crops. This problem has been worked out in Europe long ago. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, have had school gardens since 1875; since 1887 they are compulsory in France.

School gardens supply a definite need in schools; they furnish an opportunity for change of mental activity, for exercise in the open air, and for useful if not gainful employment during vacations in the summer. This is especially the case in large cities whose congested population seems to have no useful outlet for the surplus energy of its poorer children than that found in the street. Owing to this fact, a number of cities in the United States have taken up the problem with vigor and intelligence, and have succeeded in getting the city authorities and private citizens interested in the cultivation of vacant lots and other open spaces by children. Boston, New York, Hartford, Philadelphia, Washington, St. Louis, etc., have had considerable success in this field.

Cleveland, Ohio, has taken up the problem through a Home Gardening Association which induced the school council to provide space and proper soil, while they furnish seeds, tools, and expert gardeners. The reports emphasize the mental and moral betterment in backward and untractable children, and the physical improvement in weak ones under the influence of school gardening.

SCHOOL QUESTION IN GREAT BRITAIN: We study this question from two standpoints. (See also RELIGION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.)

I

(FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND POINT OF VIEW)

There are many subjects deserving of earnest consideration in connection with education in Great Britain at the present time, i. e., since July, 1906; but the one "schools question" which overshadows all others in interest is that of the position and the quality of the religious instruction to be given in the elementary schools of England and Wales in the future.

A brief historical retrospect is necessary in order to explain how this question has arisen. The active intervention of the State on an extensive scale for the furtherance of the education of the people is, in England, of comparatively recent date. In varying degrees that work has always been recognized as part of her duty by the Church of England, both before and since the Reformation. It is enough here to refer to the fact that between 1685 and 1741 nearly 2,000 "charity schools" were established by Churchmen, and conducted, mainly, in connection with the venerable Church Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge which was founded in 1698. In 1785 the Sunday-school Union was founded, consisting of both Churchmen and Dissenters, and exerted itself with such good effect that by 1803 more than 7,000 Sunday schools had been established and were giving instruction in reading and Christian rudiments to nearly 850,000 children. But, of course, schools meeting only one day in the week could not carry

REFERENCES: British Parliamentary Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration; *Physical Efficiency in Children*, by Sir James Crichton-Browne, in Report of the International Congress for the Welfare and Protection of Children, 1902; *The Medical Inspection of School Children*, by W. L. Mackenzie, M.A., M.D.; Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training, Scotland; *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, issued by the (English) Board of Education; *Poverty*, by Robert Hunter; *The Children of the Nation*, by Sir John Gorst, and *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, by the present writer.

education far, and a very great need existed of educational provision for the rapidly growing population. In 1808 and 1811, respectively, there were founded the British and Foreign Schools Society on undenominational lines, and the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. For more than twenty years these societies were the principal agencies working for the education of the masses; but the scholars in church schools very greatly outnumbered those in other schools. In 1833 government recognized the great value of the work then being done by voluntary zeal and began to make building grants in aid of its extension, and in 1846 there began the system of State grants in aid of the maintenance of elementary schools, by whatever voluntary agency established, on condition of their satisfying requirements prescribed by the Education Department for securing the efficiency of the secular education given. This system of what may be called State partnership with the religious denominations in the work of elementary education continued under somewhat varying conditions, into which there is not space to go here, till 1870. At that time there existed in schools under government inspection places for 1,365,080 children provided by the Church of England, 411,948 in undenominational and Non-Conformist, and 101,556 in Roman Catholic schools. The provision was ample in great numbers of rural parishes and fairly adequate in very many town parishes, but not so in the thickly populated and growing urban districts. Parliament, therefore, decided that steps must be taken by the establishment of school boards to make the supply universally sufficient. The emphatically declared object of Mr. Gladstone's cabinet, which passed the Education Act of 1870, was to supplement and complete, not to destroy, the work of the voluntary system, to the supporters of which ministers express the greatest sense of obligation, while inviting and encouraging them to continue their efforts. The invitation was accepted. Down to 1870 there had been expended on church school buildings £8,750,000. Since then there has been expended about £14,000,000, making a total of £22,750,000. If from that figure we deduct £1,500,000—the total amount of government grants, the last of which were passed more than twenty-five years ago, toward the erection of these buildings—there remains £21,250,000 as the total of voluntary contributions to the buildings of church schools alone. Toward their maintenance before 1870 £8,500,000 was contributed, and from that year to 1901 £18,145,558. These figures yield an aggregate of voluntary expenditure on church schools of £47,895,558, not counting very large sums contributed to the building and maintenance of church training colleges for teachers.

The above figures show on its material side the obligation of the State to the Church in respect of elementary education. It may be added that in 1902 there was accommodation in church schools for 2,813,978 children. But the cost of education had in the mean time increased enormously, having risen from £1.5 in 1870 to £2.13.2 in 1900, and the voluntary schools in many parts of England found it more and more impossible to maintain themselves against the competition of the board schools enjoying free access to the rates. So in 1902 the unionist government determined and Parliament agreed that this unfair

competition was bad for education and that the two classes of schools should share equally in the school rate. But the act passed in that year, which made county and borough councils the school authority, placed the secular instruction in the voluntary schools entirely under that authority. Also, while leaving to their managers the right—subject to veto by the council on educational grounds—to appoint teachers, and so to secure that the religious instruction should be carried on in pursuance of the terms of the school trusts, the Act of 1902 attached a representative element to the Board of Managers, and required the managers to continue responsible for keeping the school buildings in good repair.

This act made the state of the law much more just and the provision for education much more satisfactory than before. Its main defects were that it did not make any provision, such as very many churchmen would have been willing to agree to, for Non-Conformist minorities in country districts with only one school; and that on the other hand it left so-called undenominational religion, which satisfies Non-Conformists generally but is very unsatisfactory to very many church people, the one form of religion taught at the public expense in the council schools. These, however, were not new hardships.

The bill recently before Parliament would do new injustice on a great scale and would strike a heavy blow at religion. In order, professedly, to secure more complete control over all schools to the popular authority and to "abolish tests for teachers," it would—subject to exceptions of very doubtful extent and value—take away from church parents the right of having their children brought up in their own faith by the regular teachers of the schools to which they are compelled to send them, and would insist that in the schools built and maintained, as has been shown, at such great cost by church people for the teaching of their faith as an integral part of the education given, undenominational religion shall be the recognized and established form. This would be a gross and scandalous injustice. The Government Bill also proposed that religious teaching of any kind shall be optional with the teachers and that the children need not attend when it is given. It is held that these proposals, involving the degradation of religion from its rightful position, tend obviously toward secularism and threaten England with all the social and moral evils which have notoriously resulted in other countries from the secularization of schools.

The bill which was pressed upon Parliament by the Liberal government in 1906 would, in the name of justice, have inflicted new injustice on a great scale, and would have struck a heavy blow at religion. In order, professedly, to secure more complete control to the local authority over all schools and to abolish "tests for teachers" it would—subject to exceptions of very doubtful extent and value—have insisted that even in schools built and maintained at great cost by church people for the teaching of their faith as an integral part of the education given, undenominational religious teaching should be the recognized and established form. This would have been a gross and scandalous injustice.

There was a wide-spread and emphatic demonstration of public disapproval of the bill of 1906. This demonstration was ignored by the

House of Commons, who passed the bill with no material alterations; but it was so considerably amended by the House of Lords, in the interests of justice to denominational schools and to parents desiring definite religious teaching for their children, that the government invited the Commons to refuse, as they did, to proceed further with it. During the session of 1907 the government made no serious attempt to legislate on the Education Question. But, in the exercise of their administrative powers, they put forth new regulations threatening very grave damage to Church of England and other denominational colleges for the training of teachers, and they promised, for the session of 1908, a bill even more unfavorable to the cause of definite religious teaching in schools than the bill of 1906. In these circumstances the friends of such teaching were preparing themselves, in the winter of 1907-8, for another strenuous struggle, and were pressing upon the consideration of their fellow countrymen, as the principle on which alone a permanent solution of the Education Question could be based, the admission of the right of parents to secure, so far as reasonably practicable, in all elementary schools the types of religious instruction which they respectively desire for their children.

TALBOT BAINES.

Secretary of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales.

II

(FROM THE NON-CONFORMIST POINT OF VIEW)

The Non-Conformists claim that from rates which all rate-payers are compelled to pay, no matter what their religious or lack of religious view, the government has no right to support schools in which the denominational teaching of any church or churches may be forced upon the children of the State. The Non-Conformists stand (1) for the application of the principle of the total severance of the functions of Parliament and of religious societies to all State education. They stand (2) for the entire control of national education by the people, and the exclusion of churches as churches, and priests as priests, and ministers as ministers, and parents as parents from such control, and for the admission of parents, ministers, and priests as citizens and only as citizens. They stand (3) for the complete exclusion of all theological and ecclesiastical tests for teachers and require only drilled capacity and character.

Resolutions of Dec. 20, 1905, of the General Committees of the National Council of Free Evangelical Churches declare that the aim of State education should be:

(1) To secure a truly national and efficient system of education.

(2) To secure justice to every citizen.

(3) To wound no conscience.

(4) To bring about a lasting educational peace.

The basis of the system should be exclusively civic, exclude preferential treatment for any person or persons, clergy or teachers; and for any institution theological or ecclesiastical. It should cast the entire responsibility for theological and ecclesiastical teaching on the home and the Church.

This means—

(1) That no change in the number of managers—such as substituting two for four, or electing representatives of parents, and the like—will suffice.

(2) That the non-provided schools must either be transferred to the State or be maintained by the denomination as denominational schools; for as State schools they must cease,

and no arrangements for sectarian teaching should have any place whatever in the State system.

(3) That it should be the aim of the government to secure the provision of public schools (purely civic schools) at positions convenient for the children all over the land; for it is certain that educational peace will not be secured until the education given by the State is carried on in non-ecclesiastical buildings owned by the public.

(4) That those provided school buildings only should be purchased which are found after careful and competent investigation to be suitable as to structure and condition to become public property for educational purposes and should not be rented for a longer period than five years.

(5) That the utmost care should be given to secure such schools as belong, or in part belong, to the public for the public.

(6) That State education should return to some form of the *ad hoc* system. That cooptation should cease. That women shall be eligible for election on the local education authority on the same terms as men. That the administrative breakdown of the present arrangement should be met by recognizing: (a) That the county areas are in most cases far too large. (b) That local interest in education is being destroyed. (c) That areas of suitable size should be substituted for county areas. (d) That such local authorities might have power given them to combine for specific purposes, e.g., secondary education.

Non-Conformists cannot on any account admit the principle that (a) the churches have the right to give, or (b) the parents a right to demand, any denominational teaching whatever in connection with public school life.

That the entry of sectarian teachers into State schools and training colleges during the hours allotted for State work should be absolutely forbidden as fatal to the efficiency of the teaching, disturbing to the order of the school, and productive of religious strife.

That in case public school buildings are used, by permission of local authority, for imparting dogmatic and ecclesiastical teaching to the children attending the school outside school hours, a payment should be made by the denomination so using the buildings to cover the expenses connected therewith.

That no denomination shall be allowed to use the teachers or other officers or machinery of the State for such denominational teaching.

The foregoing provisions also have reference to secondary education as far as they may be applicable.

Not for a very lengthened period has the Free Church mind been so deeply moved as upon this question.

The root of all the evil is to be found in the existence of a Church establishment. There is general agreement among Free Churchmen as to the origin of the two pernicious educational measures which they have so justly denounced. For some years past a section of the supporters of the Established Church have been persistently undermining the Act of 1870. When the time appeared to be ripe for the purpose, the two Anglican convocations formulated their demands and urged them upon the government. These were, with one exception, acceded to, and formed the basis of the Education Bill of 1902. Still further concessions were made to the Church of England during the passage of the bill, and notably as the result of the action of the bishops in the Lords.

Solicitude for religious education has been expressed in justification of this course; but few will doubt that the struggle has been mainly one for the retention and the strengthening of the Church establishment. Had that institution not existed, and had its bishops no seats in Parliament, such bills would never have been introduced.

The force we are fighting, then, is not primarily political. Parliament is only its tool. It is ecclesiastical. "Clericalism is the enemy." The reversal of the broader and more just educational policy initiated in 1870, and the return to the clericalism of the beginning of the last century, is due to the change which has taken place in the Anglican Church, in its ideas and spirit, its temper and aims. It is not the tolerant and inclusive Church of the days of Lord Shaftesbury, but the

bigoted and persecuting Church of the times of Laud and Whitgift. It is a Romanized church; and in and by the English Church Union it is becoming increasingly Romanist. It is that section—the large and dominating section of twentieth-century Anglicanism—that has given us these acts. It is the victory of the High Church party.

It has been said there is taught now in the council schools of London and in the "unsectarian" or "provided" schools of the country, "a new-fangled faith," an "unsectarian religion," which "is only another expression of non-conformity," "a novel form of religion, whose only recommendation is that it pleases Dr. Clifford and his friends," and we are told that what Romanists and Anglicans have secured by their prolonged efforts in the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 is the opportunity of giving "our poorer brothers a way of escape from the threatened universal domination of modern unsectarianism" or of the Free Churches.

According to the "London syllabus," children are taught at the expense of the State Psalm xxiii., the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes, the blessedness of hunger for what is right and just, of making peace between individuals and nations, of purity of thought and spirit—in short, the religion which consists in "doing justly and loving mercy, and walking humbly with God." They are introduced, not to the whole of the Bible, but only to those portions of the Testament best suited to their capacity, and least likely to suggest controversy; to the purest ethic, the most quickening poetry, the most inspiring biography, i. e., to the most potent character-building literature the world contains; and I confess that to me it appears that if Parliament undertakes the education of the children of the nation it ought not to fail to open the doors for them into this all-hallowing temple of truth and justice, liberty and progress.

I know this is not "teaching religion" in the sense of the High Church party; but in my judgment it is all the State is competent to do, and all it can attempt without inflicting injustice upon some portion of its members.

Against being compelled to support schools where principles are taught they cannot in conscience accept, very many Non-Conformists have felt it their duty to refuse to pay their full education rates and inaugurate a policy of "passive resistance to the payment of the sectarian patron."

Over 400 imprisonments have taken place and more than 100,000 distrainments of goods have been carried out. The reasons given in court for resistance were:

(1) That the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 compelled him to pay for teaching on the deepest subjects of the inward and religious life; subjects with which the State, or Parliament, or Borough Council has no right whatever to deal. They are personal, individual, and the State ought to leave them to every man's conscience. Complete freedom in this thing is the right of every British citizen, a right he would enjoy if he dwelt under the British flag in Canada or Australia, and a right he cannot surrender because he lives in England.

(2) That the law attempts to coerce him to pay for teaching children doctrines and practises he holds to be distinctly opposed:

1. To the teaching of Christ;
2. To the well-being of the child; and

3. To the happiness and prosperity of the nation.

(3) That by this law he is compelled to pay, that the children of England may be taught that the doctrines he has held and taught for nearly fifty years are false, and that the Free Churches, to which he is grateful to belong, are heretical and to be avoided as the plague.

Non-Conformists cannot and will not accept any such legislation. Let others teach them if they so believe, but let them not compel me to do so.

JOHN CLIFFORD.

SCHOOL SAVINGS-BANKS are simple devices to teach children to save. Any school can start one. There is no association needed. The only thing necessary is the permission of the School Board and the cooperation of some bank to receive weekly deposits. In most school banks the roll-call of the children is made every Monday morning and the amount of each deposit and credit is checked off on a card. It teaches the children thrift, the value of pennies, and saves much careless and often worse than useless expenditure. In Europe they have long been used and are acknowledged and proved to be one of the best practical educational factors.

In France they are under patronage of the government. In many countries they are connected with the postal savings banks and the statistics of postal saving-banks (*q. v.*) and school savings-banks are officially reported together, in several divisions of Europe.

In 1885 Professor Thiry, a French educator, in America for his health, as a school commissioner in Long Island City, introduced the system into the public schools there. Since this date the system has spread widely, and by 1893 325 schools had such savings-banks.

From a statement compiled by Mr. Thiry in 1905, it appears that there were then 4,541 school-banks in operation located in 1,089 schools in 109 cities in the United States. The number of scholars registered in these schools is 347,895, of which 191,009 are depositors in the school banks. The amount collected since the introduction of the system is shown to be \$2,782,012, the amount withdrawn \$2,165,072, leaving a balance due depositors of \$616,940.

Another similar system is the Penny Provident Bank. This was established in New York City in 1889 and has to-day some 60,000 depositors in all portions of the country. Cards are given to depositors, with the rules of the Fund on one side, and thirty-six blank squares on the other. Stamps are then sold to the depositor, to be attached to the squares. The stamps may be of eight different values from one cent to one dollar. When the card is all filled the amount represented is paid to the depositor and he is urged tho not required to open an account in some savings-bank. A second card is then given. No interest is paid on these deposits, the object being to encourage the saving of small sums which can be deposited in a bank where interest is paid. In this way depositors in the Fund saved \$480,272.61 in ten years. The system has been used in schools with great success. Central office, Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second Street, New York.

SCHOOLING OF ADULTS, THE (through free evening lectures in schoolhouses), has been developed chiefly in New York City through the Department of Public Lectures of the Board of

Education. It is based on the assumptions that education is never finished, and that large numbers of people who had to leave school early, owing to the stress of making a living, are anxious to get whatever knowledge they can. The purpose of these lectures is accordingly twofold: informative and constructive. Some lectures and lecture courses, e. g., on travel and geography, furnish interesting information, while others, e. g., on physics and electricity, are arranged in a systematic manner and cover those subjects fully.

The lectures started on the former basis and tentatively in 1889, but gradually introduced more serious and better-connected subjects. While 189 lectures were given during the first season to about 20,000 listeners, 4,645 were given in 1904-5 to an attendance of 1,155,000. In all new schoolhouses lecture rooms are provided adapted for adults.

The need of this movement is readily seen from the facts that only about 3 per cent of the school population attend the high schools, and 1.5 the colleges, universities, and professional schools; that New York has a very large percentage of adult foreign-born citizens who need instruction in civics, the uses of liberty, English, etc.; that, finally, lectures in English literature were attended by classes of 300 (chiefly teachers), others on the "Social Significance of European Capitals" by 1,000 in one center and 1,700 in another, others on "Great Masters in Music" by 1,000. (See article EVENING SCHOOLS.)

Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, the Supervisor of Lectures, sums up the results of the free lectures in an article of "Social Service" (July, 1905) thus: (1) Adult education is established as a permanent feature of our educational scheme. (2) Reading and study have been encouraged, a deeper interest in school life developed, and a refining influence spread. (3) Cooperation has been brought about between the lecture, the library, and the museum. (4) The best teachers in our universities have come in contact with the people. (5) The school is becoming the social center of the community. (6) The schoolhouse must be constructed with a view to its use for various educative influences, so as to become not merely a nursery for children, but a place of intelligent resort for adults.

SCHOOLS OF PHILANTHROPY: The need for systematic instruction and training as a preparation for social work in the distribution of public and private charity, in philanthropy, and in many branches of educational activity was felt long before anything so formal as a school for this purpose was contemplated. Many societies like the Charity Organization Societies have long had their training classes, which meet weekly and sometimes oftener, for conference and reading and study under the direction of their chief executive officers, to increase the efficiency of their staff and volunteers. Many colleges and higher educational institutions have recognized this need by establishing special courses for practical workers.

1. *The New York School of Philanthropy* began in 1898, under the title *The Summer School in Philanthropic Work*, the first systematic effort at highly specialized instruction in this field alone. It is a significant fact that the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York organized this school, which held in the rooms and library of the society a six weeks' session crowded with lectures, class discussions, preparation of papers on special topics, and visits to institutions. It began the latter part of June at the close of the usual collegiate year and drew largely from

among the brightest students and graduates of the colleges. Dr. Philip W. Ayres was the first director under whose skillful management, and later under that of Dr. Carl Kelsey, the summer school developed. Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and Dr. Edw. T. Devine, the first director of the enlarged school, were the pioneers in the work of the winter course. The present writer succeeded Dr. Devine as director, and Prof. R. C. McCrea has been appointed associate director. This summer meeting has been continued as the summer session of the larger school now organized and endowed, still under the direction of the Board of Trustees appointed by the Charity Organization Society, in accordance with the terms of the endowment given by Mr. John S. Kennedy. The first winter session was held in 1903-4 and conducted along the lines of the summer course, but extended through six months with one or two lectures a week and class exercises and visits to institutions in addition. The course was divided into six parts: (1) Introductory, general survey of charitable field; (2) aid for the sick and preventive work in behalf of public health; (3) the care of dependent, neglected, defective, and delinquent children; (4) the care and treatment of needy families in their homes; (5) the care and treatment of needy families in institutions; (6) moral reform, educational advance, social uplift. The lectures were given by a large number of expert workers.

The next three years witnessed a rapid development in the number of lectures and in the serious demands the work made on the time of the students, about half of whom were college graduates, or have had college training, and two-thirds of whom were women. The majority of the men and women students expect to follow social work as a profession, although a goodly number are preparing to give their time in part or whole as volunteer workers, as district and church visitors, managers of societies, and social investigators. The lectures given in the academic year from October to June now number twelve per week or over 350 in the year, and there are twelve hours additional per week given to field work in visiting, inspection, and investigation under trained supervision.

The course is divided into eight groups:

- (1) Survey of the field. Principles, theories, and methods of general application.
- (2) Racial traits in the population. A study in sociology.
- (3) Constructive social work.
- (4) The care of families in their homes.
- (5) Administration of charitable and educational institutions.
- (6) Child-helping agencies.
- (7) Treatment of the criminal. Reformatory methods. Probation.
- (8) The state in its relation to charity.

The first four groups are required of all students, and at least two of the other four. The tuition fee is \$50 for the course, and \$10 for the summer session. A limited number of free tuition scholarships are granted and a few scholarships yielding a stipend of \$100 in addition to free tuition are awarded as loans where conditions justify it. A Social Research Bureau for advanced work has been organized and some fellowships yielding a stipend sufficient to meet living expenses are offered to experienced investigators who are able to undertake tasks which promise to enrich our literature and knowledge of social conditions. The New York School is affiliated with Columbia University; the students of both institutions have reciprocal advantages in attending lectures given in either, with academic credit for the higher degrees for work done satisfactorily in either place. The school has an excellent special library with 5,000 bound volumes and more than that number of unbound pamphlets, reports of societies, etc.

2. *The Boston School for Social Workers*, organized in 1904-5, is maintained by Simmons College and Harvard University and managed by a joint committee. Men register at the university, women at Simmons College, paying in either case a minimum fee of \$100, which covers all charges for the work of the school which follows somewhat similar lines to that in New York. Less emphasis is laid on the lecture method of instruction and more on closer supervision of field, practice, and case work, assigned readings, and class quizzes and discussions. This school from the beginning has been under the direction of Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett and Miss Zilpha D. Smith, assistant. Ten hours a week are devoted to class instruction. No summer session is held. The course covers one academic year for the satisfactory completion of which, as also in New York, an appropriate certificate or diploma is given. Research work has been organized as a department of the work of the school for trained investigators.

3. *The Chicago Institute of Social Science* was started in 1904 as the "Social Science Center" and later as the "Institute of Social Science and Arts" under the auspices of the University College of the University of Chicago. In Jan., 1906, it was organized as an independent school. Lectures are given in the afternoon after 4.30 o'clock and in the evening, which enables many students to attend who are engaged in other work while taking the courses, while in Boston and New York most of the students must devote their whole time to the work of the school. No field work is required except visits to institutions, but is arranged for

when desired. The courses given are: (1) Principles and Practice of Social Philanthropy, twelve lectures; Introduction to the History and Literature of Philanthropy, four lectures; The Field and Requirements for Social Work, four lectures; (2) Child-Helping Agencies and Institutions, eight lectures; (3) Boys' and Girls' Clubs; Basis, Methods, and Leadership; (4) Causes and Treatment of Dependency, twelve lectures; (5) The Social Aspects of Industrial Organization, twelve lectures; (6) Juvenile Delinquency, twenty-four conferences; (7) Educational and Welfare Work in Factories and Stores, twelve conferences; (8) Industrial and Civic Administration, twelve lectures.

A summer session of six weeks was held in 1906 and is announced for 1908. Tuition charges are \$25 for all courses offered during the year and \$10 for the summer term.

Research work is organized as in New York and Boston and Miss Julia Lathrop has been added to the staff for its special supervision. Prof. Graham Taylor has had charge of the school from its beginning.

4. *The St. Louis School of Philanthropy* has grown out of courses of lectures by prominent charitable workers, a series of conferences of said workers and visits to institutions which were carried on for four years prior to the organization of regular class work, and the arrangement for the direction of such work made with the University of Missouri in May, 1906. In 1907, two courses of fifteen lectures each were given on Friday afternoons, from two to five o'clock, from Feb. 1st to May 17th; one on Preventive Philanthropy and the other on Remedial Philanthropy. Class discussions and required readings were provided for, and in addition four public evening lectures by specialists and four conferences were held. The announcements for 1908 include three courses similar to the two given in 1907 and six short courses of three lectures each by specialists in different fields, and for 1908-9 a course covering eight months. All the work is of University grade, under the direction of Prof. Thos. J. Riley, and may be credited toward degrees at the University of Missouri. Tuition fees are based on membership in the association, which sustains the school and a moderate charge for courses taken (\$5 for each course of fifteen lectures in 1907).

5. *Courses in Social Work at the University of Pennsylvania.* Work, organized along the same lines as the St. Louis School and with some of the variety of the summer session of the New York School, is done in Philadelphia through the courses in Social Work at the University of Pennsylvania, which was one of the first of the larger colleges to adopt the term "Social Work," and to organize in 1899 its courses so as to give a definite course in social work. While this work is not definitely organized as a separate or independent school it is under the direction of a special committee appointed by the university authorities and independent of university restrictions as to admission, etc. Two afternoon lectures each week throughout the college year, many of them given by practical specialists, class exercises, and visits to institutions are provided. Tuition fee is \$15 for the entire course.

The planning and supervision of this work was begun by the present writer, and has been continued by Prof. Carl Kelsey.

Many similar schools exist abroad, notably in England, but all are of recent date. The London Charity Organization Society's Committee on Social Education discuss the needs of London in securing better observation and more expert

England

knowledge in dealing in a practical way with problems of the city, and the result was the establishment in Oct., 1904, of the School of Sociology and Social Economics. The University of Liverpool established, Jan., 1905, a School of Social Science and Training for social work with both summer and winter sessions and excellently well-planned courses of instruction, practical work, research, and classes extending in some cases beyond one year's work.

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY.

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SCHULZE-DELITZSCH, HERMANN: Founder of Cooperative Agricultural Banks; born 1808 at Delitzsch, Saxony. Educated at Leipzig and at Halle, he was made judge at Naumbourg and then Berlin, and in 1841 entered the royal magistracy. Spending his vacations in travel, he became deeply interested in the working classes. After the revolution of 1848 he was elected deputy by

the electors of Delitzsch, and took his seat on the left center with Rodbertus. But seeing the victory of a reactionary opposition, he retired to Delitzsch and there commenced the movement to establish the cooperative agricultural banks with which his name is connected. (See CO-OPERATIVE BANKS.) Became leader of the individualist policy of cooperation without State aid, and so when Lassalle commenced his Socialist propaganda, Schulze-Delitzsch was invited by the working men of Leipzig to champion his ideas against Lassalle, but declined, and the majority of the working men turned to Lassalle. (See GERMANY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) His cooperative movement, however, went on, and on his death, in 1885, had reached large proportions.

SCHURZ, CARL: Publicist and political reformer; born 1829 near Cologne; was educated at Cologne and University of Bonn. He took an active part in the Revolution of 1848-49, and was compelled to leave Germany. After sojourning in Switzerland, Paris, and London, he came to the United States in 1852 and settled in Watertown, Wis. In 1860 he was a member of the Republican Convention; became U. S. minister to Spain in 1861; resigned to enter the Union Army where he was successively promoted until he became brigadier-general, and served in many engagements. He was editor of and contributor to a number of papers, e. g., *New York Tribune*, *Evening Post*, *Westliche Post*, etc. U. S. Senator for Missouri, 1869-75; presided over convention which nominated Greeley; was appointed Minister of the Interior by President Hayes, 1876. Later supported Cleveland, and became one of the founders of the Independent Party. Died in New York City, May 14, 1906. He published "Speeches"; "Life of Henry Clay"; "Abraham Lincoln, an Essay"; "Memoirs" (1906).

SCOTLAND: Scotland, tho comparatively a small country, has had an important influence on the modern world owing to the intellectual and commercial energy of its people, and to the remarkable colonizing habits of its emigrant population in new lands, notably in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The fame of Burns, Sir Walter Scott, and many other Scottish writers is world-wide, and science and industry owe a great deal to eminent Scotsmen such as Adam Smith, the founder of the modern science of political economy; Patterson, founder of the Bank of England; James Watt (steam-engine), Murdoch (gas illumination), Nasmyth (steam-hammer), Hutton and Sir Charles Lyell (geology), Sir Charles Bell (anatomy), Napier of Merchiston (inventor of logarithms), and Dr. Simpson and Lord Lister (anesthetic and antiseptic treatment in surgery). Many notable Englishmen have been wholly or partly of direct Scottish extraction, as, for example, Byron, Macaulay, J. S. Mill, Ruskin, and Gladstone. Scotland is to a great extent a mountainous country and possesses many fine estuaries, rivers, and inland lakes.

RACE AND EARLY HISTORY

The people of Scotland are of a mixed race. In the north and west (the Highlands) they belong chiefly to the Gaelic-speaking branch of the Celtic race, while in the east and south they are largely of Saxon and Scandinavian origin or admixture. Among the Highlanders the Gaelic or

Erse language (which is held to be allied to the early Latin dialects) was universally spoken until recent years. Among the Lowlanders the Scotch vernacular (really a dialect of the older English speech) was the tongue of all classes down to about fifty years ago. Both the Gaelic and the Scotch are now giving place to the modern English language. The Highlanders remained under the primitive clan system, ruled by chiefs, until the political repression of the clans following upon their rebellion in 1745 in support of the restoration of the Stuart dynasty to the British throne.

Scottish history usually begins with the resistance of the then native inhabitants, the Scots and Picts, to the Roman invasion. The Scots were Gaels (Gaidheal, Celts) who had crossed from Ireland and settled in the western parts of the country, and the Picts are supposed by some to have been an earlier branch of the Celtic people and by others to have been of Iberian or perhaps non-Aryan stock. Unable to subdue the Scottish tribes the Romans fenced them out of their southern dominions in England by building a great wall extending across the base of Scotland from the Solway to the Tyne, and later another wall farther north from the Clyde to the Forth. On the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain, the Saxon kings of England

succeeded in obtaining a lordship over the southern part of Scotland, and for several hundred years the Scots endeavored by frequent battles to cast off the English yoke. The independence of Scotland as a kingdom was finally secured by the valorous championship of Sir William Wallace, followed by the memorable victory of King Robert Bruce at Bannockburn (1314). Thereafter until the union of the English and Scottish crowns as a result of the succession on the death of Queen Elizabeth of James VI. of Scotland, as nearest heir, to the English throne, Scotland was kept in a constant state of unrest by internal struggles between the nobles and the various kings and regents of the Stuart dynasty. During the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, the mother of James VI., Scotland was brought into very close relationship with France, and it was then also that the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland was dissolved and the Presbyterian Church founded in its stead. The Parliaments of England and Scotland were not united until a later period under Queen Anne, in 1707.

The modern history and intellectual prominence of Scotland dates from the Protestant Reformation and the institution of the Scottish Presbyterian Church, just mentioned, under the leadership of John Knox and the famous Latin scholar George Buchanan. The Reformed Church adopted at the outset a completely democratic form of government, and in its earliest manifesto, "The First Book of Discipline," the Church laid down an exceedingly enlightened policy with respect to education, the rights of labor, and the treatment of the poor. Schools were established in every parish, and it was enjoined upon parents of every station that their children must have "a virtuous education and godly upbringing," and that all those showing an aptitude for learning should be sent to the university. It is no doubt largely to this national system of education, imperfect as it was, founded 350 years ago, together with the fierce controversies upon

religion and politics which the subsequent efforts of Kings Charles I. and II. to force episcopacy upon the nation aroused, that we must ascribe the remarkable mental energy evolved among the Scottish people. Reading and study became common in the houses of the peasants, and shepherd lads, plowboys, and the sons of the artisan class struggled into the universities and became doctors, lawyers, and ministers. The Scottish universities, which were, and still are, four in number—Glasgow, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen—have always been accessible to poor students owing to the small fees charged, and to their non-resident system which allows students to board outside as frugally as they choose. It is not likely, therefore, that Mr. Carnegie's recent benefaction of \$10,000,000 to the universities will have any marked results.

Scotland, tho a democratic nation, and the home of many social pioneers, has not been, until recent years, forward in social reform. Political

Social Progress

liberty and individual freedom have been more highly esteemed than social legislation and cooperative enterprise. Altho Robert Owen established his celebrated cooperative community at New Lanark, in the south of Scotland, as far back as 1800, the public mind did not turn to collective or cooperative experiments until within the last thirty or forty years. Nevertheless, industrial cooperative societies are now widely spread and in a flourishing state in all parts of the country except in the west Highlands, and the wholesale cooperative manufacturing works at Shieldhall, near Glasgow; the baking establishments in Glasgow and Leith, and the tweed cloth mills at Galashiels and Melrose have become enormously successful enterprises. The land question has, however, always attracted deep interest in Scotland, and the crofter revolt in the Highlands (1880-85), influenced largely by the neighboring Irish Land League agitation, led to the passing of the Crofters Act (1886) by which the poorer Highland tenants have now obtained fixity of tenure, rents fixt by a public commission, and compensation for improvements. A bill extending the principles of the Crofter Act to farms paying rentals as high as £40 all over Scotland is now (1907) before Parliament. Henry George visited Scotland in 1881 and on several occasions afterward, and his teaching was enthusiastically received with the result that a Land Restoration League (now a Single-Tax League) was founded which did much to bring the question of the taxation of land values to the front in British politics.

Housing in Scotland is in a backward state. The tenement system of dwellings—large blocks four "stories," or flats, in height, each flat divided into two or three separate dwellings of two rooms—prevails in the working-class districts of Glasgow and the large towns, while in the smaller towns and villages rows of one-story cottages each consisting of only two apartments ("butt and hen") are common. The census returns of 1901 showed that there were no less than 416,311 families (1,174,000 persons) living in one- or two-room dwellings. The municipalities are making some efforts to remedy this defect.

Until recent years Scotland was the most Sabbatarian country in Europe, but now Sunday observance and churchgoing have waned, and in the larger industrial towns concerts, political meetings, excursions, and secular amusements

have quite displaced the somber religious formalism of former days. So, too, it may be said, religion generally has fallen into a state of decay; the young people are becoming indifferent to religious topics and secularism is rife. The Scottish Presbyterian Church is established by law, but more than half of the Presbyterian communicants adhere to the United Free Church recently formed by the union of two great bodies of secessionists from the parent church. In Glasgow and the mining districts there are a considerable number of Roman Catholics, chiefly Irish immigrants.

The first avowedly Socialist organization in Scotland was the Land and Labor League, founded in Edinburgh in 1883. This was followed soon

Socialism

afterward by branches of the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and a few other towns. J. Bruce Glasier, William Nairne, and Professor James Mavor (now of Toronto), in Glasgow; and Robert Banner and the Rev. Dr. John Glasie, in Edinburgh, were the pioneers of the new Socialist movement. William Morris, the famous poet and craftsman, frequently visited Scotland in connection with the Socialist League, and greatly influenced the idealism of the young Socialists of the day. Edward Carpenter, H. M. Hyndman, and Prince Kropotkin also made occasional lecturing visits. Later, in 1888, the Scottish Labor Party, which was the forerunner of the now powerful Independent Labor Party (the I. L. P.) of Great Britain, was founded by J. Keir Hardie (then president of the Scottish Miners), R. B. Cunningham Graham, and others. Chiefly owing to Keir Hardie's successful agitation socialism in Scotland, as in England, took a definite "Labor" character and at present the Independent Labor Party is the chief Socialist organization in both countries, altho the Social Democratic Federation has also many branches, and there are one or two small groups of the Socialist Labor Party which adopts the line of the American party of that name.

At the last general election (1906) about a dozen Trade-union and Socialist candidates stood for election, but only two were successful—Mr. George N. Barnes, M.P., the general secretary of the Engineers' Society, who was returned as a Socialist and Trade-union representative for a division in Glasgow, and Alex. Wilkie, M.P., of the Shipwright's Society, who was returned as a Trade-unionist for Dundee. Both are members of the Labor Party group in the House of Commons. There are many Socialists now upon the municipal councils in the larger towns. Socialist propaganda is very active in Scotland and it is noteworthy that Robert Smillie and other miners leaders, as well as the more active trade-unionists generally, are Socialists.

Notwithstanding the union of the Scottish and English crowns and parliaments, Scotland still preserves many distinctive national habits.

Laws.

Government

Scottish law, for example, is different in many important respects from English law, notably as respects marriage (which can still be effected by a simple declaration between unmarried couples, tho unless it is registered or proven in a law court it is not legally established) and criminal trials (in Scotland the jury may bring in a verdict by a majority and the verdict may be one of "guilty," "not proven," or "not guilty," whereas in England the jury verdict must be

unanimous, and be either "guilty" or "not guilty").

Scotland retains a separate judicial bench, but the British House of Lords is the final court of appeal. Many acts of Parliament of the British House of Commons are made applicable to England but not to Scotland, and vice versa. Thus, in Scotland the public houses are since the act of 1851 compelled to keep closed on Sundays, whereas in England they are open for several hours in the afternoon and evening. Scotland sends seventy-two members to the British House of Commons and sixteen representative peers elected by the Scottish peerage to the House of Lords. In addition to the elected peers some fifty other Scottish peers sit in the House of Lords by virtue of being peers of the United Kingdom. Local government is carried on by much the same machinery as in England, namely, by town councils, county councils (1889), and district and parish councils (1893). The franchise in Scotland is, as in England, household suffrage. Women householders are entitled to vote at all elections except for Parliament.

The population is now nearly five millions (census 1901 it was 4,472,103, and in 1906 it was estimated at 4,726,070). The total acreage of the country is 19,543,843, of which only

Statistics

some 2,000,000 are under corn and green crops and 3,000,000, exclusive of mountains and moors, under rotation pasture or permanent pasture. In the Highlands the crofters cultivate their small holdings in somewhat primitive fashion and many of them engage in herring fishing during the summer season. There is also extensive sheep farming, but great tracts of moors and valleys have been turned into deer preserves. Aberdeen and Peterhead on the east coast have important granite quarries, in Dundee there are jute and flax mills, and in Paisley the great cotton-thread mills of Messrs. Coats and Clark. In the south of Scotland tweed (woolen) cloth manufacture is the chief industry. Altogether there were in Scotland in 1905 some 750 factories with over two and a half million spindles, 75,000 power looms, and 170,000 work people.

Of chief importance, however, are the coal and iron fields in the lower central basin of Scotland, the engineering and iron-molding works in the neighborhood of Glasgow and Falkirk, and the great shipbuilding yards on the Clyde which in 1905 produced (exclusive of war-ships) 254 ships of a gross tonnage of 515,588 tons, or one third of the total shipbuilding of Great Britain and one fifth of the shipbuilding of the world. There are also numerous whisky distilleries.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that recent industrial developments have adversely affected the character of the Scottish people. Drunkenness is sadly prevalent among the working class, especially in the mining districts and in the large towns. The conditions of factory and town life have diminished the stature and lessened the stamina of the people. Their finer intellectual qualities have been impaired. Football, betting, and a habit of general indifference toward serious matters have displaced the more earnest poetical and thoughtful inclinations of the people. Scotsmen are usually of a somewhat "canny" and shrewd disposition, but are easily roused to intense vivacity and combativeness under excitement. They are fond of argument and a strong sense of critical humor is displayed in their con-

versation. Their great persistency of purpose and working capacity is shown by the many Scotsmen who have achieved high political and economic positions in all parts of the world. Until late years Scotland was preeminently a land of song. No country for its size has produced a greater wealth of dance music and lyrical poetry—the former represented by the Highland strathspeys and reels and the latter by the songs of Robert Burns.

J. BRUCE GLASIER,

Editor *Labour Leader*, Hotspur Press, Manchester, England.

SCOTT, ROSE (MISS): President of Woman's Political Educational League (non-party and non-sectarian) and treasurer of National Council of Women, New South Wales; born Glendon, Hunter River, Oct. 8, 1847. Honorary secretary of Womanhood Suffrage League of New South Wales, from its foundation in 1891. She has traveled and lectured extensively as a champion of woman's political rights. Was vice-president of Early Closing Association and vice-president of Woman's Club, and member of Ladies' Committee for Assistance of Discharged Prisoners. Address: Lynton, 294 Jersey Rd., Sydney.

SCOTTISH TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION BOARD, THE (with which is incorporated *The Scottish Alliance for Temperance and Social Reform*), is a large and influential society of earnest practical reformers whose purpose is to secure for the community a more effective control of the liquor traffic, and give powers to each locality to carry practical temperance reforms, by submitting a wide variety of options to the decision of the electorate, under statutory conditions that are consistent with the public welfare. It was formed to endeavor to obtain further temperance legislation on the lines of Lord Peel's minority report of the Royal Commission on Licensing appointed in 1898. Lord Peel, who was chairman of this royal commission, along with several of the other members did not concur in the report signed by the majority of the commission and issued a separate report suggesting (1) a large reduction in the number of licensed houses in Great Britain, (2) compensation to the license holders dispossessed by a time notice of seven years for England and Wales and five years for Scotland, and (3) thereafter wide powers of local control, under which the electors might vote either for veto or disinterested management of the traffic if such were continued. Office: 208 West George Street, Glasgow, R. X. Bremner, solicitor, secretary, and also at 10 Albany Place, Edinburgh, G. F. Barbour, secretary.

SCUDDER, VIDA DUTTON: Author and professor at Wellesley College; born 1861 in southern India; graduated from Smith College, 1884; and pursued graduate studies in Oxford and Paris. She took a leading part in the formation of the first college settlements (see **SETTLEMENTS**) and has been active in their work since. Her chief interest of this type since 1904 has been social and educational work for immigrant Italians. She has written on various subjects; the writings which have a social bearing are: "Introduction to the Writings of John Ruskin" (1890); "The Life of the Spirit in the Modern English Poets" (1895); "Social Ideals in English Letters"

(1898); "Selected Letters of St. Catherine of Siena" (translated and edited) (1905); "The Disciple of a Saint: A Spiritual Romance" (1907). Address: 250 Newbury Street, Boston, Mass.

SEDDON, JAMES ANDREW: Member British Parliament of Independent Labor Party for Newton, Lancashire, S. W.; born 1868 at Prescott, near Liverpool; educated at elementary schools at Prescott and Hayton; was a grocer's apprentice, but tired of the monotonous life behind the counter after sixteen years, and became a commercial traveler. He came in close touch with the men of his trade, both at St. Helen's and in the neighborhood; joined the Shop Assistants' Union, became a member of the Executive Committee of the branch at St. Helen's in 1898, and president in 1902. He joined the Independent Labor Party, and was elected to Parliament in 1906. Is much in demand as a speaker; and an uncompromising Socialist. Address: 48 Lingholme Road, St. Helen's, England.

SEDDON, HON. RICHARD JOHN: Premier of New Zealand, 1896–1906; born in Lancashire, England, 1845. Becoming a mechanical engineer, he went to Australia in 1863 and to New Zealand in 1867, when the gold fever was at its height. Later, becoming head of a successful mercantile enterprise, he entered public life and was elected to Parliament, 1879. When the Liberal Party came into power Ballance (*q. v.*) made him minister of public works, and on the death of Ballance he became premier, 1896, till his own death, 1906. Called "Digger Dick" in his old mining days, and later "King Dick," he was always a champion of the oppressed, tho he loved to call himself "Premier of the Paradise of the British Empire." Uncorruptible and loved, a born leader, he was a good worker, at one time being premier, colonial treasurer, minister of labor, minister of defense, and minister in charge of the public trust and of the government insurance offices.

SEILHAC, LÉON, COMTE DE: Permanent deputy to the Musée Social at Paris, and chief of the Service Industriel et Ouvriers; born Aug. 8, 1861, at Seilhac, in the department of Corrèze. He is a publicist, editor-in-chief of *La France Nouvelle*; editor of the *République Française*—founded by Gambetta—of the *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, of the *Correspondant*, and of the *Revue Bleue*. Politically he is a Republican, and in economics hostile to the orthodox school and an advocate of the largest possible social reforms. He is opposed, however, to any kind of collectivism, because he believes that private property is the mainspring of human activity, the highest reward of labor, and the greatest source of joy for mankind. Author: "Le Monde Socialiste"; "Syndicats, Federations, et Bourses du Travail"; "Les Longrès Ouvriers"; "Les Grèves." Address: 48 Faubourg Poissonnière, Paris, France.

SELIGMAN, EDWIN ROBERT ANDERSON: Professor of political economy; born 1861 in New York City. Educated at Columbia Grammar School and Columbia University. Studied for three years at Universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, Geneva, and Paris. Prize lecturer at Columbia, 1885; adjunct professor there 1888–91. In 1891 appointed to his present professorship; 1902 president of American Economic Association;

president Tenement-House Building Company; president of Bureau of Municipal Research; editor of *Political Science Quarterly*. Author: "Railway Tariffs"; "Finance Statistics of American Commonwealth"; "Shifting and Incidence of Taxation"; "Progressive Taxation in Theory and Practice"; "Essays in Taxation"; "Two Chapters on Mediæval Guilds of England"; "Economic Interpretation of History"; "Principles of Economics." Address: Columbia University, New York City.

SENIOR, NASSAU WILLIAM: Political economist; born at Offington, Berkshire, 1790. Educated at Eton and Oxford; commenced the practice of law in 1819. Appointed professor of political economy at Oxford in 1826; was made secretary of the House of Lords in 1836, and was member of various commissions and societies. Interested in Eastern studies. Correspondent of the *Institute of France* (1843) and author of several reports and articles on industrial questions, mainly published in the *Quarterly Review*, the *Edinburgh* and *London Reviews*. Was the author of the now nearly discarded wage-fund theory (see *WAGES*). Author: "Lectures on Political Economy"; "An Outline of Political Economy," which first appeared in the "Encyclopédie Méropolitaine" (1850). Died, London, 1864.

SETTLEMENTS (SOCIAL, UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE, AND CHURCH): One of the earliest definitions of a settlement and one which still holds good is that given by Miss Ada S. Woolfolk in "Johnson's Encyclopedia." She defines settlements as "homes in the poorer quarters of a city where educated men and women may live in daily personal contact with the working people." Here they may identify themselves as citizens with all the public interests of the neighborhood, may cooperate with their neighbors in every effort for the common good and share with them, in the spirit of friendship, the fruit and inspiration of their wider opportunities.

Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, puts concisely the social significance of settlements as

"a sustained and democratic effort to apply ethical convictions to social and industrial conditions in those localities where life has become most complicated and difficult." She says further: "The settlement movement is only one manifestation of that wide humanitarian movement

Principles

which throughout Christendom, but preeminently in England, is endeavoring to embody itself not in a sect but in society itself. Certain it is that spiritual force is found in the settlement movement, and it is also true that this force must be evoked and must be called into play before the success of any settlement is assured. There must be the overmastering belief that all that is noblest in life is common to men as men, in order to accentuate the likeness and ignore the differences which are found among the people the settlement constantly brings into juxtaposition. It aims in a measure to lead whatever of social life its neighborhood may afford, to focus and give form to that life, to bring to bear upon it the results of cultivation and training; but it receives in exchange for the music of isolated voices the volume and strength of the chorus. The settlement, then, is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city. It insists that these problems are not confined to any portion of a city. It is an effort to relieve, at the same time, the overaccumulation at one end of society and the destitution at the other; but it assumes that this overaccumulation and destitution is most sorely felt in things that pertain to social and educational advantages" ("Philanthropy and Social Progress," pp. 19-30).

The development of the settlement idea has been gradual. In 1860 Frederic Denison Maurice founded the Working Men's College, whose classes

were taught by young Cambridge graduates in their leisure hours. In 1867 the university extension movement began in Cambridge. Owing to the influence of Rev. John Richards Green, vicar of St. Philip's, Stepney, and better known as the historian of the English people, Edward

History

Denison made his home in 1867 in East London, but his health failed and he came to an early death. In 1875 Arnold Toynbee resolved to spend his summer vacation in Whitechapel in assisting the Rev. S. A. Barnett of St. Jude's. In 1883 Arnold Toynbee died, but two years later, through Canon Barnett, who had already been ten years in Whitechapel, Toynbee Hall, the first university settlement, was founded by Oxford men. In 1887 Dr. Stanton Coit established the Neighborhood Guild in New York. This became later the University Settlement. In 1889, at almost the same time, the College Settlement, with Miss Jean Fine (now Mrs. Spahr) as head worker and with Miss Vida D. Scudder as one of its chief inspirers, was opened in New York, and Miss Jane Addams and Miss Ellen Gates Starr took up their residence at Hull House, Chicago. From that time the growth has been rapid until there are over two hundred reported in the United States. Settlements are to be found in Australia, Japan, the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands, and in Austria, Germany, France, and Holland, as well as the mother country, Great Britain. There are also settlements for rural communities both in New England and the Southern states.

Not only are there many houses which bear the name of settlement, but settlement methods have been adopted by missions, churches, and training-schools of various kinds, so that the name has lost much of its original significance. In spite of the looseness in the use of the name and idea, which is perhaps more or less inevitable, so much of what is good has permeated the life and activities of many institutions that it is evident that the indirect influence of settlements is a factor not to be ignored. There are settlements with no residents that have more truly the settlement spirit than many another with a number of resident workers. There are settlements with a definite propaganda which touch the life about them more closely than others that claim to hold themselves open to every desire of the neighborhood, regardless of creed, race, or sex. There seems, however, to be a growing tendency on the part of those longest interested in settlements to go back to the original spirit underlying their beginnings and to deplore the tendency to institutionalism. A happy mean is struck by Canon Barnett in his "Fifteenth Annual Report" (June 30, 1899) when he says:

Toynbee Hall exists that individuals may tell on individuals, that the knowledge accumulated in the universities and the experience accumulated in industry may move public opinion through the friendships formed between university men and the inhabitants of industrial neighborhoods. But such friendships are sure to lead to organizations. When two or three meet together and in the presence of the higher ideal which appears in their midst see the ignorance or the suffering of the sin which is around, they cannot help starting the machinery by which that good-will may become effective.

Mrs. Simkovitch, of Greenwich House, New York, urges that settlement workers do

"not make of the home center a noisy clubhouse filled with various hybrid educational and social activities that will gradually drive out the simple home life, without which a settlement is devoid of that spirit that alone can render it permanently useful in the neighborhood as a stimulus toward

generally improved conditions; for a settlement is primarily a stimulus and only secondarily an institution. Institutional features should be undertaken by a settlement only when it is impossible for the settlement to get anybody else to undertake them" ("Report of Greenwich House," Jan., 1903).

Also: "The essence of settlement work is freedom to meet a new opportunity, and this elasticity is difficult to combine with a highly developed institution. This does not mean that institutional work has not its place and value in settlement activities, but it does mean that the institution ought never to strangle the fresh opportunities that are constantly springing up from the social life of a neighborhood such as ours. The settlement is founded on a belief that the springs of beauty of character and of the best social development are to be found in the lives of our working people, and that, firm in that belief, it is our duty and privilege to work with them, so to change the outer conditions of their lives that those inner springs will have a chance to develop" ("Report of Greenwich House," Oct., 1900).

The number of settlements as now reported is as follows: Asia, 1; Australia, 1; Austria, 1; England and Wales, 56; France, 4; Germany, 2; Holland, 11; Scotland, 10; the U. S., including the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands and representing thirty-one states, 207; a total of 293.

While there are settlements in a number of the smaller cities and towns of England, the movement has settled in London where it began. The chief inspiration has come in many instances from the universities (Oxford and Cambridge) whether shown in the first settlement, Toynbee Hall, in Oxford House, St. Margaret's House, Cambridge House, or in the settlements of the Congregationalists, Mansfield House and Robert Browning Hall. The influence of Canon Barnett, who stands "for the way of life as distinct from the way of machinery," has been most marked, not alone in London and England, but wherever the settlement idea has taken root.

Other Countries

In Paris the settlements have tended to the educational side. As a rule, the residence plan has not been successfully carried out, but whereas at first sight the Paris settlements might seem to be allied to university extension yet they are "so primarily social and the relation between 'workers' and the people is so natural, wholesome, and mutually helpful," that they are really closely akin to settlements. In Holland there is but one residence worker in the eleven settlements, and those who are carrying them on are apt to protest that they are not really settlements. However, almost all the "people's houses" seem to have drawn their inspiration directly from Toynbee Hall and the teachings of Ruskin.

It is in the U. S., however, that settlements have had their most varied and largest growth. There are many institutions which have assumed the name without having much if any right to it. There are a number of interesting experiments in bringing the settlement ideas into rural communities. In spite of some feeble and unworthy efforts, the strength and wide influence of such settlements as the South End House, Boston; the group of settlements carried on by college women under the College Settlements Association in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; the University Settlement, Greenwich House, and the Nurses' Settlement in New York City; Whittier House in Jersey City; the University Settlement, the Commons, of Chicago, and many others throughout the country make the name an honorable one. Preeminent above all is Hull House, of Chicago, under the leadership of Miss Jane Addams, "the most successful settlement in the world," according to Canon Barnett (see HULL HOUSE). In reality the Hull House is not only one of the most important factors in the higher

life of Chicago, but its influence has reached far beyond its own city.

As regards the present status of settlements,

"several difficulties are met with in attempting to realize their ideals: (1) Many of the residents do not come to settle but to spend a limited number of months in the hopes of doing a little and learning much. (2) Nearly every settlement is compelled through periodical statistical reports to justify its existence in the eyes of outside subscribers. (3) From these facts of transient workers and tabulated

Difficulties

reports there follows as a necessary evil the wide-spread tendency to employ machinery in order to produce effects. . . . So long as 90 per cent of the residents turn their backs on the colony as soon as they have gained enough experience to be valuable, not very extensive results can be hoped for" (E. J. Ulwick in *Charity Organization Review*, London, Dec., 1903).

From another authority we have this opinion: "Settlements are still experimental. They are far from having reached the clear waters of an assured position, but are a success if only because they have evidenced out the idea and given new form to the practise of neighborliness and have thus made for social solidarity. They do not perhaps necessarily represent so high a personal ideal as that of Edward Denison, who lived alone in a poor street in East London; but they are more practical than isolated effort and in spite of the drawbacks of community life and the artificialities and partial separation from ordinary social life which are involved. They give scope for the very effective concentration of many minds on one general aim. Their stability in the future depends on the amount of personal service they can secure of the kind that is needed" (Charles Booth, "Life and Labor in London," Third Series, vol. vii.).

CAROLINE WILLIAMSON MONTGOMERY.

REFERENCES: (For full list, see *Bibliography of Settlements*, compiled by Caroline Williamson Montgomery, Chicago, Ill., for the College Settlements Association, 1905, 5548 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Ill.; *Essays in Philanthropy and Social Progress*, Jane Addams (1893); *Democracy and Social Ethics*, Jane Addams (1903); *Practicable Socialism*, Rev. Canon S. A. Barnett; *Neighborhood Guilds*, Stanton Coit (1901); *Letters of Edward Denison*, edited by Sir Baldwin Leighton (1875); *Social Settlements*, Prof. C. R. Henderson, 1890; *University and Social Settlements*, W. Reason (1898); *Social Progress*, a year book, edited by Dr. Strong (1904-5-6); *Arnold Toynbee*, a monography by F. C. Montague (1899); *English Social Movements*, Robert Woods.

STATISTICS

We print as follows statistics of settlements in the U. S. It is not a complete list, but is a very large proportion of the whole. From statistics gathered for "Social Progress," 1906, it appears that in that year 837 persons were residents in settlements besides those not reporting. Besides these, 3,907 more (977 men and 2,930 women) non-residents aided in settlement work, making 1,188 men and 3,556 women, or 4,744 engaged in settlement work. Of these, 603 (497 women and 106 men) gave all their time to the work. They reported 1,568 clubs and 1,502 classes, reaching some 55,000 different persons, of whom 9,000 were men, 15,000 were boys, and 31,000 girls or women. Of the 170 settlements, 63 (probably the largest) reported property valued at \$2,827,000, and 86 settlements reported annual expenditures of \$459,000.

Alabama, Calhoun, Lowndes County, Calhoun Colored School Settlement, 1892.

—, Huntsville, Virginia Hall, 1904.

—, Tuskegee Plantation.

California, Los Angeles, 428 Alpine Street, Castelar Settlement, 1894.

—, Oakland, 709 Linden Street, Oakland Social Settlement, 1895.

—, San Francisco, 555 Chestnut Street, The People's Palace.

—, San Francisco, 86 South Park, S. P. Settlement Association, 1894.

—, San Francisco, Telegraph Hill Boys' Club, Stockton Street.

Colorado, Denver, 966 Galapago Street, Neighborhood House, 1902.

Connecticut, Hartford, 15 North Street, Hartford Social Settlement, 1895.

—, New Haven, 153 Franklin Street, Lowell House, 1900.

- Connecticut, Simsbury (Weatoque P. O.), Neighborhood House, 1905.
- Delaware, Wilmington, 831 Church Street, People's Settlement, 1902.
- District of Columbia, Washington, 1243 H Street N. E., Noel House.
- , Washington, 456 and 468 N Street S. W., Neighborhood House, 1901.
- , Washington, 118 M Street S. W., Colored Social Settlement, 1904.
- Georgia, Atlanta, 74 South Boulevard, Methodist Settlement Home, 1903.
- Illinois, Chicago, 474 West North Avenue, Association House.
- , Chicago, 180 Grand Avenue, The Commons, 1894.
- , Chicago, 80 Elm Street, Eli Bates House.
- , Chicago, 134 Newberry Avenue, Elizabeth E. Marcy Home.
- , Chicago, 869 Thirty-third Place, Fellowship House, 1895.
- , Chicago, 305 West Van Buren Street, Forward Movement, 1894.
- , Chicago, 133 South Morgan Street, Frances E. Willard Settlement, 1894.
- , Chicago, 358 Twenty-second Street, Francis E. Clark Settlement, 1904.
- , Chicago, 3032 Wabash Avenue, Frederick Douglass Center.
- , Chicago, 867 West Twenty-second Street, Gad's Hill Center, 1898.
- , Chicago, 171 West Fourteenth Place, Henry Booth House, 1898.
- , Chicago, 335 South Halsted Street, Hull House, 1889.
- , Chicago, 3825 Dearborn, Institute Church and Social Settlement, 1900.
- , Chicago, 120 East Fullerton Avenue, Christopher House, Miss Mary E. Van der Slice, 1904.
- , Chicago, 485 South Clinton Street, Maxwell Settlement, 1893.
- , Chicago, May Street and West Sixty-seventh Street Neighborhood House, 1896.
- , Chicago, Noble and Augusta, Northwestern University Settlement, 1891.
- , Chicago, 44-46 Vedder Street, Olivet House, 1903.
- , Chicago, 783 Armitage Avenue, Settlement House of Armitage Avenue.
- , Chicago, Oakwood Building and Langley Avenue, Abraham Lincoln Center, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, 1905.
- , Chicago, 4630 Gross Avenue, University of Chicago Settlement, 1894.
- , Chicago, Day Nursery, Forty-eighth Street and Marshfield Avenue.
- , Peoria, 2000 South Washington Street, Neighborhood House.
- , Quincy, 421 Jersey Street, The Cheerful Home, 1901.
- Indiana, Indianapolis, 1726 Columbia Avenue, Christamore, The, 1901.
- , College Settlement.
- , Indianapolis, 873 Colton Street, Planner Guild, 1899.
- , Terre Haute, 24 North First Street, Terre Haute Social Settlement, 1896.
- Iowa, Des Moines, Seventh and Scott Streets, Roadside Settlement, 1896.
- Kansas, Kansas City, 43 North First Street, Bethel Home Settlement, 1902.
- Kentucky, Hindman, Woman's Christian Temperance Union Settlement School.
- , Louisville, 834 East Jefferson Street, Louisville Settlement House, 1903.
- , Louisville, 530 First Street, Neighborhood House, 1896.
- Louisiana, New Orleans, 1202 Annunciation Street, Kingsley House, 1899.
- Maine, Lewiston and Auburn, 141 Middle Street, Social Settlement, 1899.
- , Portland, 75 Spring Street, Fraternity House, 1889.
- Maryland, Baltimore, 816 West Lombard Street, Lawrence House, 1893.
- , Baltimore, 1504 Fort Avenue, Locust Point Social Settlement, 1897.
- , Baltimore, 1204 East Baltimore Street, Maccabean House.
- , Baltimore, corner Cross and Warner Streets, Warner House.
- Massachusetts, Boston, 112 Salem Street, Civic Service House, 1901.
- , Boston, 93 Tyler Street, Denison House, 1892.
- , Boston, 87 Poplar Street, Elizabeth Peabody House, 1896.
- , Boston, 12 Carver Street, Ellis Memorial, 1885.
- , Boston, 1900 Washington Street, Emmanuel House.
- , Boston, 36 Hull Street, Medical Mission, 1891.
- , Boston, 38 Chambers Street, Frances E. Willard Settlement, 1897.
- , Boston, 6-8 Garland Street, Hale House, 1899.
- , Boston, 23 Carolina Avenue, Jamaica Plain, Neighborhood House, 1902.
- , Boston, 70-80 Emerald Street, Lincoln House, 1887.
- , Boston, 358 Albany Street, Roxbury Neighborhood House, 1900.
- Massachusetts, Boston, 37 North Bennet Street, Social Service House, 1902.
- , Boston, 20 Union Park, South End House, 1892.
- , Boston, 2 Decatur Street, St. Stephen's House, 1897.
- , Boston, 147 Ruggles Street, Ruggles Street Neighborhood House.
- , Cambridge, 71 Cherry Street, Margaret Fuller House.
- , Cambridge, 744 Massachusetts Avenue, Prospect Union.
- , Cambridge, Moon Street, Neighborhood House.
- , Malden, 179 Harvard Street, Stephen Durkee Archer Helping Hand House, 1904.
- , Springfield, Ferry Street Settlement.
- Michigan, Detroit, 701 Superior Street, East Side Settlement.
- , Detroit, 519 Franklin Street, Franklin Street Settlement.
- , Detroit, 153 Grand Avenue, Westminster Guild House.
- , Grand Rapids, 425 Ottawa Street, Bissell House.
- Minnesota, South Minneapolis, 320 Sixteenth Avenue, South Pillsbury House.
- , Minneapolis, 1616 Washington Avenue, N. Unity House.
- , St. Paul, 379-381 Eighth Street, The Commons.
- , St. Paul, 153 Robertson Street, The Neighborhood House.
- Missouri, Kansas City, 1901 McGee Street, Franklin Institute and Social Settlement.
- , St. Louis, 1227 North Broadway, Neighborhood House.
- , St. Louis, 803 Hickory Street, Kingdom House.
- , St. Louis, Sixth and Rutger Streets, St. Stephen's House.
- , St. Louis, Third and Victor Streets, Victor Street Mission.
- , St. Louis, 1101 Locust Street, Welfare Association.
- Nebraska, Lincoln, 200 South Twentieth Street, College Settlement, 1896.
- New Hampshire, Danbury, Church Settlement Association, C. C. Thurber.
- New Jersey, Englewood, 32 Dean Street, Civic League.
- , Jersey City, 174 Grand Street, Whittier House, 1898.
- , Newark, 555 Market Street, Newark Neighborhood House.
- , Newark, 211 Mount Prospect Avenue, Sophia Ricord Neighborhood House.
- , Newark, 108 Montgomery Street, The Jewish Sisterhood.
- , Orange, 24 Valley Street.
- , Orange, 35 Tompkins Street, Orange Valley Social Settlement, 1896.
- , Summit, 511 Morris Avenue, Neighborhood House, 1904.
- New York, Albany, 288 Central Avenue, A. C. A. Settlement.
- , Brooklyn, Friendly House, 49 Warren Street.
- , Brooklyn, 52 Sands Street, Asacog House.
- , Brooklyn, 122 Pierrepont Street, Holy Trinity Guild House.
- , Brooklyn, 85 Java Street, Greenpoint Settlement, 1895.
- , Brooklyn, 29 Front Street, Italian Settlement, 1901.
- , Brooklyn, 49 Warren Street, Holy Trinity Guild House.
- , Brooklyn, 146 Union Street, Little Italy Neighborhood House.
- , Brooklyn, Jane Adams House, 109 South Third Street.
- , Brooklyn, 245 Concord Street, Maxwell House, 1890.
- , Brooklyn, 148 Jackson Street, School Settlement Association, 1901.
- , Brooklyn, 95 Lawrence Street, Willoughby House, 1900.
- , Buffalo, 79 Goodell Street, Neighborhood House.
- , Buffalo, 150 Erie Street, Remington Gospel Settlement 1898.
- , Buffalo, 282 Babcock Street, Watson House, Trinity Church Settlement.
- , Buffalo, 456 Jefferson Street, Zion House.
- , Buffalo, 404 Seneca Street, Welcome Hall, 1894.
- , Buffalo, 424 Adams Street, Westminster House, 1894.
- , New York City, 283 Rivington Street, Alfred Corning Clark Neighborhood House, 1899.
- , —, 312 West Fifty-fourth Street, Amity Church Settlement, 1896.
- , —, 161 Avenue A, Boys' Club, 1899.
- , —, 147 Avenue B, Christodora House, 1897.
- , —, 129 Chrystie, Chrystie Street House.
- , —, 95 Rivington Street, College Settlement, 1899.
- , —, 300 Madison Street, Down-Town Ethical Society.
- , —, 540 East Seventy-sixth Street, East Side House Settlement, 1891.
- , —, 321 East 116th Street, East Side House of the Harlem Young Women's Christian Association.
- , —, 197 East Broadway, The Educational Alliance.
- , —, 130 Stanton Street, Epiphany Chapel, 1892.
- , —, 216 East 128th Street, Frank Bottomo Memorial, 1900.
- , —, 353 West Seventeenth Street, Gordon House, 1901.
- , —, 211 Clinton Street, Gospel Settlement, 1897.
- , —, 414 East Fourteenth Street, Grace Church Settlement, 1895.
- , —, 26 Jones Street, Greenwich House, 1902.
- , —, 15 Hamilton Street, Hamilton House.
- , —, 413 West Forty-sixth Street, Hartley House, 1897.
- , —, 265 Henry Street, Henry Street Settlement, 1893.

- New York, New York City, 48-50 Henry Street, Jacob A. Riis Neighborhood Settlement, 1890.
 —, 252 West Twenty-sixth Street, Hudson Guild.
 —, 432 Third Avenue, Madison Square Church House, 1886.
 —, 55 East Third Street, Music School Settlement.
 —, 446 East Seventy-second Street, Normal College Alumnae House, 1894.
 —, 28 Macdougall Street, Richmond Hill House, 1903.
 —, 259 West Sixty-ninth Street, Riverside Association, 1892.
 —, 94 Lawrence Street, Speyer School.
 —, 244 Spring Street, Spring Street Church Neighborhood House, 1900.
 —, 257 East Seventy-first Street, St. Rose's Settlement.
 —, 126 White Street, Sunshine Settlement, 1900.
 —, 237 East 104th Street, Union Settlement.
 —, 184 Eldridge Street, University Settlement, 1886.
 —, 501 West Fiftieth Street, West Side Neighborhood House, 1893.
 —, 460 West Forty-fourth Street, Young Women's Christian Association, West Side Settlement.
 —, 92 Cherry Street, Women's Palace.
 —, Rochester, 152 Baden Street, Social Settlement.
 —, Yonkers, 11 Jefferson Street, Prospect House Settlement.
 North Carolina, Asheville, R. F. D. No. 1, Log Cabin Settlement, 1895.
 Ohio, Cincinnati, 415 Clinton Street, The Jewish Settlement.
 —, 308 East Front Street, Union Bethel Settlement, 1901.
 —, 224 West Liberty, University Settlement, 1899.
 —, Cleveland, Mayfield Road, Alta Social Settlement, 1895.
 —, 300 Woodland Avenue, Council Educational Alliance.
 —, 68 St. Clair Avenue, Goodrich Social Settlement, 1897.
 —, 2723 Orange Avenue, Hiram House, 1896.
 —, 1523 East Fifty-fifth Street, The Eleanor B. Rainey Memorial Institute.
 —, Columbus, 468-474 West Goodale Street, First Neighborhood Guild, 1897.
 —, 24 West First Street, Social Settlement.
 —, 511 West Broad Street, West Side Settlement.
 —, Toledo, 3146 Summit Avenue, North Toledo, Social Center.
 Pennsylvania, Allegheny, Petrel Street, Wood's Run Industrial House, 1904.
 —, Philadelphia, 429-435 Christian Street and 502 South Front Street, College Settlement, 1892.
 —, 922 Locust Street, Eighth Ward Settlement, 1894.
 —, 140 Lehigh Avenue, Lighthouse.
 —, 618 Addison Street, Neighborhood House, 1893.
 —, 725 Lombard Street, Starr Center Neighborhood, 1884.
 —, Front and Ellsworth Streets, Southwark Neighborhood House, 1906.
 —, Twenty-sixth and Lombard Streets, University Christian Settlement.
 —, Eighth Street and Snyder Avenue, St. Martha's House, 1901.
 —, 422 Bainbridge Street, Young Women's Union.
 —, Pittsburg, 1835 Center Avenue, Columbian Council School Settlement, 1900.
 —, 3 Fulton Street, Kingsley House, 1893.
 —, 2404 Fifth Avenue, Soho Bath Settlement House.
 Texas, Dallas, 125 Cedar Springs Road, Neighborhood House.
 Virginia, Hampton, 320 Locust Street, King's Daughters Settlement.
 —, Richmond, 108 North Seventh Street, Nurses' Settlement.
 Wisconsin, Milwaukee, 499 Fifth Street, "The Settlement," 1900.
 —, 861 First Avenue, Wisconsin University Settlement.

GREAT BRITAIN

(From the *Reformer's Year Book*, 1907)

- London, Bermondsey Women's Settlement, 149 Lower Road, Rotherhiteh, S. E., 1889.
 —, Bermondsey Settlement, Farncombe Street, S. E., 1891.
 —, British Institute of Social Service, 11 Southampton Row, W. C. (Library, etc.).
 —, Browning Hall, York Street, Walworth, S. E., 1894.
 —, Cambridge House, Camberwell Road, S. E., 1897.
 —, Canning Town Women's Settlement, Barking Road, E., 1892.
 —, Chalfont House, 20 Queen Square, W. C., 1893.
 —, Deptford Fund, 24 Buckingham Palace Road, S. W.
 —, Felstead School Mission, Custom House.
 —, Conville and Caius College Settlement, Harroway Road.
 —, Lady Margaret Hall Settlement, 129 Kennington Road, S. E., 1897.
 —, Mansfield House, Canning Town, E., 1890.
 —, Maurice Hostel, 64-66 Britannia Street, City Road (men).

- London, Maurice Hostel, Women's House, 51-52 Herbert Street, N., 1898.
 —, Morley College, 131 Waterloo Road, S. E.
 —, North London Ladies Settlement, York House, 37 Hartham Road, Holloway, N., 1893.
 —, Oxford House, Snape Street, Bethnal Green, E., 1885.
 —, Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Place, 1897.
 —, Presbyterian Women's Settlement, 56 East India Dock Road, E.
 —, St. Helen's House, The Grove, Stratford, E.
 —, St. Hilda's East, Cheltenham, College Settlement, Old Nicholl Street, Bethnal Green, E., 1889.
 —, St. Margaret's House (branch of Oxford House), 21 Old Ford Road, Bethnal Green, E., 1889.
 —, St. Mildred's House, Millwall, Isle of Dogs, E., 1897.
 —, St. Pancras Ethical Society, 19 Dartmouth Park Hill, N. W.
 —, Talbot House Women's Settlement, 48 Addington Square, Camberwell.
 —, Toynbee Hall, 28 Commercial Street, E., 1885.
 —, United Girls School Settlement, 19 Peckham Road, S. E.
 —, Women Workers' College (Grey Ladies), Dartmouth Row, Blackheath, S. E.
 —, Women's University Settlement, 45 Nelson Square, Blackfriars Road, 1887.
 —, Working Women's College, Fitzroy Square, W.
 Birmingham, Women's Settlement, 318 Summer Lane.
 Bradford, United College Settlement.
 Bristol, Broad Plain House, St. Philip's, 1891.
 Cardiff, University Settlement, Walker Road, E. Moor.
 Chesterfield, The Settlement, Church Lane.
 Darlington, The Ladies' Settlement.
 Edinburgh, New College Settlement, Pleasance, 1905.
 Edinburgh, University Settlement Association, 13 Rutland Street, 1887.
 Dundee, Social Union Settlement, Grey Lodge, Wellington Street.
 Edinburgh, Town and Gown Association, 21 Rutland Street.
 Glasgow, Toynbee House, Cathedral Court, Rotten Row, 1886.
 —, University Students' Settlement, 10 Possil Road, 1889.
 —, Broomielaw Free Church College Mission, 52 Carrick Street, Anderston.
 —, Queen Margaret Settlement, 75 Elliot Street, Anderston.
 Ipswich, Social Settlement, 133-135 Fore Street, 1896.
 Liverpool, Victoria Women's Settlement, 294 Netherfield Road, N.
 Manchester, Lancs. College Settlement, Embden Street, Hulme, 1895.
 —, Art Museum and University Settlement, 200 Every Street, Ancoats, 1895.
 —, Art Museum and University Settlement (Women's House).
 —, Ladies' Church House, 117 Rusholme Road.
 Middlesbrough, Congregational Women's Settlement.
 Stoke-on-Trent, Women's Settlement, Fenton House.

SHACKLETON, DAVID JAMES: English Labor M. P.; born 1863, in Rosendale. Mr. Shackleton is a weaver and active trade-unionist. He was elected to Parliament for the Clitheroe Division of Lancashire in 1902. He is vice-chairman of the Labor Party in the House of Commons, and president of the Northern Counties Weavers' Amalgamation; and member of the Legislative Council of the Textile Factory Workers' Association. He is chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade-Union Congress. Member also of the Blackburn Chamber of Commerce. *Address:* 51, London Terrace, Darwen, Lancashire, England.

SHAFTESBURY, ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, SEVENTH EARL OF: "The Workingman's Friend"; born in London, 1801. Educated at Chiswick, Eton, and Oxford, where he took a first class in classics in 1822. Entered Parliament in 1826, representing Woodstock 1826-30, Dorchester 1830-31, Dorset 1833-46, and Bath 1847-51. He supported the administrations of Liverpool and Canning; commissioner of the India Board of Control (1828), Lord of the Admiralty under Peel. He succeeded his father in the peerage in 1851. Altho a Tory, he was independent. Commenced public labors for reform in 1828 by his speech on the barbarous treatment of lunatics, and was mainly influential as chairman of the Lunacy Commission in securing the bill which has been called "the Magna Charta of the liber-

ties of the insane." By 1833 he became, largely through the influence of Oastler (*q. v.*), the acknowledged parliamentary champion of factory legislation (*q. v.*); costing him political preferment, but earning him the title of "The Workingman's Friend." Worked incessantly in the ten-hours movement. Made numerous personal investigations of factories and factory life; and his revelations caused all England to shudder. The Children's Employment Commissions of 1842-43 were mainly due to him. He secured the passage of the Factory Act of 1844 and the famous Ten-Hour Act of 1847. Evangelical of the Evangelicals, he incurred opprobrium, contempt, and misrepresentation, yet was president of numerous Bible societies and head of the so-called Exeter Hall school of Low Churchmen. He was an active opponent of slavery throughout the world till his death in 1885.

SHAKERS is the name commonly given to a religious community of people in the United States. Their official name is United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing. The name Shakers was applied to their forerunners and successors of the French Prophets, under the ministrations of James and Jane Wardley, Quakers of Bolton, England, because of the shaking of their bodies by the power of God in their seasons for worship.

It was accepted because appropriate to the work God promised to do in the latter day. "In that day, there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel. All men upon the face of the earth shall shake in my presence." (Ezek. 38:20; Joel 3:16.) "I will shake all nations and the desire of all nations shall come." (Hag. 2:6.) Also because the Spirit that inspired the prophets, said the shaking of their bodies was a sign that He was now going to do what He had foretold in His word, and what they were sent before to warn of, to wit: "He is coming to shake terribly the earth—to shake not only earth but heaven also, and to make the hearts of sinners fear and tremble more than the bodies of His messengers do now." (London, 1708. Pamphlet 2,516, New York State Library. See Heb. 12:26.)

The founder of this brotherhood and sisterhood, in whom the Shakers believe that Christ has made his second appearing, was an Englishwoman named Ann Lee, a native of Manchester, to whom, after a labor of twelve days and nights, to know how creation was fallen and how the restoration should take place, Christ appeared in His kingdom and glory, and revealed the depth of man's loss, what it was, and the way of redemption. This was in the summer of 1770, ten years after she had joined the Society of the Wardleys, which had already received the name Shakers.

From this time onward Ann became the acknowledged leader of the society. Her testimony cutting off the carnal union between male and female, demanding pure sex relations, reduced, however, their number from about 300 to 30. Ann said she joined that society about the year 1760, at 23 or 24 years of age. She was a married woman, in the vigor and prime of life, had a robust constitution, and had four children (all of whom died in infancy). In her younger days, even while a child, she had an utter hatred of that nature which leads mankind to works of uncleanness. She made this known to her parents, many times, but having the same nature as

others, and no one to support her innate principle, after she grew up, she declined and became, for a time, a prey to the Destroyer.

She said further:

"God created my soul in innocence, but by sinning against His holy commandments, I was defiled and abominable in His sight. While in that state, God was pleased to call my soul by the Gospel. I was wrought upon by the power of the Holy Spirit, to see and feel the depth of my loss, and by the same power, I was enabled to travel out of it." Concerning her interview with the Lord Jesus, she says: "Then I was made able to hear an open testimony against that sin which is the root of all evil, and I felt the power of God flow in my soul like a fountain of living water. From that day to this, I have taken up a full cross against the doleful works of the flesh."

As the first man was not complete till woman was created and placed in her proper order as his chief helper and coworker, so also with Him that was to come. The Lord from heaven, the life-giving Spirit, was not completely revealed, till the new woman was created on the same spiritual plane, in the likeness of the Eternal Mother, and had traveled to her lot to personate the Bride of the Lamb, and reveal the Mother in Deity, as Jesus personated the Bridegroom and revealed the Father. Less than this destroys semblance between type and antitype. God is Father and Mother—and Christ is Father and Mother in Son and Daughter.

Quakers, French Prophets, and the Wardleys all prophesied of the second coming of Christ to set up his everlasting kingdom, as near at hand, and the destruction of the kingdom of Antichrist, and all the corrupt systems of men—and the fulfilment of ancient prophecy concerning the marriage of the Lamb, and descent of the New Jerusalem. Ann of course became imbued with the same thought, but her first travail was for her own redemption and purification from the nature of evil.

Ann was born Feb. 29, 1736. Her father, John Lee, was a blacksmith, and had eight children. One of these united with her, threw up his commission as an officer in the king's guards, and earned support at blacksmithing. He traveled with her and was a strong support till the end of earth's trials. Ann lived in the house with her father, till she embarked for America. She grew up at work, and without schooling in books. She was patient, industrious, neat, and frugal, and taught her followers to practise the same. An instruction of hers, often repeated by her disciples, was: "Put your hands to work and give your heart to God." She did not profess to teach a new doctrine, i. e., a different one from the teachings of Christ as recorded in the New Testament, but directed her hearers to Him as the true guide and enlightener, and example for all to follow.

Altho violently assaulted a number of times in England, and afterward in America, with apparent intent to kill, and tho her followers were roughly handled in both countries, it was not to escape persecution that she came to America. Persecution had ceased in England nearly two years before she came. It was because the people there were not sufficiently disenthralled to receive her testimony. Ann was directed by revelation to come to America, where she saw the future increase of the work, among a people she was told would be prepared to receive her testimony.

Nine persons, including Abraham Stanley, her husband, embarked on a condemned ship, the *Mariah*, in 1774. When told that the vessel was

condemned, Mother Ann said, "God will not condemn it when we are in it." They landed safely in New York Aug. 6th, after being, as they believed, miraculously saved, and immediately sought employment. Ann remained in New York, a man having employed her husband at blacksmithing. Stanley, however, about a year after, began to oppose her views and deserted her in 1775, and we hear no more of him.

John Hocknell was the only man of wealth among her group of followers. It was his means that enabled them to emigrate, and they now leased a tract of land in the wilderness of Watervliet, seven miles northwest of Albany, N. Y., where they settled in 1776. Here they toiled to clear the land, build houses, and lay in stores for the anticipated increase. In the spring of 1780 the news spread among a people prepared in eastern New York and New England, of a strange people having a strange religion, living in the woods, near Albany. Converts were made.

The first public testimony of the everlasting Gospel, preached in America, was on the well-known dark day of May 19, 1780. In 1781 Ann made a missionary tour through New England and elsewhere. In six years' time nearly 3,000 people embraced the testimony and came to judgment, confessing and righting their wrongs. Mother Ann died in 1784, but her successors, Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright, began, in 1793, to organize the believers into families on a communal basis, after the example of the Primitive Church at Jerusalem, but with increase, giving woman equal place, honors, office, rights and privileges with the man. The work of organizing all the families occupied five or six years, or till 1793.

The earliest census known to the writer is dated 1803. The number of the fraternity at that time was 1,632, in eleven societies—two in Maine, two in New Hampshire, four in Massachusetts, one in Connecticut, and two in New York. In 1805 three missionaries were sent from Mt. Lebanon to the subjects of the Kentucky revival. Later more laborers were sent, both brethren and sisters, perhaps twenty in all, and five new societies were established—two in Ohio, two in Kentucky, and one in Indiana, afterward broken up on account of unhealthy location, the people moving to other societies.

By 1830 believers had increased threefold; two more societies were established in Ohio, and one in New York. In 1806 a family was settled on a tract of land in Osceola County, Florida; a few colonies have since been given up, but there are still fifteen societies or settlements, comprizing twenty-seven family communities, and numbering near 700 people.

Their number when largest, from 1838 to 1845, was about 4,000. From 1837 to 1850 a marvelous spiritual outpouring and visitation of spirits caused a deep and lasting spiritual revival in all the societies. Mother Ann and her collaborators and successors in the ministry and eldership appeared to be the conductors of it fifty-three years after she left the mortal body. They came to awaken the people—to purge out disorder and slackness—to plant faith in the young, of whom there was a large company, and to baptize them with spiritual gifts and power from on high. They did not come to take the lead, but to help the elders, and to reestablish Christian order as it was in the beginning, and prepare for the Gospel to go forth to mankind.

Sept. 21, 1850, one inspired Harriet (Goodwin), in the name of Mother Ann, testified that at that time the power of evil was more bound, and less able to act against the work of God than ever before. That the inhabitants of Zion stood in a more purified and justified state than they did before, and the prevailing feeling was united to keep the Gospel. The declared purpose of the Spirit was in a degree accomplished. Many were baptized with a holy Spirit and became pillars, who but for that work would have remained of the earth, earthy, fulfilling the desires of the natural mind. This was done while many were in the body who received their faith from Mother Ann and her helpers, William, James, and John. She could prove by them, it was her that spoke through the lips of the young who were not born, nor their parents, when Mother Ann passed out of the body. However, a wave of caviling infidelity and disbelief in spiritual gifts followed and swept many from the ranks.

After the close of 1851 those who remained of the first believers passed away very fast, and from that day to this there has been a steady decline in the number forming the visible body.

Elder James Whittaker, her principal preacher, who succeeded her in the ministry, died in 1787, aged 36. He was succeeded by Elder Joseph Meacham, born in Enfield, Conn. He passed on, in 1796, aged 54. All these, and Elder John Hocknell, who passed on in 1799, aged 76, were spirit seers, prophets, and had visions of the heavenly world. After Joseph Meacham, Mother Lucy Wright, who was chosen Leader of the Sisterhood from 1787, guided the people through their great increase till 1821, when she passed on at the age of 61. After that Ebenezer Bishop, Rufus Bishop, Ruth Landon, and Ascenath Clark were the first ministry till 1849. Elder Ebenezer passed on in 1849, Ruth Landon in 1850, and Rufus Bishop in 1852. After some changes, Daniel Bolter and Giles Avery, Betsy Bates, and Eliza Ann Taylor, led the people till 1890. Present leaders are Joseph Holden, Harriet Bullard, and Augusta Stone. They divide their time between Mt. Lebanon, Watervliet, Hancock, and Enfield, Conn., Elder Joseph giving most of his time to Shirley and Hancock.

A. G. HOLLISTER,
Mt. Lebanon, Columbia Co., N. Y.

There are now some fifteen societies, located in New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Ohio, Kentucky, Connecticut, and Maine. Each society is constituted of several families, each family being a community in itself, having its own lands, buildings, and business. In Mt. Lebanon, N. Y., their largest community, there are several families, made up of 150 persons, including thirty-five boys and girls. This has been the home of Elder Frederick W. Evans, the best known of the Shakers. The other societies are made up in about the same ratio as the one at Mt. Lebanon.

The capital of all the communities is mostly in land. Originally the communities invested their surplus income in land; now they are selling it off as fast as they can find purchasers. For many years broom-making, gardening, seed business, medicines, etc., were profitable industries. One of their number says the income of all the communities does not any more than balance the expenditures in taxes, repairs, living, com-

forts, and improvements; but that having good simple food and hygienic clothing, with useful buildings supplied with modern conveniences in heating, lighting, sanitation, and hygiene, they have a heaven upon earth, and are therewith content.

Their society is recruited mostly by young men and girls, but occasionally married persons with their children come "into union." Husbands and wives, when they have come "into union," become as brothers and sisters. The education of the children attached to the society is the work of the sisters. The brothers and sisters take their meals in a common room, eating at six in the morning, at noon, and at six in the afternoon. Their meals are taken in silence, any direction that has to be given being given by a gesture or in a whisper. In their church service music bears a prominent part, the hymns and chants which are used being all of Shaker origin, communicated to believers in dreams and reveries by the spirits with whom they have communion.

REFERENCES: *The Manifesto*, a paper published by the Shakers at East Canterbury, N. H.; *The Concise History of Shakers* (East Canterbury, N. H., 1894); *Precepts of Mother Ann, Christ's Second Appearing*, Shaker documents.

SHAW, ALBERT: Editor *American Review of Reviews*; lecturer and publicist; born in 1857, at Shandon, Iowa. Educated at Grinnell and Iowa Colleges, Iowa (1879), took postgraduate work at Johns Hopkins University, where he studied history and political science, and received the degree of Ph.D. in 1884, LL.D. University of Wisconsin, 1904. For a time he was editorial writer on *The Minneapolis Tribune* (1883-86), and studied in Europe, 1888-89. In 1891, associated with W. T. Stead, he established and has since edited *The American Review of Reviews*. He has lectured in many universities, colleges, and clubs on political topics, and is a member of numerous scientific societies and clubs—literary and political. He is author of "Icaria" (*q. v.*), 1884; "Cooperation in the Northwest" (1888); "Municipal Government in Great Britain" (1895); "Municipal Government in Continental Europe" (1895); "Political Problems of American Development" (1907); "The Outlook for the Average Man" (1907); edited *The National Revenues* (1888), and has written numerous essays on political and economical topics, and on municipal ownership. Address: 13 Astor Place, New York City.

SHAW, GEORGE BERNARD: Author, critic, playwright, Socialist; born in Dublin, 1856. In 1876 he settled in London and wrote four novels, "The Irrational Knot," "Love Among the Artists," "Cashel Byron's Confession," and "An Unsocial Socialist." In 1884 he joined the Fabian Society (*q. v.*), one of its earliest members, and has continued active in its management to the present, editing and contributing to "The Fabian Essays," whilst writing criticisms of painting, music, the drama and literature continuously for the press and lecturing in the evenings on socialism. He has since 1892 written fifteen plays, which have been translated into eighteen languages, and performed with success in most of them. "Mrs. Warren's Profession" is perhaps, the best known instance of his method of substituting the collective guilt of society for individual delinquency in motivating his pieces.

That he is serious in his socialism and has put much of it into his plays, those who know him best have no question. His religious and political philosophy is to be found in the prefaces of his plays—notably "Man and Superman" and in such essays as "The Quintessence of Ibsenism" (1891) and "The Perfect Wagnerite" (1898). Address: 10 Adelphi Terrace, W. C., London, England.

SHEARMAN, THOMAS GASKELL: Lawyer and political economist; born in 1834 at Birmingham, England. He came to the United States in 1843, and was admitted to the bar in 1859, but did not practise until 1868, devoting himself meanwhile to writing on law. In 1874 he defended Henry Ward Beecher against Theodore Tilton. He belonged to the Republican Party except during 1884-96, but was all the time a free trader, opposer of indirect taxation, and believer in the single tax. Died 1900. He was author of (books and articles) "Talks on Free Trade" (1881); "Distribution of Wealth" (1887); "Owners of the U. S." (1889); "The Coming Billionaire" (1890); "Crooked Taxation" (1891); "Taxation of Personal Property" (1895).

SHERWELL, ARTHUR: Author; social reformer; born London, England, 1863. For a few years a minister in the Wesleyan Church, for theological reasons he resigned, and has since devoted himself exclusively to the study of social questions. Has traveled extensively and investigated social conditions in various countries. In recent years, collaborating with Mr. Joseph Rowntree, he has devoted much time to a study of the social and legislative aspects of the temperance question. Mr. Sherwell is an advanced social reformer and in full sympathy with the labor movement, but insists that the social problem is not a mere question of poverty or overcrowding or unemployment, but of the development of man. He holds that social progress can only spring from the release and development of latent forces in human nature and that everything that hinders this release and development is necessarily a fundamental problem of politics. Author: "Life in West London"; "Social Settlements and the Labor Movement." Joint author of "The Taxation of the Liquor Trade"; "Public Control of the Liquor Traffic"; "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform," etc. Address: Crossways House, Lower Kingswood, Reigate, England.

SHIBLEY, GEORGE H.: Sociologist; born 1861, Randall, Wis.; studied law in Chicago; admitted to Illinois bar 1887; took special courses at University of Chicago 1893-95; student and writer on monopoly problem, the initiative and referendum; founded Bureau of Economic Research in 1899; and, in 1902, the National Federation for People's Rule. Mr. Shibley believes that the people should seek to terminate "machine rule" by reestablishing a system by which they can vote directly on legislative issues. The people's rule reestablished, they can vote as they choose; as, for example, is being done in Oregon, in Los Angeles, and in other places. Author: "Elements of Law"; "Money Question"; "The Monopoly Question"; "Outline of Social Evolution"; "The University and Social Problems"; "The Trust Problem Solved"; "Guarded Representative Government." Address: Bliss Building, Washington, D. C.

SHIPPING: The following table of the merchant marine of the world is taken from the "Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich," 1906:

House. Mr. Siegfried is one of the prominent social reformers in France. President of the *Musée Social*, and framer of the Law on Cheap Dwellings,

COUNTRIES	Year	SAILING VESSELS		STEAMSHIPS		Total ¹	
		Number	Registered tons	Number	Registered tons	Number	Registered tons
German Empire.....	1905	2,567	578,503	1,657	1,774,072	4,224	2,352,575
Russia.....	1902	2,378	272,511	810	391,607	3,188	664,208
Finland.....	1903	2,305	285,463	322	55,019	2,627	340,482
Sweden.....	1903	1,983	271,852	987	375,999	2,970	647,851
Norway.....	1904	5,756	826,744	1,472	566,930	7,228	1,483,674
Denmark.....	1904	3,456	153,118	592	320,291	4,048	473,409
Great Britain and Ireland.....	1904	10,037	1,785,387	10,336	8,745,674	20,373	10,531,061
Isle of Man and Channel Islands.....	1904	173	17,280	34	6,179	207	23,459
British possessions.....	1904	12,124	926,041	4,351	674,640	16,475	1,601,581
British Empire.....	1904	22,334	2,729,008	14,721	9,426,493	37,055	12,156,101
Holland.....	1903	439	57,826	268	337,470	707	395,296
Belgium.....	1904	4	2,844	65	99,893	69	102,737
France.....	1904	15,057	653,268	1,457	696,059	16,514	1,349,327
Spain.....	1900	549	95,187	502	679,392	1,051	774,579
Italy.....	1902	5,205	570,403	485	448,404	5,690	1,018,807
Austria.....	1904	1,478	28,365	243	262,358	1,721	290,723
Hungary.....	1903	101	5,438	90	86,073	191	91,511
United States.....	1905	15,784	{ brutto 2,715,049 netto	8,897	{ brutto 3,741,494 netto	24,681	{ brutto 6,456,543 netto
Japan ²	1903	3,934	327,150	1,570	662,462	5,504	989,612

¹ The smaller vessels, sail or steam, are not included; but the difference of "small" varies somewhat, e. g., Belgium and Spain do not report vessels under fifty tons, the U. S. omit those under five tons.

² The ships include only those built after European patterns.

SIDGWICK, HENRY: Political economist; born Skipton, Yorkshire, England, 1838; educated at Rugby and at Trinity College, Cambridge. Became a fellow and lecturer of his college in 1859; he resigned the fellowship in 1869 on account of the conditions of religious belief then attached to fellowships; in 1870 was active in establishing academic instruction for women in Cambridge. Appointed professor prelector of moral philosophy at Trinity College in 1875, and Knightsbridge professor of moral philosophy in the University of Cambridge in 1883. He has contributed to periodical literature many articles on philosophical and economical subjects. In his philosophical works he seeks to reconcile lines of thought previously regarded as antagonistic; in ethics to reconcile intuitionism and utilitarianism. In political economy his endeavor was to find the right compromise between, or combination of, the traditional deductive method of English political economy and the views of the men sometimes called Socialists of the Chair, predominant in Germany. Died in 1900. Author: "Methods of Ethics"; the "Principles of Political Economy"; "Outlines of the History of Ethics"; "Elements of Politics."

SIEGFRIED, JULES: Member of the French Chamber of Deputies; born 1837 at Mulhouse, Alsace. Engaged in the cotton business at Mulhouse, then at Bombay and Havre, where he developed a large trade, especially during the American War. During the Franco-German War he entered political life, becoming adjoint to the Mayor of Havre—a position he held from 1871 to 1878. Mayor of Havre from 1878 to 1885, in which office he made a great reputation as an active, energetic administrator and bold reformer. In 1885 appointed deputy to the Lower House, and in the Ribot ministry, 1892, was Minister of Commerce. Elected to the Senate in 1897. In 1902 was again elected to his seat in the Lower

House. Mr. Siegfried is one of the prominent social reformers in France. President of the *Musée Social*, and framer of the Law on Cheap Dwellings, often called the "Siegfried Law." A Republican and a supporter of the policy represented by the Left side of the House of Deputies, and, tho a believer in individual effort, M. Siegfried in social matters has in many cases given his support to the intervention of the State. Author of the book "La Misère," which has been crowned by the French Academy; also of numerous pamphlets on social questions. Address: 226 Boulevard Saint Germain, Paris, France.

SIMONS, ALGIE MARTIN: Socialist; editor; born 1870, North Freedom, Wis. Graduated from University of Wisconsin, 1895, with honors in economics; 1895-9 was engaged in social settlement and associated charity work. Mr. Simons has been for some years editor of the *International Socialist Review*. He is a professed adherent of the principles of international Marxian socialism. Author: "The American Farmer"; "Class Struggles in America"; "The Man Under the Machine"; "Packington," and many pamphlets and minor articles. Address: Gladstone Apartments, Evanston, Ill.

SINCLAIR, UPTON: Socialist; author; born 1878, Baltimore, Md.; educated at College of City of New York and Columbia University. During the years 1905-6 he conducted a personal and thorough investigation into the actual conditions of the packing industry of Chicago and wrote a novel about it, "The Jungle." The book made such a stir that President Roosevelt was moved to institute an investigation into the matter which has resulted in a radical reform in the meat-inspection laws. Mr. Sinclair is a member of the Socialist Party and is in full sympathy with the international revolutionary Socialist movement. Latterly he has founded Helicon Hall (q. v.). Author: "The Industrial Republic"; "The Overman"; "The Jungle"; "The Metropolis." Address: Box 2064, New York City.

SINGER, PAUL: Socialist and manufacturer; born Jan. 16, 1844, in Berlin; in 1858 he was apprenticed to a merchant; in 1869 he and his brother established a factory for women's cloaks. He left the *Fortsschritts Partei* in 1870, and turned Socialist. He has been a member of the Reichstag since 1884 as a Socialist. Since 1887 he has devoted his entire time and means to agitation in behalf of social democracy, and, with Bebel, is one of the chairmen of the central committee of the party. He has also been a member of the municipal board of Berlin since 1884. Address: Lindenstrasse, 44, Berlin, S. W., Germany.

SINGLE TAX, THE: A statement of the fundamental principles of the reform bearing the name of the Single Tax, and prepared for the *Financial Reform Almanack* of England, for the year 1891, by the great apostle of the movement, Henry George, is herewith presented. For a necessarily brief exposition, nothing more comprehensive and authoritative has been written. Speaking for himself and his associates, Mr. George says:

"We propose to abolish all taxes save one single tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of the value of improvements in or on it.

"What we propose is not a tax on real estate, for real estate includes improvements. Nor is it a tax on land, for we would not tax all land, but only land having a value irrespective of its improvements, and would tax that in proportion to that value.

"Our tax involves the imposition of no new tax, since we already tax land values in taxing real estate. To carry it out we have only to abolish all taxes save the tax on real estate and to abolish all of that which now falls on buildings or improvements, leaving only that part of it which now falls on the value of the bare land. This we would increase so as to take as nearly as may be the whole of the economic rent, or what is sometimes styled the 'unearned increment of land values.'

"That the value of land alone would suffice to provide all needed public revenues—municipal, county, and national—there is no doubt. To show briefly why we urge this change, let me treat (1) of its expediency and (2) of its justice.

"(1) It would dispense with a whole army of tax-gatherers and other officials which present taxes require, and place in the treasury a much larger proportion of what is taken from the people, while, by making government simpler and cheaper, it would make it purer. It would get rid of taxes which necessarily promote fraud, perjury, bribery, and corruption;

Expediency which lead men into temptation, and which tax what the nation can least afford to spare—honesty and conscience. Since land lies out of doors and cannot be removed, and its value is the most readily ascertained of all values, the tax to which we would resort can be collected with the minimum of cost and the least strain upon public morals.

"It would enormously increase the production of wealth:

"A. By the removal of the burdens that now weigh upon industry and thrift. If we tax houses, there will be fewer and poorer houses; if we tax machinery, there will be less machinery; if we tax trade, there will be less trade; if we tax capital, there will be less capital; if we tax savings, there will be less savings. All the taxes, there-

fore, that we would abolish are taxes that repress industry and lessen wealth. But if we tax land values, there will be no less land.

"B. On the contrary, the taxation of land values has the effect of making land more easily available by industry, since it makes it more difficult for owners of valuable land, which they themselves do not care to use, to hold it idle for a larger future price. While the abolition of taxes on labor and the products of labor would free the active element of production, the taxing of land values in taxation would free the passive element by destroying speculative land values and preventing the holding out of use of land needed for use. If any one will but look around to-day and see the unused or but half-used land, the idle labor, the unemployed or poorly employed capital, he will get some idea of how enormous would be the production of wealth were all the forces of production free to engage.

"C. The taxation of the processes and products of labor on the one hand, and the insufficient taxation of land values on the other, produces an unjust distribution of wealth which is building up in the hands of a few fortunes more monstrous than the world has ever before seen, while the masses of our people are steadily becoming relatively poorer. These taxes necessarily fall on the poor more heavily than on the rich; by increasing prices, they necessitate larger capital in all businesses, and consequently give an advantage to large capitals; and they give, and in some cases are designed to give, special advantages and monopolies to combinations and trusts. On the other hand, the insufficient taxation of land values enables men to make large fortunes by land speculation and the increase in ground values—fortunes which do not represent any addition by them to the general wealth of the community, but merely the appropriation by some of what the labor of others creates.

"This unjust distribution of wealth develops on the one hand a class idle and wasteful, because they are too rich, and on the other hand a class idle and wasteful, because they are too poor—it deprives men of capital and opportunities which would make them more efficient producers. It thus greatly diminishes production.

"D. The unjust distribution which is giving us the hundredfold millionaire on the one side, and the tramp and the pauper on the other, generates thieves, gamblers, social parasites of all kinds, and requires large expenditure of money and energy in watchmen, policemen, courts, and prisons, and other means of defense and repression. It kindles a greed of gain and a worship of wealth, and produces a bitter struggle for existence which fosters drunkenness, increases insanity, and causes men whose energies ought to be devoted to honest production to spend their time and strength in cheating and grabbing from each other. Besides the moral loss, all this involves an enormous economic loss which the single tax would save.

"E. The taxes we would abolish fall most heavily on the poorer agricultural districts, and thus tend to drive population and wealth from them to the great cities. The tax we would increase would destroy that monopoly of land which is the great cause of that distribution of population which is crowding people too closely together in some places and scattering them too far apart in other places. Families live on top of

one another in cities, because of the enormous speculative prices at which vacant lots are held. In the country they are scattered too far apart for social intercourse and convenience, because, instead of each taking what land he can use, every one who can grabs all he can get, in the hope of profiting by the increase of value, and the next man must pass farther on. Thus we have scores of families living under a single roof, and other families living in dugouts on the prairies afar from neighbors—some living too close to each other for moral, mental, or physical health, and others too far separated for the stimulating and refining influences of society. The waste in health, in mental vigor, and in unnecessary transportation results in great economic losses which the single tax would save.

"(2) Let us turn to the moral side, and consider the question of justice. The right of property does not rest on human laws; they have often ignored and violated it. It rests on natural laws—that is to say, the law of God.

Justice

It is clear and absolute, and every violation of it, whether committed by a man or a nation, is a violation of the command, 'Thou shalt not steal.' The man who catches a fish, grows an apple, raises a calf, builds a house, makes a coat, paints a picture, constructs a machine, has, as to any such thing, an exclusive right of ownership, which carries with it the right to give, to sell, or bequeath that thing. But who made the earth that any man can claim such an ownership of it, or any part of it, or the right to give, sell, or bequeath it? Since the earth was not made by us, but is only the temporary dwelling-place on which one generation of men follows another; since we who find ourselves here are manifestly here with the equal permission of the Creator, it is manifest that no one can have any exclusive right of ownership in land, and that the rights of all men to land must be equal and inalienable. There must be an exclusive right to possession of land for one to reap the products of his labor. But this right of possession must be limited by the equal right of all, and should therefore be conditioned on the payment to the community by the possessor of an equivalent for any special valuable privilege thus accorded him.

"When we tax houses, crops, money, furniture, capital, or wealth in any of its forms, we take from individuals what rightfully belongs to them. We violate the right of property, and in the name of the State commit robbery. But when we tax ground values we take from individuals what does not belong to them, but belongs to the community, and which cannot be left to individuals without the robbery of other individuals.

"Think what the value of land is. It has no reference to the cost of production, as has the value of houses, horses, ships, clothes, or other things produced by labor; for land is not produced by man, it has been created by God. The value of land does not come from the exertion of labor on land, for the value thus produced is a value of improvement. That value that attaches to any piece of land means that that piece of land is more desirable than the land which other citizens may obtain, and that people are more willing to pay a premium for permission to use it. Justice, therefore, requires that this premium or value shall be taken for the benefit of all, in order to secure to all their equal rights.

"Consider the difference between the value of a building and the value of land. The value of a building, like the value of goods, or of anything properly styled wealth, is produced by individual exertion, and therefore properly belongs to the individual; but the value of land only arises with the growth and improvement of the community, and therefore properly belongs to the community. It is not because of what its owners have done, but because of the presence of the whole great population, that land in New York is worth millions an acre. This value, therefore, is the proper fund for defraying the common expenses of the whole population; and it must be taken for public use, under penalty of generating land speculation and monopoly, which will bring about artificial scarcity where the Creator has provided in abundance for all whom his providence has called into existence. It is thus a violation of justice to tax labor, or the things produced by labor, and it is also a violation of justice not to tax land values.

"These are the fundamental reasons for which we urge the single tax, believing it to be the greatest and most fundamental of all reforms. We do not think it will change human nature. That man can never do; but it will bring about conditions in which human nature can develop what is best instead of, as now in so many cases, what is worst. It will permit such an enormous production of wealth as we can now hardly conceive. It will secure an equitable distribution. It will solve the labor problem, and dispel the darkening clouds which are now gathering over the horizon of our civilization. It will make undeserved property an unknown thing. It will check the soul-destroying greed of gain. It will enable men to be at least as honest, as true, as considerate, and as high-minded as they would like to be. It will remove temptations to lying, false swearing, bribery, and lawbreaking. It will open to all, even to the poorest, the comforts and refinements and opportunities of an advancing civilization. It will thus, so we reverently believe, clear the way for the coming of that kingdom of right and justice, and consequently of abundance and peace and happiness, for which the Master told his disciples to pray and work. It is not because it is a promising invention or cunning device that we look for the single tax to do all this; it is because it involves a conforming of the most fundamental adjustments of society to the supreme law of justice, because it involves the basing of the most important of our laws on the principle that we should do to others as we would be done by."

Although the present political and social agitation of the land question, now active and increasing in every nation where representative government exists, dates only from the year 1879, when Henry George, the unknown California printer, published his great work, "Progress and Poverty," the primary principles had been already recognized and enunciated by statesmen and thinkers. First among these were the famous physiocrats, to whom Mr. George dedicates his book on "Protection or Free Trade," as follows: "To the memory of those illustrious Frenchmen of a century ago, Quesnay, Turgot, Mirabeau, Condorcet, Dupont, and their fellows, who in the night of despotism foresaw the glories of the coming day."

Historical Development

These economists were far in advance of Adam Smith, desiring the abolition not only of protective duties but all taxes direct or indirect, except a single tax upon land values. In England the true philosophical statement of "The Right to the Use of the Earth" was first popularly presented by Herbert Spencer, in the famous ninth chapter of his work on "Social Statics," published in 1850. At that time the practical applications of the principles enunciated seemed infinitely remote, and were treated as interesting abstract speculations. Since the publication, however, of "Progress and Poverty," which brought the question of land monopoly into a practical relation with politics, making it "a burning question," Mr. Spencer has taken occasion, in his latest volume of "Justice," to modify and apologize for his early utterances. Nevertheless, the original statement stands and will continue to stand as the most complete ethical expression of the subject yet formulated. For a comprehensive consideration of Herbert Spencer's change of attitude, the reader is referred to "A Perplexed Philosopher," by Henry George (1892).

Others also of less note had discerned and enunciated the principle underlying the single tax, but it remained for the author of "Progress and Poverty," by that work of genius, to compel the world's attention to it. For a succinct and orderly idea of the origin and phenomenal growth of the organized single-tax movement, the reader is referred to the files of *The Standard* of New York, whose publication, beginning Jan. 9, 1887, and ending Aug. 31, 1892, covers the pioneer period. Its continuance was not deemed essential, for the reason that the press of the country could no longer avoid the discussion. In its place several journals in different parts of the country now (1894) devote themselves exclusively to the single-tax propaganda.

The ethical statement of the reform seldom meets with objection. It cannot be denied that justice demands equal access to natural opportunity for all human beings who must live upon this earth. It is indisputable that land is a bounty of the Creator and not the product of man; and that all wealth is derived from land by the application of man's labor. This truth once granted, it follows logically that land must be separated from wealth, altho law and custom have mixed the two, confusing private property with natural opportunity. The distinction is clear and simple. What the individual makes is his. What nature supplies is the birthright of all. Hence, land ceases to be rightfully private property. It is for use, not for ownership. The single tax has the distinction of pointing out how, without disturbing existing titles, or weakening possession, or lessening security, justice may be done impartially. Access to land being a common right, private monopoly is a universal wrong, unless the user pays the community for the privilege. As sites vary in desirability, grading from those which are now useless to the New York lot which recently sold at the rate of \$15,000,000 per acre, the difference is distinguished as rent, a value created by the growth of the community and the demand for special situations. This preferential difference, or economic rent, made by and belonging to the people, is a natural fund ample to sustain necessary government. By every one who uses land paying a proper rental for the privilege—not to the landlord, who now claims it, but to the government, who

dispenses it for the general good—substantial equity is secured.

The objections urged against the single tax are various, beginning with an expression of doubt concerning its beneficent working, and ending with the charge of confiscation. Granting that exact results are beyond human power of prediction, it may be safely affirmed that if the principles of the reform are correct, the result may be left to take care of itself. Every great movement in behalf of human welfare, like the abolition of the corn-laws or the emancipation of the American slave, has been forced to meet the same prophecies of evil, duly proved to be groundless.

As regards "confiscation," to give that name to the action of society in taking the value which it creates and which belongs to it, altho that value has for generations been misappropriated by individuals, is to misuse terms and confuse sacred rights. The single tax aims only to stop the present confiscation. It does not ask indemnity for the past, but security for the future. All it proposes is to take every year that value which society in its collective sense creates during that year, leaving untaxed everything made or produced by the individual.

The advocates of the single tax, while recognizing the justice and propriety of governmental control of certain natural monopolies, such as franchises belonging to all of the people, and now generally bestowed without compensation on private corporations, are by no means Socialists. They would not substitute paternalism for individual freedom. The single tax aims at equality of opportunity and not of possessions. With fair play and an open field, it would trust results. It does not fear competition, but has no faith in the stability of a society where free competition is denied. It repudiates the game where part of the players use loaded dice. It has more faith in the people than in their rulers, and does not think that any combination, whether it calls itself a trust or a government, can manage private affairs half as well as the people can do it themselves. Rather it demands less government and more freedom.

Since the previous matter was prepared, the spread of the single-tax principle over the globe has been marked. New Zealand presents the best practical illustration thus far obtained, altho the small land-value tax and the exemptions from its operation fail to produce results which a thorough application of the single-tax theory would afford. (All unimproved land values not exceeding £500 are exempt; and those not exceeding a value of £1,500 are allowed a deduction of £500.) In 1897, by this exemption, 92,925 landowners, owning an unimproved value of £11,000,810, were untaxed, and 10,113 others, by the second concession, were relieved of taxation on a value of £5,068,000, in violation of the Henry George plan.

Nevertheless, this partial application of land-value taxation has proved distinctly beneficial in the line prophesied. In response to the telegraphed request of Lord Elgin, Colonial Secretary of Great Britain (April 5, 1906), for information available as to the working of taxation on unimproved land, for municipal and State purposes, especially as to "effects on building trade, on rent, on incidence of taxation on

Objections Answered

Progress Since 1896

house property and vacant sites respectively, and on land speculation," P. Heyes (F.S.A.A., Eng., Commissioner of Taxes, New Zealand) summarizes results as follows:

Building Trade.—The effect has certainly been to greatly stimulate the building trade. The object and tendency of this system of taxation is to compel land being put to its best use, so that the greatest amount of income may be derived from it, and rendering it unprofitable to hold land for prospective increment in value. It has been the direct cause of much valuable suburban land being cut up and placed on the market, and thus rendered more easily available for residential purposes, and of the subdivision of large estates in the country, resulting in closer settlement.

The effect on urban and suburban land has been very marked. It has compelled owners of these to build or sell to those who would; it has thus caused a great impetus to the building trade. An owner of land occupied by buildings of little value finding that he has to pay the same rates and taxes as an owner having his land occupied by a valuable block of buildings must see that his interests lay in putting his land to its best use. The rebuilding of this city (Wellington), which for some years past has been rapidly going on, is largely attributable to the taxation and rating on land values, so that the supply of building materials could not at times keep pace with the demand.

Rent.—The tendency of this system of taxation is not to increase rent but, on the contrary, as the tax becomes heavier it tends to bring into beneficial occupation land not put to its best use and so reduces

New Zealand rent, the improvements being entirely free from all rates and taxes. In some cases, where land suitable for building sites is limited, high rents have been maintained notwithstanding the tendency of the system.

Vacant Sites.—The effect has been to cause vacant sites being put to their best use by expenditure on improvements. On vacant sites the rates and taxes are increased and continue to increase as the adjacent sites which have been improved increase in value. It thus becomes unprofitable to continue to hold land unimproved.

Incidence of Taxation.—The taxation on building property, where the improvements exceed the unimproved value, is decreased; where the unimproved value exceeds the improvements the taxation is increased.

Land Speculation.—The tendency is to discourage speculation as the tax partially or wholly discounts the rise in value, but land speculation has not ceased in some districts where the system has been adopted, because:

(1) The tax has not been sufficient to render speculation profitable in the large cities, though it has been a factor to be reckoned with.

(2) The rapid increase in values has caused speculation in spite of the tax.

Land speculation in this colony of late years has chiefly arisen in the purchase of estates which have not presently been put to their best use by the owners, principally consisting of suburban lands, which, after being acquired and improved by subdivision into residential allotments and by roading, result in the extensive building of residences also, in country lands large blocks of land suitable for subdivision into small farms. The effect of this has been rather beneficial than otherwise, because, in addition to the land being put to its best use, it tends to reduce rents and values of residential sites by the large increase of these made available. The form of speculation in land unused and held for a prospective increment is rarely met with in recent years.

(Parliamentary Blue Book Relative to the Working of the Taxation of the Unimproved Value of Land in New Zealand, New South Wales, and South Australia.)

In Australia, South Africa, Russia—where Tolstoy champions the views of Henry George and the peasants are making the land question of first importance—India, Hungary, Denmark, Canada, and the United States the agitation steadily gains. In Great Britain it has reached the practical stage in politics and the taxation of land values is the pronounced program of the present Liberal government and is earnestly urged by the Premier, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. A large majority of the House of Commons in its favor is confidently expected when the question comes up for vote. Already a Scotch bill providing for the separation of land values from improvements and permission to tax land values alone, at a rate not exceeding two shillings (10 per cent) in the pound, has been offered and is waiting its turn for legislative action. In Germany a large number of municipalities and

districts are supported in great part or altogether by revenues derived from lands and utilities publicly owned. Data from fifty-nine districts belonging to fifteen German provinces was obtained in 1892, while others, where the returns from the public lands are said to pay all local rates and taxes, failed to respond.

For illustration, two examples are here given, one rural and one urban. Hagenau (Alsace), a town of about 12,000 inhabitants, obtained £14,256 from its public land. With the addition of the produce of the water system, £1,075, and the gas, £850, sufficient revenue was obtained to make the local rates and taxes practically negligible. Gorlitz (Schlesia) was the most favorable place of all German towns of over 50,000 inhabitants with regard to local rates and taxes. In 1891-92 individual tax came to 8 marks 2 pfennigs; in 1892-93, to 7 mk. 28 pfgs. The details of these and many other places are given by Adolph Damaschke in the August number of *Land and Labor* (London, Eng.). Carried to its ultimate application the system would abolish all taxation, besides enlarging opportunity for labor to employ itself.

A White Paper, giving latest data, issued June 13, 1906, by the German Government, is full of interest. Commenting upon the facts and figures, the *Daily News* (London) of June 14th says: "All the predictions of those who advocate this reform (single tax) are again fulfilled. Before this obvious piece of justice was effected in Germany many owners were paying only a fiftieth of their proper assessment. Since the market-value system was instituted, working-class dwellings have been relieved of from 30 to 40 per cent of their former burdens. Speculation in land has been discouraged, and the supply of land has necessarily become more healthy and useful to builders, tenants, and the community at large."

But more striking than these slow changes of long-fest custom is the revolution of public sentiment regarding Henry George and his theories. He died at the summit of his career, universally honored and lamented. His ideas have become the common coin of economic thinkers, and orthodox professors of political economy no longer wing their shafts of ridicule or denunciation at his principles. Altho the single tax is still often confounded with socialism, it is in reality the extremity of the poles apart. It has no contention with capital or competition, holding both to be natural and beneficent under conditions free from land monopoly. Yet it agrees with the sentiment of Karl Marx, the typical Socialist, that "the expropriation of the mass of the people from the soil forms the basis of the capitalist mode of production"; in other words, the basis of the system under which capital is able to exploit labor. Only free land can make free men.

For a comprehensive discussion of the single tax, touching all points at issue, the reader is referred to the works of Henry George, notably "Progress and Poverty"; "Social Problems"; "Protection or Free Trade"; "The Land Question"; "The Condition of Labor (An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII.)"; and "A Perplexed Philosopher."

W. L. GARRISON.

OBJECTIONS TO THE SINGLE TAX

Objections to the single tax usually come from two opposite standpoints, from conservatives who believe in private property in land,

and from Socialists or other radical thinkers, who consider the single tax an inadequate way of meeting the land problem. The two classes of objections may be briefly summarized as follows:

First, conservatives argue against the single tax as in the first place based on false assumptions in justice. Mr. George bases his argument on the assumption that since, to use his words, "Land values arise from the presence of all . . . the land belongs equally to all." This is, of course, a *non sequitur*. The land does not belong equally to all unless its value is contributed to equally by all, which is notoriously not the case. As Mr. Spahr points out in *The Political Science Quarterly* (vol. vi., No. 4), there are many individuals whose presence on land lowers its value, while there are many more whose presence increases land values very slightly. He instances in America the North American Indians, and the Hungarians and Italians who pour into New York City. It depends on how much land is improved, whether the presence of people gives it value. It is even questionable whether, were it not for improvements, land would have any value. Undoubtedly unimproved lots surrounded by improved lots have often immense value, but remove all improvements and how much value would they have? Therefore it is said to tax land values is as much to tax labor as any other tax, and like any other tax to tax an earned increment. Thus, the foundation in justice of the single tax is overthrown.

Secondly, conservatives argue that the single tax is unjust because it distinguishes between forms of labor. Here is a man who has put all his earnings into land; another has invested his in manufactures. Neither themselves work, yet the single tax would take the whole income of the one and not touch the income of the other.

Thirdly, conservatives argue that the single tax would work ill, because it would weaken at its very vital point the sense of private ownership in the soil, which has been the very keystone of society. (For a discussion of this, see LAND.)

Fourthly, conservatives argue that the single tax would not raise sufficient revenue for the government to enable it to do away with all other taxes, and so the whole theory of the single tax would be upset. Says Mr. Spahr (*idem*):

As regards England, we have fortunately at hand the statistics prepared by Mr. Giffen in his paper before the Statistical Society in Dec., 1889, in which he was not considering the subject of the single tax, and is therefore not open to the charge of special pleading. The value of the farm lands of Great Britain in 1885 was \$8,400,000,000. The value of the houses was \$9,500,000,000. If we assume that 60 per cent of the value of the English houses was the value of the land on which they stood, the total value of all the land in England was but \$14,000,000,000. The taxation of England in 1885 was \$750,000,000, of which not to exceed \$100,000,000 rests upon land. The question then is, Could the land of England support an additional tax of \$650,000,000? The answer is obvious when we remember that Mr. Giffen arrived at the total land value by multiplying rentals by thirty; that is, the average rental of land in England is 33 per cent. Three and one third per cent upon \$14,000,000,000 would be but \$470,000,000. In other words, the single tax in England, even if the entire rentals of the land inclusive of improvements incorporated within the soil were taken, would produce a deficit of \$200,000,000 annually.

In America the aggregate deficit is less clear. Yet here we find that in most of our Eastern states the local taxes alone have for years been much greater than the aggregate increase in the values of the land. For example, in Connecticut during the past fifteen years the assessed value of the land has increased \$36,000,000. The aggregate taxes paid have been more than \$70,000,000. As these taxes have been contributed by the property-owners, the latter have already more than paid for the increment which they have received. The logical application of the single-tax theory would require that

the property-owners receive back the taxes they have advanced, and turn over to the public the increment that has arisen. This would leave the public vastly in debt to the property-owners, instead of the property-owners vastly in debt to the public.

Fifthly, it is argued that the single tax rests on a complete misreading of present facts. Mr. Spahr continues in the above article:

The fundamental mistake of Mr. George and the single-tax advocates is their conception that in the value of the land the community has a vast element of wealth which has somehow come of itself, without the expenditure of labor or capital. A correlative error is their assumption that another amount equally vast may now be created without labor, by adopting their system. Their platform promises that the single tax would make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, doing away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations, and cause such an enormous production of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure, and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

Here it is assumed that if the taxes now levied upon houses and improvements were repealed, there would at once be an immense addition to the national wealth. All the unimproved farm land would at once be brought under cultivation; all the vacant building lots would at once be covered with houses. This were indeed a consummation devoutly to be wished, but this is the most absurd portion of the entire single-tax program. Houses cannot be built except out of new savings, unless capital can be withdrawn from other enterprises. To withdraw capital from other enterprises where it is more remunerative, and put it into the building of houses which will not be needed by the community for years, or into the improving of farms whose cultivation is not yet demanded, would be the most enormous possible waste of our national wealth. There is no vast fund of wealth in the air which can be brought to earth by the touch of Mr. George's magic wand. The amount of wealth which society can produce is limited by the amount of labor and capital which society has at its disposal. Any plan to turn this investment out of its natural channel involves an economic loss. Except in trivial and exceptional cases, there is no wealth which is not the product of labor, and no wealth can be created except as the product of labor.

Lastly, conservatives argue that rent is not the enormous evil it is considered by land reformers, and that what evil it does do will not be removed by the single tax. Of the inability of the single tax to remove the evils of rent for the city poor, Professor Seligman says (single-tax discussion before the American Social Science Association, Sept. 5, 1890):

How is the single tax going to relieve the inhabitants of the slums? They will not go to the suburbs, where there is plenty of land, for the same reasons that they do not go there now. Rent in the suburbs or up-town districts is at the present moment vastly less than in the crowded slums, and yet the slums are crowded. The average workman prefers to be near his work, prefers to enjoy the social opportunities of contact with his fellow workman, evenings as well as daytimes. All careful students of the problem of housing the poor have come to the conclusion that it is in the crowded centers where there is no unoccupied land, and not in the suburbs where rents are low, that the problem must be solved. Now, when we look at the thing from a practical standpoint, how is the tenement-house workman to derive any benefit from the single tax? His rent will be just exactly as high as at present; for his rent is a veritable rack-rent, fixed by the stress of competition. The competition for rooms will be not a whit less when the State becomes the landlord. And how are his wages to be increased? Wages can be increased in only one of three ways—through the increase of capital, through the increased efficiency of the laborer, or through the increased standard of living, which will enable the workman to compel higher wages. But the single tax can accomplish none of these three things. To take away economic rent and to turn it over to the State, will not increase capital one whit, will not decrease the monthly rent of the tenement-house population by one iota. Into what does all this fair dream of economic felicity resolve itself? Into mere mist, into mere nothingness. The tenement-house population, no more than the American farmer, will derive no advantage from the single tax.

The Socialist objections to the single tax are different. They agree absolutely with the single-taxers, that the natural values of the soil should belong to no individual. They favor land

nationalization, and many of them believe that the single tax would be a good way to introduce such a measure, but they do not believe in the taxation of land values as a single tax, nor that by itself the single tax would do much good, nor even that it should be favored as a practical first step toward socialism. They favor only the increasing taxation of land values in connection

Socialist Objections

with other reforms, as is being done in Australia as a part of a Socialist program. They object to the single tax by itself or even as a first step, first, because by itself, or even by itself for a while, it would do little good. As Professor Seligman has shown above, it would not lower rent in the cities, but only transfer rent to the government. It might throw suburban land held for speculation on to the market; but only those could buy this land who had capital with which to improve it. Poor men could not get the land. But rich men could hire labor to improve it, and this would employ labor. Yes, but at what prices? Only by withdrawing capital from other investments and attracting laborers from other cities, which would mean a competition changing rather than raising wages. The attracted laborers, too, would have to live somewhere. They could not buy the land, nor live far from their work, hence they would crowd into the already overcrowded slums, and thus raise rents. Landlords could put up cheap tenement-houses, make profits from them, and still pay all the land values to the government.

A deeper Socialist objection is that the single tax, unaccompanied by socialism, would simply rivet the chains of the workingman. Single-taxers usually claim that if land values were taxed, land would be thrown open to all, all would have opportunity to labor and could secure the full return of their labor; the smart getting much, and the less able less, but each according to his deserts. This is not at all the case. Taxing land values would not throw land open to all, but only to those with capital, for, according to the theory, those offering most for the land would get it, and capitalists could offer most. Men are not equal in ability. Smart men with land would make better use of it than others. They could afford to buy machinery; other men could not. With that advantage they could undersell and eventually drive out the feeble folk, who would have to toil at wage labor as to-day.

The smart men could leave money to their children, and so children, even tho not smart themselves, could live in idleness, while others toiled for them as to-day. The single-taxers' glorification of competition plus a single tax calls for the competition of equals, to be just. In practise it would be the competition of unequals, which means the rule of smartness, shrewdness, and force, which is not just. Some argue that it is just that the strong should get the good of their strength and that the weak should suffer for their weakness. This possibly would be just, if men wholly made themselves, but men do not. They are largely modified by environment. The well-fed son of a capitalist can get land and live in idleness, hiring the sickly son of a sickly workingman to toil for him. Is this just?

Thirdly, Socialists deny any such distinction between land values and other values as the single tax claims. If individuals alone have not produced the land, they also have not alone produced other things. All production as well

as that of land values belongs to all. Says Professor Seligman (idem):

Individual labor, I venture to say, has never by itself produced anything in civilized society. Let us take the workman fashioning a chair. The wood he certainly has not produced. The tools that he uses are the result of the contribution of others. The house in which he works, the clothes he wears, the food he eats (all of which are necessary to the making of a chair in civilized society), are the result of contributions of the community. His safety from robbery and pillage—nay, his very existence—is dependent on the ceaseless cooperation of the society about him. How can it be said, in the face of all this, that his own individual labor wholly creates anything? If it be answered that it pays for his tools, his clothing, his protection, etc., I say, So does the landowner pay for the land he purchases. Nothing, I repeat, is wholly the result of unaided individual labor. No one has a right to say, This belongs completely and absolutely to me, because I alone have produced it. In truth, this is the groundwork of socialism. The Socialists have been far more logical than Henry George. They deny the existence of any difference, save that in degree, between property in land and property in other capital. That is the reason why the English enthusiasts are leaving land nationalization and enrolling themselves under the banners of socialism. That is the reason why, in this country, the growth of Bellamy's nationalism marks the gradual decadence of the single-tax movement. That is the reason why any one who has to do with laboring men throughout the country is now meeting in every center hundreds who were formerly Georgites, but who now have become converted to the newer forms of socialism.

SISMONDI, JEAN CHARLES LÉONARD SIMONDE DE: Historian; economist; born in Geneva, Switzerland, 1773. Educated in his native town, became a clerk in Lyons, but political disturbances drove him into exile and he lived in England and Italy for some years. Settled in Geneva in 1800, and devoted himself to literature, politics, and economics.

Wrote first a treatise, "De la Richesse Commerciale," in which he followed strictly the principles of Adam Smith. Afterward came to regard these principles as insufficient and requiring modification. Contributed articles on political economy to the "Edinburgh Encyclopædia," in which his new views were partially indicated. They were fully developed in his principal economic work, "Nouveaux Principes d'Economie Politique, ou de la Richesse dans ses Rapports avec la Population," and "Études sur les Sciences Sociales." Became, however, best known as a historian with his "Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Âge," his "Histoire des Français," 31 vols., and lesser works. Died in Geneva, 1842.

SLAVERY: Slavery is the first condition in which laborers as a class appear in history. In the hunter period of our human history the conqueror does not enslave his vanquished foe, but slays him at once; in the pastoral period slaves are generally captured only to be sold; but when sedentary life begins, slavery originates. Especially where warlike habits prevail, slaves are procured to provide food for their military masters. Slavery was modified wherever theocratic organizations became established, and only reached its extreme form where the military order dominated the sacerdotal. Slavery was an advance on what went before. It was infinitely better than cannibalism, or the wholesale slaughter of the captives in war. It may be said here that slave was originally a national name; it meant a man of Slavonic race captured and made a bondman by the Germans. Its ultimate derivation is from *slava*, glory.

Wherever slavery has existed, it has meant wrong, injustice, violence, brutality, engendered both in master and slave. Prisoners of war, held

for debt, or self-sold—slaves have had little but cruel treatment until their emancipation by death.

Early Slavery

Hebrew slavery was milder than that of any other nation. The law protected the slave from violence and from permanent bondage. Every slave was to be emancipated at the seventh year. (See JUDAISM.) In Greece we find slavery fully established in the Homeric period. War captives are enslaved, sold, or held at ransom. Sometimes the women only are saved from slaughter. Pirates occasionally kidnaped free persons and sold them for slaves in other regions. Not unfrequently the slave would be of nobler birth than his owner. The men slaves were made to till the ground and tend the cattle, and the women slaves to perform the domestic duties.

It is, however, most interesting and important to study slavery as it appeared later in historic Greece, and especially at Athens. The sources of slavery in Greece were: (1) Birth, the enslavement of slaves' children. This was not a common source, as it was found cheaper to buy a slave than to rear one. (2) Sale of children by their free parents. (3) Through indigence freemen sometimes sold themselves; and at Athens, before Solon, an insolvent debtor became the slave of his creditor. (4) Capture in war. After Thebes was taken by Alexander, 30,000 women and children are said to have been sold. (5) Commerce. There was a systematic slave-trade. The principal slave-markets were Athens, Chios, Cyprus, Samos, and Ephesus. Thrace was the chief source of supply. Servile labor gradually displaced free labor, not only in agriculture but in manufactures and commerce as well. Speculators either directly employed slaves or hired them out for profit. Athenæus gives the number of Athenian slaves as 400,000; Hume, however, says it should be 40,000.

The condition of the slaves at Athens was not as bad as in many other countries. Privileges were allowed them which in Rome would have been termed license. Says Dr. Ingram:

The slave was introduced with certain customary rites into his position in the family; he was in practise, tho not by law, permitted to accumulate a private fund of his own; his marriage was also recognized by custom; tho in general excluded from sacred ceremonies and public sacrifices, slaves were admissible to religious associations of a private kind; there were some popular festivals in which they were allowed to participate; they had even special ones for themselves, both at Athens and in other Greek centers. Their remains were deposited in the family tomb of their master, who sometimes erected monuments in testimony of his affection and regret.

The Athenian law afforded some protection to the slave. He had an action for outrage, like a freeman; and if killed by a stranger was avenged as a citizen. If a master slew a slave, it was atoned for by exile and religious expiation. Even when the slave struck back and killed his master, he had to be handed over to the magistrate for punishment. There were several ways in which a slave might become a freeman: by buying his freedom, by having his name inscribed in the public registers, by sale or donation to certain temples, by proclamation in the theater, law court, or other public place, or by being freely emancipated by his master. The condition of the Helots of Laconia was peculiar. They were owned by the State, which gave their services to individuals. The domestic servants of Sparta were all Helots, who were gener-

ally serfs, living in country villages and cultivating the land of their masters. They had homes, wives, and families; could acquire property, and could not be sold out of the country. They were employed in public works, and also served as light-armed troops in war. They were never trusted by the Spartans, and on one occasion 2,000 Helots, who had distinguished themselves by their courage on the battlefield, were foully massacred.

But it was in Rome that slavery found its most natural and relatively legitimate state—Rome in its later rather than in its earlier days, when the farmer and his slave worked in the field side by side. But the growth of wealth through conquest created a demand for slave-labor, and separated the owners from the necessity to labor. Immense numbers of slaves were sold after every war. Caesar on one occasion in Gaul sold 63,000; and in Epirus 150,000 were sold by Paulus after his victory. By the Jewish war the Romans acquired 97,000 slaves, besides slaughtering thousands in the arena. The Roman writers speak of some masters who possessed 400 slaves, and of one who owned as many as 4,116. Blair fixes the proportion of slaves to freemen as three to one in the Roman world. According to this calculation there would have been in Italy, in the reign of Claudius, 6,944,000 freemen and 20,832,000 slaves. The original Roman law allowed the master the power of life and death over his slaves; he was an absolute and irresponsible despot. The slave could not legally possess property, tho in practise he was often permitted to enjoy and even accumulate chance earnings. Slave marriage was tolerated without being made legal; and thus a slave was not deemed capable of the crime of adultery. By general sanction and custom, however, the marriage relation was strengthened, and the names of husband and wife were commonly used in reference to slaves. For committing any state offense they were punished with death. In law they could not be examined as witnesses, except by torture. An accused slave could not invoke the aid of the tribunes; nor could he accuse his master except on the gravest crimes.

As to their treatment, many Romans favored a certain familiarity and friendliness of intercourse with their bondmen, but not such as to diminish the profit derived from their labor. The wide extent of the rural estates rendered personal knowledge or oversight of the slaves difficult, and by degrees chains came to be used, worn day and night. Even in private houses the porter was chained near the door. The master had his domestic favorites, and sometimes the attachment was one of mutual affection. During the wars slaves showed in noted instances the most noble and devoted fidelity to their owners. The bondmen who were outside the household had, however, the greater freedom of action.

In the mines, where slaves were sent by speculators, men and women worked half naked, in chains, and goaded by the curse and lash of overseers. Cato advised the farm lords to get rid of their old oxen and old slaves, as well as of their sick ones. Sick slaves were commonly exposed on an island in the Tiber. In the arena slaves were exposed to every torture and indignity that the devilish invention of their conquerors could devise. To furnish an hour's amusement to the titled aristocrats and languid idlers of "society," they were torn and mangled into bloody shape-

Classic Period

lessness by wild beasts from Africa, and compelled to stab, hack, strangle, and disembowel each other. No one has fully written, or will ever write, their sufferings. Slaves are not historians, and those whose scanty and unsympathetic chronicles comprize our only information saw little in their system of bondage to deplore. As compared with Greece, Rome provided greater facilities of emancipation. "No Roman slave," says Blair, "needed to despair of becoming both a freeman and a citizen." It was often a pecuniary advantage to the master to liberate his slave; he obtained a payment which enabled him to purchase a substitute, and at the same time gained a client.

But it is not until the second century of the Christian era that we notice a marked change with respect to the institution of slavery, not only in sentiment but in law as well. The victory of moral ideas became apparent. Dio Chrysostom, the adviser of Trajan, is the first Greek writer who has pronounced the principle of slavery to be contrary to the law of nature. When Rome felt that industrial was soon to succeed military activity, it gradually prepared the way for the abolition of slavery by honoring the freedmen, by facilitating manumissions, and by protecting the slave from his master. Diocletian forbade a freeman to sell himself. Man-stealers were punished with death. The insolvent debtor was withdrawn from the power of the creditor. The atrocious mutilation of boys and young men was stopped. Hadrian abolished the underground prisons and took away from the masters the power of life and death. In the reign of Nero magistrates had been instructed to hear the complaint of an ill-treated slave. Marcus Aurelius brought the relations between master and slave more directly under the control of law and public opinion; and while a slave's oath could not be taken, he was allowed to speak.

While the Christian Church did not at once denounce slavery as a social crime; while it recognized the institution, and allowed ecclesiastics to own slaves, it created sentiments favorable to their humane treatment, and planted the seeds from which emancipation finally sprang. (See CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

Gradually the slave came to be regarded as merely a servant tied to the soil, i. e., a serf. (See FEUDALISM.) The early forms of serfdom differed little from mild slavery, but by degrees improved, till at last serfdom itself disappeared. Yet, soon after this, the new system of colonial slavery appears, which was no necessary stage of human development, but a monstrous moral, political, and social aberration, which resulted in nothing but evil. In 1442 the Portuguese began to trade in slaves, fitting out a number of ships, and building forts on the African coast. After the discovery of America, Columbus proposed an exchange of his Carib prisoners for live stock. He urged that by this exchange infidels would be converted, the royal treasury enriched by a duty on Caribs, and the colonists supplied with live stock free of expense. In 1494 he sent home 500 Indian prisoners; but Isabella humanely ordered them to be sent back. The Bishop of Chiapa, to protect the Indians from cruelty, advised the importation of negro slaves into the Spanish colonies, and his advice was unfortunately adopted. Some Genoese merchants bought the right of supplying America with negroes, and thus began that odious commerce be-

tween Africa and America, which increased to such an amazing extent.

Captain John Hawkins was the first Englishman who engaged in the hateful traffic, tho for a long time the English traders supplied only the Spanish settlements with slaves. In 1620 slavery began in Jamestown, Va., among the tobacco planters. It increased rapidly until, in 1790, the State of Virginia alone contained 200,000 negroes. For a long time the British slave-trade was in the hands of exclusive companies, but by an act of the first year of William and Mary it became free and open to all. Between 1680 and 1700 about 140,000 negroes were exported by the African Company, and 160,000 more by private adventurers. The total import, from 1680 to 1786, into all British colonies in America, has been estimated at 2,130,000. Shortly before the War of Independence the British slave-trade reached its utmost extension, the number of slave-ships being at least 192. During the war the trade decreased, but revived at its termination. More than half the trade was at this time in British hands. The demand for slaves by European colonies reduced the tribes of the African seacoast to a pitiable condition. All that was shocking in the barbarism of the savage was multiplied and intensified by the horrors of the traffic. There was the utmost recklessness of human life, and indifference to misery and torture. The mode of capturing slaves killed its thousands; and the middle passage its tens of thousands.

Exclusive of the slaves who died before they sailed from Africa, 12½ per cent were lost during their passage to the West Indies; at Jamaica 4½ per cent died while in the harbors or before the sale, and one third more in the "seasoning." Thus, out of every lot of 100 shipped from Africa, 17 died in about nine weeks, and not more than 50 lived to be effective laborers in the islands. The circumstances of their subsequent life on the plantations were not favorable to the increase of their numbers. In Jamaica there were, in 1690, 40,000; from that year till 1820 there were imported 800,000; yet at the latter date there were only 340,000 in the island.

But when, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the nature of the slave-trade began to be understood, all that was best in Great Britain was shocked at its atrocities.

The honor of taking the first practical action against slavery belongs to the Quakers, and especially to their founder—George Fox.

In 1727 they declared it to be "not a commendable or allowed" practise; in 1761 they excluded from their society all who should be found concerned in it, and issued appeals to their members and the public against the system. In 1783 there was formed among them an association "for the relief and liberation of the negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa." This was the first society established in England for the purpose. The Quakers in America had taken action on the subject still earlier than those in England. (For America, see ABOLITIONISTS.)

In 1787 a committee for the abolition of the slave-trade was formed, with Granville Sharp as president, and after twenty years of persistent labor it met with complete success. On March 25, 1807, a bill was passed which enacted that no vessel should depart for slaves from any port

Modern
Times

within the British dominions after May 1, 1807; and that no slaves should be landed in the colonies after March 1, 1808.

As to France, the abolition of its slave-trade was preceded by stormy struggles and deplorable excesses. The French law was, with regard to the treatment of slaves, humane in its general spirit, but was habitually disregarded by the planters. In 1788 a society was formed in Paris under the presidency of Condorcet, which aimed to suppress slavery itself. The motive and impulse of this movement were not avowedly Christian, as in England; but its cause was rather the enthusiasm for humanity which pervaded France during the revolutionary period. In spite of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" in Aug., 1789, the French system of negro slavery continued. St. Domingo or Hayti was the chief French colony employing slaves. In 1791 there were 480,000 blacks, 24,000 mulattoes, and only 30,000 whites. In August of this year a rebellion of the negroes broke out, marked by brutal excesses on both sides. For years it raged with varying success, until in 1798 the negroes, under Toussaint l'Ouverture, secured entire possession of the government. This African liberator has been called the noblest type ever produced by the negro race. Slavery was abolished, and the whole population began to rise in civilization and comfort. In 1825 the independence of the island was formally recognized by France; and thus the negro race obtained its first independent settlement outside of Africa.

To Denmark belongs the honor of first abolishing the slave-trade, which it did by a royal prohibition on May 16, 1792. In 1794 the United States first forbade American citizens to participate in the foreign trade in slaves; and in 1808 an act came into force which prohibited the importation of slaves. It was provided at the Vienna Congress that the trade should be abolished as soon as possible. As soon as the English slave-trade was stopt, several circumstances combined to greatly increase the traffic and aggravate its evils.

In consequence of the activity of the British cruisers the traders made great efforts to carry as many slaves as possible in every voyage, and practised atrocities to get rid of the slaves when capture was imminent. It was, besides, the interest of the cruisers, who shared the price of the captured slave-ship, rather to allow the slaves to be taken on board than to prevent their being shipped at all. Thrice as great a number of negroes as before, it was said, was exported from Africa, and two thirds of these were murdered on the high seas. It was found also that the abolition of the British slave-trade did not lead to an improved treatment of the negroes in the West Indies. The slaves were overworked now that fresh supplies were stopt, and their numbers rapidly decreased.

It became increasingly evident that the evil could be prevented only by total prohibition of the whole traffic. The conscience of the nations began to awaken; and the lawfulness of slavery became a matter of discussion. Buxton, in response to an appeal from Wilberforce, moved, in 1823, that the House should consider the state of slavery in British colonies. His project was one of gradual abolition, by introducing a kind of serfdom, and freeing the children of the slaves. Altho the struggle was continued by many noble

and able men, it made little progress until 1828, when free negroes were placed on a footing of legal equality with the whites. Two years later the British public aroused itself at last; and in 1833 Earl Grey carried a motion through the House for complete abolition. This received the royal assent Aug. 28th. A sum of \$100,000,000 was voted as compensation to the planters; and a system of apprenticeship for seven years established as a transitional preparation for liberty. All children under six years of age were to be at once free, and provision made for their instruction. Immediate liberation was carried out in Antigua, and public tranquillity was never so unbroken as during the following year. This led to the shortening of the transition period in the other colonies, and gave freedom to all the slaves in Aug., 1838.

The other European states one by one followed this example; France in 1848, and the Dutch in 1863. After this last date there still remained three countries in which the slave system was undisturbed—Brazil, Cuba, and the U. S. The fathers of the American states were by no means defenders of slavery. Washington provided in his will for the emancipation of his slaves, and said to Jefferson that it was among his first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in his country might be abolished by law. John Adams declared his abhorrence of the system; while Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, and Patrick Henry reprobated the principle of it. Jefferson declared that in the presence of the institution he trembled for his country, when he remembered that God was just. In the Constitution, which was drawn up at Philadelphia, 1787, the sentiments of the framers were against slavery; but through the insistence of Georgia and South Carolina, it was recognized. The words "slave" and "slavery," tho, were excluded from the Constitution, because, as Madison explained, they did not choose to admit the right of property in man, in direct terms. Soon after the union was formed the Northern states, beginning with Vermont, either abolished slavery or adopted measures that led to abolition; but this simply transferred the slaves to the markets of the South. Step by step the slave power for a long time increased in influence.

The acquisition of Louisiana—including the state so named, Arkansas, Missouri, and Kansas—(1803), tho not made in its interest; the Missouri compromise (1820), the annexation of Texas (1845), the Fugitive Slave Law (1850), the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854), the Dred Scott decision (1856), the attempts to acquire Cuba (1854) and to reopen the foreign slave-trade (1859-60), were the principal steps—only some of them successful—in its career of aggression. They roused a determined spirit of opposition, founded on deep-seated convictions. The pioneer of the more recent abolitionist movement was Benjamin Lundy. He was followed by William Lloyd Garrison, Elijah P. Lovejoy, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, John Brown, all of whom were in their several ways leading apostles or promoters of the cause. The best intellect of America outside the region of practical politics has been on the antislavery side. William E. Channing, R. W. Emerson, the poets Bryant, Longfellow, preeminently Whittier, and more recently Whitman, have spoken on this theme with no uncertain sound. The South, and its partizans in the North, made desperate efforts to prevent the free expression of opinion respecting the institution, and even the Christian churches in the slave states used their influence

Abolition

in favor of the maintenance of slavery. But in spite of every such effort opinion steadily grew. (See ABOLITIONISTS.)

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe (*q. v.*), in her "Uncle Tom's Cabin," deeply stirred the public sentiment of the North against slavery. Finally, it became evident that the question could not be settled without an armed conflict. When Abraham Lincoln was made president in Nov., 1860, this was the signal for the rising of the South. While the North took up arms at first simply to maintain the union, it was soon recognized that the real issue of the conflict was the life or death of the slave system. In 1862 the slave system of the territories was abolished by Congress; three years later the war closed; and on Jan. 1, 1863, Lincoln issued his proclamation of freedom. A constitutional amendment was passed in 1865 abolishing and forever prohibiting slavery throughout the U. S.

In Brazil there were, in 1835, 2,100,000 slaves. In 1880 Joachim Nabuco, the leader of the anti-slavery movement, introduced a bill for the more rapid liberation of slaves, and for the final extinction of slavery in Brazil by Jan. 1, 1890. This plan was carried into effect.

In Russia the original rural population consisted of slaves, free agricultural laborers, and peasants proper. Czar Paul (1796-1801) commanded that serfs should work for their masters only three days a week; but no decisive measures were taken until the reign of Alexander II. (1858). That emperor set a plan in motion which resulted in the abolition of serfdom in March, 1861. (See RUSSIA.)

Slavery, as it exists in the Mohammedan East, is not of the field, but of the household. Slaves are treated as members of the family, with tenderness and affection. The Koran teaches kindness and sympathy, and encourages manumissions. But, standing behind this comparatively mild and humane bondage, is the slave-trade with all its cruelties. Turkey has frequently declared slavery to be illegal, but has been too lax and nerveless to enforce its declarations.

Modern Times

The principal centers from which slaves are now furnished to Egypt, Persia, Turkey, and Arabia are three in number: (1) The Sudan, south of the Great Desert, seems to be yet a vast hunting-ground; 10,000 annually are marched to Fezzan, enduring unimaginable sufferings. The desert highways are white with their bones. The total number of slaves in Morocco is about 50,000. (2) The basin of the Nile, extending toward the great lakes. Sir Samuel Baker and Colonel Gordon checked the traffic here for a while, but since the Sudan revolt slave-capturing has flourished almost unmolested. (3) The Portuguese possessions on the East African coast. The Portuguese appear to be the most determined upholders of the system, and are intensely hated by the natives. In 1880 it was estimated that about 3,000 slaves were exported annually from this region.

Both Clarkson and Buxton realized that the only effectual preventive of slavery would be the establishment in Africa of legitimate commerce. It was hoped that Sierra Leone and Liberia would serve this purpose; but they have not been successes in that line. In Sept., 1876, King Leopold of Belgium called a conference of geographers to consider the question of the ex-

ploration and civilization of Africa by means of commerce, and the abolition of the slave-trade. An International African Association was formed, six European nations being represented. Various expeditions have been made through the inland districts, the most notable being that of Stanley along the Kongo. The Kongo Free State was formed. In 1884 an international conference held at Berlin declared that "these regions shall not be used as markets or routes of transit for the trade in slaves, no matter of what race; we bind ourselves to put an end to this trade and punish those engaged in it." The population of the Kongo Free State is estimated at 42,608,000.

At first the new enterprise was conducted along humane and benevolent lines; but about 1903 several investigators reported that the most atrocious cruelties were being practised upon the natives. A strong indictment of the Belgian Government was made. The King of Belgium has denied that these cruelties exist, but no evidence has been given which offsets that of the investigators. The mutilation of the Kongo natives is at present one of the scandals of the world, for which no excuse can be made. (See KONGO QUESTION.)

In 1890 a general act was agreed upon by all parties (including Turkey, Persia, Kongo Free State, and Zanzibar, with the U. S. and all the greater European powers) on the following program:

(1) A civilized protectorate over the administration of the African territories.

(2) The establishment of strong stations by each power in its own territory to repress slave-hunting.

(3, 4, 5) The development of Central Africa by roads, railways, steamboats, with fortified posts and telegraphs.

(6) The organization of expeditions and flying columns to protect them and support repressive action.

(7) The restriction of the importation of modern firearms and ammunition through the slave-trade territory.

On the Indian Ocean and along Madagascar the powers also agreed to put down slave-trading in small vessels.

(See also ABOLITIONISTS; CHRISTIANITY; SOCIAL REFORM.)

H. N. CASSON.

REFERENCE: *A History of Slavery and Serfdom* (1895), by J. K. Ingram, an expansion of his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on which this article is mainly based.

SLIDING SCALE: Wages are said to be on a "sliding scale" when an agreement is made between an employer and employees that the wages shall rise and fall with selling prices in the trade concerned. This form of wage agreement has been considerably favored by some of the older and stronger trade-unions of England and America, particularly in the mining and iron and steel trades. It was long ago adopted by the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (*q. v.*), and has often prevented wage disputes. It has not, however, proved itself perfectly satisfactory, because there is nothing to prevent prices going so low as to carry wages below the living point. Hence the agitation for the "minimum wage" (*q. v.*). (See also ARBITRATION.)

SLUMS: A name loosely given to crowded, squalid quarters, or dirty back streets or alleys, occupied by the poor and wretched, and often by

criminals or semicriminals. There is no clear dividing line, however, between slums and poor tenements. (For statistics, see articles TENEMENTS and OVERCROWDING.) We give here a few representative quotations from informed social students and workers. Referring to what is known in New York City as the "lung block," because of its numerous cases of consumption—a block bounded by Cherry, Catharine, Hamilton, and Market Streets, yet sufficiently near the East River and an open area to have their fresh air—Ernest Poole says, in "A Handbook on the Prevention of Tuberculosis" (1903):

For a month I went through it with health and tenement inspectors, as a settlement visitor one week, as a "fresh-air man" the next. I used this one block as a center, not to prove but to image what has already been proved all through the civilized world, to image the three great evils we must fight in the tenements. These evils are congestion, dissipation, infection.

That the plague spreads with congestion has long been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. It spreads even faster than the crowd pours in. So it is in the block we have taken. It stands in one of the most congested wards of the most crowded city in the world, and this Seventh Ward is steadily, swiftly packing closer. Between 1890 and 1900 the density of its already crowded population increased no less than 65 per cent. Now it holds 478 humans to an acre. The lung block alone holds nearly 4,000, not to mention dogs, cats, parrots, and one weakened old monkey. Of the humans some 400 are babies.

It is a block packed close with huge, grimy tenements; these tenements are honeycombed with rooms; these rooms are homes for people. To squeeze in more homes light and air are slowly shut out. Halls, courts, air-shafts, are all left cramped and deep and sunless.

It is a block of a thousand homes. Through halls, in rooms, on stairways, in courts, in shafts, and out on fire-escapes are sprinkled the 400 babies. At the age of two they are found alone in the street, already imbibing its deep, muddy wisdom. So this muddy street overflows into the home. It is hard for the home to keep wholesome and pure. Things and people—good and bad—have only partitions between them.

In a block so congested the plague spreads swiftly. In the past nine years alone this block has reported 265 cases. From doctors, druggists, and all others who know, I gathered that this is but half the true number.

In a block so congested dissipation comes easy. Foul air, darkness, wretched surroundings—these work on the home by day and by night. Here a thousand homes struggle on, while hundreds yield and sink, and so pollute the others. So come squalid homes and wretched meals. So comes the humorous, shattered old chap who told me, "I ain't never sober but whin I gits out of bed." So come hundreds of others, men and women, young and old; drunk, bestial, vile, forever steadily sinking. "Hard drinking triples susceptibility to consumption." This is seen most of all in the Irish; hence among the Irish the death-rate from the plague is twice that of any other white nationality. The Jews, with their strict habits, their dietary laws, and a certain standard of cleanliness enforced by a rigid religion, show the lowest death-rate of all, tho this is rising as they become tenementized. At present the lung block has only Jews on the Market Street end, and among them we found hardly a case of consumption. The body of the block is packed with Irish and Italians, and a sprinkling of twelve other peoples. All these image best the dissipation, the shattered vitality which eats into savings, starves the home, then gives the plague easy entrance, and makes it a constant danger to all in the family.

Says Dr. Josiah Strong ("The Challenge of the City," 1907), and basing his statements mainly on the reports of the New York State Tenement-House Commission and "The Tenement-House Problem" (R. W. De Forest and L. Veitler, 1903):

According to the report of the New York State Tenement-House Commission 2,372,079 persons, or two thirds of the city's population, were then living in New York's 82,652 tenement-houses. This is a larger population than can be found in any one of thirty-six of our great states.

Every one of these tenement dwellers is living in an environment more or less unfavorable to a normal life. In these tenement-houses have been found 350,000 dark interior rooms. These rooms depend for light and ventilation on connecting outer rooms or on air-shafts. The so-called "air-shaft" is really a well of stagnant, foul air, about 28 inches wide, 50 or 60 feet long, and extending from the ground to the top of the building, often 60 or 70 feet or more. "The tenants often use the air-shaft as a receptacle for garbage and

all sorts of refuse and indescribable filth thrown out of the windows, and this mass of filth is often allowed to remain, rotting at the bottom of the shaft for weeks without being cleaned out." So vile are the resulting odors that many of the fifty or sixty windows opening into the shaft must often be closed and sometimes they are permanently nailed up.

A majority of the hallways are pitch dark, and any one entering from the street must grope his way along the wall as best he can and stumble up the stairs. In these hallways are common sinks and closets, which are sure to become filthy, as no one can see the dirt. Moreover, where there are many to contribute to the dirt, any one disposed to be cleanly soon thinks it is useless to try.

In the ten-foot yard behind the "double-deckers," as we are told by an inspector, "there is a perfect rain of refuse from the windows of the ten or fourteen apartments above," while "many cellars have the floor covered with dirt and rubbish from a small layer upward to 2½ feet, besides sweepings, ashes, and rubbish in heaps."

"They are centers of disease, poverty, vice, and crime. All the conditions which surround childhood, youth, and womanhood in New York's crowded tenement quarters make for unrighteousness. The most terrible of all . . . is the indiscriminate herding of all kinds of people in close contact, the fact that, mingled with the drunken, the dissolute, the improvident, the diseased, dwell the great mass of the respectable working men of the city with their families." There is little wonder that when the Buffalo members of the New York State Commission of 1900 examined into tenement-house conditions in New York after "several days of silent amazement," they exclaimed: "New York should be abolished."

A friend of the writer, a few years ago, went with a city missionary on a midnight tour of exploration, which he thus describes: "A few steps out of Broadway we came to the vilest dens of infamy. In one room, not more than 10 by 12, we came upon eighteen human beings, men and women, black and white American and foreign-born, who there ate, slept, and lived. In that room we found a woman of the highest refinement and culture with a faded dress of a courtesan upon her dishonored body; a former leader in the Salvation Army, a woman of sweet song, half drunk, a snoring, disgusting negro wench; an opium-eating, licentious Italian, etc. Out of that den had been rescued a descendant of one of the most illustrious men this country ever produced; and there had been found a daughter of a Brooklyn clergyman who had no knowledge of her whereabouts."

The evils of modern city life are by no means confined to American cities. (See HOUSING IN GREAT BRITAIN, NEED OF.)

Says Professor Huxley ("Social Diseases and Worse Remedies"):

"Any one who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centers, whether in this or other countries, is aware that, amid a large and increasing body of that population, *la misère* reigns supreme. . . . I have no pretensions to the character of a philanthropist, and I have a special horror of all sorts of sentimental rhetoric; I am merely trying to deal with facts, to some extent within my own knowledge, and further evidenced by abundant testimony, as a naturalist; and I take it to be a mere plain truth that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a vast mass of people whose condition is exactly that described, and from a still greater mass who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it by any lack of demand for their produce. And, with every addition to the population, the multitude already sunk in the pit and the number of the host sliding toward it continually increase."

What Professor Huxley means by *la misère* is apparent when he says (idem): "It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state cannot be obtained; in which men, women, and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to bestiality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest, in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave."

Concerning moral conditions in the tenements, the Rev. J. O. S. Huntington (long resident on the East Side of New York) says:

At all seasons of the year the inhabitants of a tenement-house must meet one another in the entries (sometimes less than 3 feet wide), on the stairs, at the sink (there is but one on each floor); must see into one another's rooms as each person goes in and out; must use the roof, the doorway, the yard in common. But when the summer heats are on, and men

and women crowd together on the top of the house waiting for a breeze to come; when men will sit all night on a seat in the park to escape the closeness of a room where fire has been burning all day (not for cooking, but to heat the irons for the laundry or the tailor's shop); when every window must stand open to let in what little air there is; then it may be seen that privacy in a tenement-house is not much more possible than in an Eastern caravansary or in the steerage of an emigrant vessel. At such a time every loud word spoken reaches the ears of scores of people. From one room come the harsh tones of a husband and wife in the heat of a "family quarrel," oaths and imprecations ringing out on the fetid air; from another window come the shouts and frantic laughter of men and women (God pity them!) trying to drown their misery in liquor from the gin-mill on the corner; while from the roof of a neighboring house come the words of a ribald song flung out shamelessly to all within hearing, whether they choose or not. And, as if this were not debasing enough, in many of these blocks every other house has, on the ground floor, a saloon or rumshop, from which the smell of alcohol issues at all times; where the monotonous click of balls on the pool-table sounds till after midnight, when it gives place to the howls of drunken men turned out on the street; and past the door of which, often open into the entry, every person, every child in the house must pass to and from his room. . . .

But this by no means exhausts the abominations of the system of tenement-house life. There is many a "home" where a boy or girl over fourteen years old would not think of passing an evening unless compelled to do so. Think of coming back after a hard day's work in a shop to find the only sitting-room half filled with wash-tubs, the baby crying, children squabbling on the floor, or perhaps tumbling about on the bed; the walls hung with the soiled clothes and dresses of the family; the whole place reeking with the smell of fat and garlic from the hot stove; the table "set" with coarse, broken china, strewn on a dirty board; a kerosene lamp, without a shade, smoking in the middle; a loaf of bread in the brown paper in which it was wrapped at the bakery, and a coffee-pot of black, bitter coffee. That is the scene which welcomes many a girl or boy, just beginning to realize how differently other people live. Is it strange that they gulp down their sugarless coffee and, at the first chance, slip out into the street beneath?

I am quite aware that much of what I have written will seem overstated. It seems so to me, and yet I know that it is not. Every single fact has been verified and can be verified in thousands of cases. And this is not more than half the truth . . . of the horrors of a state of things where manhood is brutalized, womanhood dishonored, childhood poisoned at its very source.

SMALL, ALBION WOODBURY: Professor of sociology and head of department at the University of Chicago; born 1854 at Buckfield, Me. Educated in public schools and at Colby University, 1876; Newton Theological Seminary, 1879; studied two years at the universities of Berlin and Leipsic; and was appointed professor of history and political economy at Colby University, 1881-88. For one year he was reader in history at Johns Hopkins University, and received the degree of Ph.D., whereupon he was elected president of Colby University, 1889-92. In the latter year he was appointed to his present position by President Harper, and has been editor of *The American Journal of Sociology* since its foundation. Author: "General Sociology," 1905. Address: University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

SMITH, ADAM: Political economist; born in Kirkcaldy, 1723; son of Adam Smith, controller of the customs. Studying in the local school he showed a great fondness for books. In 1737 he went to Glasgow University where he attended the lectures of Dr. Hutcheson; in 1740 he went to Balliol College, Oxford, with a view to taking orders in the English Church. Returning to Kirkcaldy for two years, he went to Edinburgh in 1748 and lectured on belles-lettres under the patronage of Lord Kames. There he won the friendship of David Hume; in 1751 he became professor of logic at Glasgow; in 1752 professor of moral philosophy. His first work as an author were two articles in 1755 in the *Edinburgh Review*. In 1759 appeared his "Theory of Moral Sentiments"; in 1762 he was made doctor of laws; in 1763 he took charge of the young Duke of Buccleuch on his travels.

He spent nearly two years in south France, and in a short time passed in Paris met the brilliant writers there. In 1766 he returned to England, and for ten years lived at Kirkcaldy with his mother, working on his great work, "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," which appeared in 1776. The next two years were spent in London in literary society, but in 1778 he was appointed one of the commissioners of customs in Scotland, and fixt his residence in Edinburgh; in 1787 he was elected lord rector of the University of Glasgow, but his health gradually failing, he died, after a painful illness, in 1790.

SMITH, CHARLES SPRAGUE: Director of The People's Institute, New York City; born Andover, Mass., 1853; graduated Amherst College, 1874; studied in Europe till 1880; 1880-91 professor of modern languages and foreign literature, and was organizer of Modern Language Department in Columbia University. Public lecturer from 1887; in 1896 organized the Comparative Literature Society, and in 1897 founded the People's Institute; member of various civic committees. He believes the time has come for community (municipality, State) to enlarge its control over public-service utilities and all fields of activity where monopoly can establish itself. He is not opposed to socialism—but favors rather the experimental advance toward socialization—without attempting to judge beforehand how far it will be necessary to go in order to safeguard the communal interests. Author of "Barbizon Days"; "Working with the People." Address: 318 East Fifteenth Street, New York City.

SNOWDEN, PHILIP: Member British Parliament of Independent Labor Party for Blackburn; born 1864 at Cowling, Yorkshire. He entered the Inland Revenue Department of the Civil Service in 1886; was maimed for life by a bicycle accident, and had to leave. During his convalescence he took up socialistic literature, and became a vigorous adherent of the Independent Labor Party. He was elected four times to the Cowling Parish Council, also three times on the Keighley Town Council and School Board. In 1898 he became a member of the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labor Party, and chairman of the party in 1900, and has since address meetings all over England. He is a good speaker, and a clear and logical writer. He stood twice for Parliament, and was elected in 1906. Address: 75 Spencer Place, Leeds, England.

SOCIAL CONTRACT: According to J. J. Rousseau (*q. v.*), a State is founded by a "social contract" between its members, whereby they, tho formerly living in a "state of nature" without laws, agree for their mutual good to form themselves into a social body and obey its constituted laws. His theory is a development of the teachings of Hobbes, Locke, and early thinkers, and is therefore best discust in connection with other views. (See articles NATURAL RIGHTS; POLITICAL SCIENCE; ROUSSEAU; STATE.)

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION, THE (English), was founded in London in 1881, under the name of the Democratic Federation, and through the efforts of H. M. Hyndman, Herbert Burrows, Miss Helen Taylor (stepdaughter of

J. S. Mill), and others. In 1884 it became an avowed Socialist body and took its present name. It entered at once upon strenuous agitation, and was prominent in the agitation of 1886, with the so-called Trafalgar Square demonstrations, etc. To-day it has small but energetic branches in all the prominent English cities and centers of trade. William Morris, and a few others at first connected with it, left it, however, in 1885, to form a Socialist League, on the lines of a more communal and less parliamentary conception of socialism. John Burns, Tom Mann, and others also left it because of the policy of the federation in antagonizing all trade-union and political agitation not avowedly connected with and politically supporting Marxist socialism. The federation has thus become the one organization in England standing distinctly for Marxist socialism. Its leading spirit from the first has been H. M. Hyndman. Its organ is *Justice*, long under the editorship of Henry Quelch, and published at 37a Clerkenwell Green, E. C., London. It has of late years nominated many political candidates, but has polled but a small vote, since it stands largely aloof from other labor parties.

It has, however, to-day 194 sections with three in South Africa. It polled, in 1906, 29,810 votes and elected one candidate to Parliament, Will Thorne, in Southwest Ham, London. In 1907 it elected another, Victor Greyson, at a by-election.

In 1905 the Federation ran fifty-six candidates for municipal offices, polled 27,000 votes, and won ten new seats. At twenty-five other local elections since then 9,663 votes were polled and nine seats gained. This brought the total of members of local authorities up to over 100, in addition to ten elected borough auditors. The 1906 elections left matters much as before.

The Twenty-sixth Annual Conference was held at Bradford, eighty-five delegates representing seventy-six branches. The discussion of the question of rejoining the Labor Representation Committee resulted in a resolution, carried by fifty-two to eighteen, that while cordially sympathizing with the Labor Party and its independent action, affiliation was only possible so soon as the committee accepted a definite Socialist program. General secretary, H. W. Lee, 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, W. C.

SOCIAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, THE:

Organized as a result of a social education congress held at Boston, Mass. Its objects are to emphasize the fact that the fundamental purpose of education should be to prepare the child for a useful life of social service as an active and creative member of the social organism.

To enlist every good social agency in the work of educating all boys and girls—physically, mentally, industrially, and morally—to be of the highest use to themselves and to society.

To bring parents, teachers, and other citizens together in an intelligent effort to improve public schooling, and to adapt it to the complex needs of modern life.

To persuade the public to support, financially and morally, the highest and most modern type of school.

To publish the proceedings of the congress, to promote other such assemblies, and to serve as a "clearing-house" for the many agencies now working separately toward the above-named general ends. *Secretary*, Dr. Colin A. Scott, 103 Gainsborough Street, Boston, Mass.

SOCIAL INSTITUTES of considerably varying kinds but of one general character are springing up in all the larger cities, the common aim of which may be said to act as exchanges or clearing-houses for sociological or, more strictly, for social reform information. The more important of these we consider in special articles, but at least name them here. The Musée Social (5 Rue las Cases, Paris) was the first (1889) and began as a permanent continuation of the sociological exhibit of the Paris Exposition. The American Institute of Social Service (231 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York City) was organized under that name in 1902. The Milan *Umanitaria* (9 Via Alessandro Manzoni) which, tho acting as a center of information has also a large endowment for varied actual operations, commenced work about 1903. Rome has also a Social Institute. The Belgian Solvay Institute (1901) is more of a sociological college for special investigation. The International Labor Bureau at Basel (1901) is strictly international, but limited to the field of comparative labor legislation. (For all these, see special articles.) The British Institute of Social Service (11 Southampton Row, London) was organized in 1904, somewhat after the form of the American Institute, and now publishes a valuable monthly, *Social Progress*. A somewhat similar Swedish Central Alliance for Social Work (6 Lastmakaregatan, Stockholm) was begun in 1903. In Denmark a Social Bureau of Information was begun in Copenhagen in 1898. In Holland a Central Bureau for Social Advice (37 Vossiusstraat) was founded at Amsterdam in 1900. Germany has various social institutes of this general nature, a Central Bureau of Social Welfare at Berlin (14 Dessauer Str.), an Institute for Social Welfare at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, with an important branch in Berlin (30 Nollendorf Str.), besides social museums (*q. v.*) at Charlottenburg, Munich, Frankfurt, Bremen, and smaller institutes elsewhere. In Vienna the important Imperial Museum for Handicrafts and Crafts (founded in 1882), and in Moscow the Imperial Russian Technical Society (1897), largely fill this need. Hungary has a small social museum at Budapest (1901). There are the beginnings of such institutes in Japan, Australia, and elsewhere.

SOCIAL PURITY: Perhaps no movement devoted to the betterment and uplift of humanity has advanced more rapidly within recent years than that known as the Social Purity movement. During the past decade especially there has been an unprecedented growth, both in sentiment favorable to the movement and in the number and strength of the organizations promoting the cause for which it stands. European countries have suffered more from impurity and unjust regulation than other civilized peoples, and here the work has reached its greatest activity, with the United States a close follower; while most successful organized efforts are being put forth in South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Mexico, and many of the more largely populated centers of South America and the Orient. The movement everywhere, when wisely guided, has the support of the most influential men and women prominent in reform, philanthropic and religious work, and in the medical and legal professions.

The purpose of this movement may be well un-

derstood and is clearly exprest in words taken from the "Object" of one of the well-known purity associations of the U. S., which are as follows:

The object of this association shall be to promote the cause of purity, by elevating public opinion as regards the nature and claims of morality; advocating a single standard of morals and the better protection and rearing of our young; aiding to foster and build up a more thorough rescue and reform work, and bringing weight and proper influence to bear upon our legislators and those in authority in securing more just laws; the repeal of bad ones, and the strict enforcement of all statutes pertaining to better morals.

It will thus be seen that the real purpose is to promote purity in the life of the individual and in social relations through preventive, educational, reformatory, rescue, law enforcement, legislative, and sanitary lines of effort, and while these divisions may not be advanced as of equal importance by every purity organization, they are recognized by all as the legitimate and necessary lines of activity. Methods differ somewhat, but in general all societies carry on the work by means of periodicals and other printed matter, including books, pamphlets, and tracts; lectures, public meetings, personal workers, conferences, and national and international congresses.

As a result, altho the movement is yet in its pioneer days, a purity literature has been created which will forever fortify against a return to the dense ignorance and prudery which existed on matters of sex and life a few years back. State regulation of vice has been banished from many cities and countries, and has never been permitted to gain a permanent foothold in the U. S. The white slave traffic, whereby girls are trapt and sold into vice, is being so thoroughly investigated and vigorously prosecuted both in Europe and America, that this trade will soon be overthrown. Age of consent laws are being wisely and justly rewritten to protect a girl's virtue until she reaches her majority as completely as they have heretofore defended her property. Necessary information pertaining to venereal infection and the leprous diseases of vice is being disseminated. The single standard of morals is upheld as never before, and shelter extended to the "fallen" girl. Law and order leagues are carrying on a simultaneous crusade in many cities for the purification of morals and enforcement of law against the purveyors of vice. Editors of leading religious and literary journals are giving space to purity truths. But the one result of the purity movement which stands out and above all others, is the decided change in and present high state of public sentiment which makes the work itself possible.

In England and the Continent there are two very strong and representative organizations, with numerous others of national or sectional importance. The International Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice, with an object clearly stated in its name, is the most widely known of these associations. Headquarters are at Geneva where the official organ is published, and committees are established in each of the countries of Europe and in many other lands. This federation and its affiliated, or kindred associations now publish sixteen periodicals, in seven different languages. The British committee, with Mr. Maurice Gregory as secretary, has offices at 17 Tothill Street, Westminster, S. W., London, where they publish *The Shield*.

The International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, Mr. William Alexan-

der Coote, secretary, has headquarters at St. Mary's Chambers, 161a Strand, London, W. C. This bureau has a committee, known as the "National Vigilance Committee," established in each of the European countries and the U. S. *The Vigilance Record*, published in London, is the official organ. Dr. O. Edward Janney, of Baltimore, is the chairman of the committee in the U. S.

Other organizations in Great Britain that should be mentioned are:

The Social Purity Alliance, founded in 1873, which conducts general work. Official organ, *The Pioneer*. Secretary, Mr. Eric Hammond, 18 Tothill Street, Westminster, S. W., London.

The Alliance of Honour, 5 Beresford Road, London, N. Dr. Harry Grattan Guinness, president, is one of the strongest purity associations for young men in the world.

The Boys' Purity Band, B. McCall Barbour, organizer, 37 Chambers Street, Edinburgh, Scotland, is doing a thorough work for boys and publishing an excellent line of literature.

The White Cross societies and Travelers' Aid are also doing an extensive work in Great Britain and other parts of Europe.

In the U. S., while the movement is not so far advanced as in Europe, and possibly not as progressive, there are a number of organizations of importance. It will be sufficient to mention these by name, with the distinguishing work of each, to give a comprehensive review of the movement in this country:

The New England Watch and Ward Society; secretary, J. Frank Chase, Boston, Mass. The oldest purity society in the U. S. Combats obscene literature, gambling, and vice; of late is entering more into a general work.

The New York Society for the Suppression of Vice; secretary, Anthony Comstock, New York City. Efforts devoted principally against obscene literature and degrading instruments of vice.

The American Purity Alliance; secretary, Percy Russell, New York City. Opposes state regulation of vice. Official organ, *The Philanthropist*.

The National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity; president, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, New York City. A general work.

The National Purity Association; president, J. B. Caldwell, Chicago. Purity in marital relations. Official organ, *The Purity Journal*.

The American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis; president, Dr. Prince A. Morrow, New York City. Aim, to limit the spread of diseases which have their origin in the social evil.

The Northwestern Purity Association; secretary, Clara O. Steadwell, La Crosse, Wis. A general work.

The Canadian Purity-Education Association; secretary, Rowena C. D. Hume, Toronto. A general line of purity and educational work.

The International Reform Bureau; superintendent, Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Washington, D. C. Legislative and publicity bureau. Issues regular bulletins and pamphlets.

The National Purity Federation; president, B. S. Steadwell, La Crosse, Wis. A federation of leading purity organizations for the purpose of promoting the purity movement in a national sense, through union of effort and the holding of national and international congresses. Official organ, *The Light*.

These organizations are representative of the movement in America, and with the White Cross and White Shield societies, and the departments for purity and moral education in such well-known organizations as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Young Women's and the Young Men's Christian Associations, the King's Daughters, the National Council of Women, the Congress of Mothers, and the numerous Law and Order societies in our principal cities, constitute the chief agencies for the advancement of social purity.

A branch of the general movement operates under the name of "Rescue Work." Homes for the shelter and redemption of erring and betrayed girls and women, and for the rescue of

female inmates from the houses of shame, are established in all the larger cities of the civilized world. These homes are usually under the management of local societies known as "Rescue Leagues." Great Britain and the Continent lead in the number of these institutions. In the U. S. there are more than two hundred of such homes. Over sixty of these are under the supervision of the National Florence Crittenton Mission, Mr. Charles N. Crittenton, president, Washington, D. C. The Door of Hope homes number also more than sixty, Mrs. E. M. Whittemore, of New York City, being the founder. Nearly every city of importance has its Good Shepherd Home under the management of the sisters of the Catholic Church. Connected with each home there are usually from one to several missionaries or personal workers. As an adjunct to this work, homes are established in all large cities where working girls and women may obtain desirable board and lodging at a reasonable price and where their environment is made as homelike and safe as possible, thus sheltering them from many of the temptations of city life. B. S. STEADWELL.

Rescue Work

SOCIAL SECRETARIES: A social secretary in industrial betterment is the name used for a man or woman added to the staff of a business firm whose duty it is to be the point of contact between the firm and its employees and to promote the interests—moral, physical, and industrial—of the employees.

The first social secretary was employed in 1889 in the United States and met with such success that several firms appointed similar secretaries. Four years later it was possible to hold a conference of social secretaries. In Great Britain Messrs. Rowntree & Co., of York, in 1891 engaged a lady social secretary to look after the interests of the women and girls in their employ, and the result was so satisfactory that they now have four social secretaries.

The first duty of a social secretary is to represent the firm in the engagement of employees, and frequently to represent the employers in the settlement of personal grievances. The main duty, however, is to study the welfare of the employees in every way, to suggest improvements in their conditions, to organize them into clubs, social enterprises, and various forms of improvement. At the same time he or she becomes the link between the employer and the employed, preventing friction and removing difficulties. If the secretary has good tact, common sense, and the welfare of the employees at heart, he or she can be of very great service both to the employees and to the firm. This requires naturally the basing of action not on philanthropy but on what is reasonable. The good of the employees is in the long run the good of the firm, and the good of the firm is equally in the long run the good of the employees. Conspicuous among the American firms employing social secretaries are the Westinghouse Air Brake Company, the H. J. Heinz Company, the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates, the International Harvester Company, the National Cash Register Company, Filene's Store of Boston, the Shepard Company (department store) of Providence, R. I., the Curtis Publishing Company of New York, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the Proximity Cotton Mills of Greensboro, N. C., Hamilton, Carhart & Co. of Detroit, and the Siegel-Cooper Store in New York. On the Continent of Europe less

is done in this line, altho it is being commenced. A social secretary was employed by the Van Marken Works in Holland as early as 1894. Various French firms have such secretaries, altho many firms reach the same results in different ways.

SOCIALISM: See the following articles for different portions of the subject, from different points of view:

"Socialism, Definition of and Arguments for," by W. D. P. Bliss.

"Socialism, History of," by Morris Hillquitt.

"Socialism, International," by William J. Ghent.

"Socialism, Objections to," by Prof. J. E. Le Rossignol.

"Socialist Party, U. S.," by William Mailly.

See also CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; COLLECTIVIST SOCIETY; FABIAN SOCIETY; LABOR PARTY (English); INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY (English); SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION; REVISIONISTS; SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY (U. S.); SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR; COMMUNISM; INTERNATIONAL; NATIONALISM; PUBLIC OWNERSHIP; etc.

I. General Definition

The word socialism (from Latin *socius*, a comrade, an associate) was probably first used in the later agitation of Robert Owen from 1830-40, and first popularized in Reybaud's "Études sur les Réformateurs ou Socialistes Modernes" (1840), to express the general tendency to develop a communal or cooperative organization of society in place of the existing competitive state of society. The word, however, in the evolution of social reform, has come—at least in Germany, England, and the United States—to be limited in general use to that effort for the cooperative organization of society which would work through government (national, State, or local). This is by no means to identify socialism with a mere expansion of the functions of the State. Socialists only believe in a fraternal State. Paternal State socialism all Socialists unanimously oppose, save as paternal governments introduce measures leading toward fraternal cooperation. In Germany, where the government is largely paternal, the phrase State socialism is used for the expansion of its paternal functions, and is strenuously opposed by the Socialists. In the U. S. and England, where the ideal of government is democratic, Socialists usually declare themselves State Socialists. Said a report issued in 1896 by the Fabian Society (*q. v.*):

The socialism advocated by the Fabian Society is State socialism exclusively. The foreign friends of the Fabian Society must interpret this declaration in view of the fact that since England now possesses an elaborate democratic State machinery, graduated from the parish council or vestry up to the central Parliament, and elected under a franchise which enables the working class vote to overwhelm all others, the opposition which exists in the Continental monarchies between the State and the people does not hamper English Socialists.

By the derivation of the word, by its history, by its use by Socialists themselves, socialism is the very opposite of paternalism. Owen, Fourier, Blanc, Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Bebel, Maurice, Hyndman, Morris, Fabians—where is there a governmental paternalist among Socialists of any school? Socialism is in essence economic comradeship. The State is but the means; a co-operative commonwealth is the end.

Definition

Says John Stuart Mill (*Fortnightly Review*, April, 1879):

What is characteristic of socialism is the joint ownership by all the members of the community of the instruments and means of production, which carries with it the consequence that the division of all the produce among the body of owners must be a public act performed according to the rules laid down by the community.

Says Engels ("Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft"):

The first act in which the State really appears as the representative of society as a whole, namely, the seizure of the means of production in the name of society, is at the same time its last independent act as a State. Interference of the state in social relations gradually becomes superfluous in one department after another, and finally of itself ceases (goes to sleep). The place of government over persons is taken by administration of things and the management of productive processes.

Bebel ("Die Frau und Sozialismus," pp. 312-314) argues that, under socialism, ministers, parliaments, armies, police, courts, attorneys, taxation, will all disappear, their place being taken by administrative colleges or boards. That this is the correct and generally accepted conception of socialism, and that there is no ground for the assertion frequently, nevertheless, made, that Socialists themselves are not agreed on the use of the word, can be seen by the following definitions which, tho using different phraseology, are in almost absolute essential agreement.

Says Friedrich Engels (Marx's lifelong friend and the editor of his literary remains), describing socialism in his "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," translated by E. Aveling:

With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and simultaneously the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organization. The struggle for individual existence disappears. . . . The whole sphere of the conditions which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who now for the first time becomes the real conscious lord of nature, because he has now become master of his own social organization. . . . It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.

Says a manifesto of the joint committee of all English Socialist bodies (1893):

Our aim, one and all, is to obtain for the whole community complete ownership and control of the means of transport, the means of manufacture, the mines, and the land. Thus we look to put an end forever to the wage system, to sweep away all distinctions of class, and eventually to establish national and international communism on a sound basis.

Says Paul Lefargue, a typical French Socialist and son-in-law of Karl Marx (in *Le Figaro*):

Socialism is not the system of any reformer whatever; it is the doctrine of those who believe that the existing system is on the eve of a fatal economic evolution which will establish collective ownership in the hands of organizations of workers, in place of the individual ownership of capital.

Says Professor Schäffle, of Austria ("Quintessenz des Sozialismus"):

The alpha and omega of socialism is the transformation of private and competing capitals into a united collective capital.

Says Prof. R. T. Ely, of the U. S. ("Socialism and Social Reform," p. 19):

The results of the analysis of socialism may be brought together in a definition which would read somewhat as follows: Socialism is that contemplated system of industrial society which proposes the abolition of private property in the great material instruments of production, and the substitution thereof of collective property; and advocates the collective management of production, together with the distribution of social income by society, and private property in the larger proportion of this social income.

So, too, agree the dictionaries and encyclopedias. Says the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (article "Socialism," by Thomas Kirkup):

Whereas industry is at the present carried on by private capitalists served by wage-labor, it must be in the future conducted by associated or cooperating workmen jointly owning the means of production. On grounds both of theory and history this must be accepted as the cardinal principle of socialism.

The Standard Dictionary defines socialism as:

A theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor, through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property), and the public collective management of all industries.

Says the Century Dictionary:

Socialism is any theory or system of social organization which would abolish entirely or in great part the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute for it cooperative action; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments and means of production, the joint possession of the members of the community.

Summing up these definitions, socialism may be said to be the collective ownership of the means of production by the community democratically organized and their operation cooperatively for the equitable good of all.

Together, however, with this agreement as to what socialism is, it must be admitted that there is more difference of opinion as to the methods to be used in attaining the end. All Socialists to-day agree in working through the State, and so, both in theory and fact, are wholly differentiated from all forms of anarchism and anarchist communism, from which in the incipency of the Socialist movement they were not wholly differentiated. (See INTERNATIONAL.) But, beyond this general agreement, considerable differences exist. A large majority of the members of the avowed Socialist political parties believe that socialism will and must come by the organized political and economic efforts of the working classes, including among them those who, tho personally belonging to other classes, nevertheless accept this view and so adopt what is called the "class-conscious" basis, which is international and revolutionary, tho it is recognized by all Socialists that this economic revolution must come in more or less evolutionary way. These Socialists being admittedly, at present, at least, the large majority of the organized political Socialist movement, claim that they have the right to determine the use of the word socialism and to refuse to recognize as Socialists any who do not accept this view, which they consider vital and fundamental. For a statement of their views, see article SOCIALISM, INTERNATIONAL, by W. J. Ghent. This school of Socialists is, however, subdivided into two classes: (1) of those who accept the class-conscious position and work for a more or less catastrophic political uprising to establish socialism (at least in large measure), scorning meanwhile almost all ameliorative measures as reactionary, obscuring the real issue, tending to delay the final end and put people on the wrong track; and (2) of those who, accepting also the class-conscious position, nevertheless believe in working from this standpoint for more or less ameliorative measures to be attained in any way. Such Socialists bear different names in different countries, but in Germany are usually called

Revisionists. (See articles REVISIONISTS and BERNSTEIN, their main leader.) In Germany and most countries they are becoming the majority.

The second main school of Socialists do not accept the class-conscious position and usually do not belong to avowed Socialist parties, tho often voting the Socialist ticket, and are therefore not considered true Socialists by the other school. But since they do accept the general Socialist aim and work for it in the way they consider wisest; and since, too, they are a very large number, and perhaps even a majority of those calling themselves Socialists, they believe that they have a perfect right to the name, altho not of the party. This school is frankly and avowedly opportunist, believing in working for Socialism through any party and in any way that at any given time and place will best promote the common end. They form probably the majority of the working classes of Great Britain and the U. S., the majority of the whole population of New Zealand and Australia, a large number of working men in all countries, and also in all countries a very considerable and rapidly growing number of the so-called intellectual and middle classes. To them, as to all Socialists, socialism is an historic, economic, and fundamentally revolutionary change in the constitution of society. They do not limit the movement, however, to any form, nor to the efforts of any one class, tho they recognize that undoubtedly a large and probably at least a quantitatively leading portion of the movement will be played by the working classes. Most of them believe that in almost all countries there should be and will be developed new independent parties, working for socialism, and perhaps under its name, tho not of necessity so, yet on a wider basis than existing Socialist parties. The most advanced actual carrying out of this view is in New Zealand and in some English municipalities. The best known and most influential group advocating this view is the English Fabian Society (*q. v.*), whence it is often called Fabian Socialism. This general school, too, is subdivided into many varieties of view, for which see the opening paragraph of this article. Such Socialists, however, all deny that the particular economic interpretation of history adopted by Karl Marx, identified with his name, and developed by his followers, is the only scientific view. While they accept much of the Marxist view, they deny emphatically that that view is correctly called "Scientific Socialism." Only gradually, they assert, and by incorporating many views and various elements, are we slowly and partially working out a scientific interpretation of history and of social phenomena.

It belongs also to this view, and is, indeed, admitted by Socialists of the orthodox type, that while the aims of socialism and even general methods may be one, details must differ in different countries. There is no Socialist system

for society, because socialism is not a system, but an evolution, a tendency, a principle. It is as flexible in its form as it is definite in the principle.

Any system that would carry out its principle is socialistic. In Germany to-day its chief aim is national development. In France it makes less of the nation and more of the commune. In Belgium it comes very near to cooperation, and yet is socialism not cooperation. In England it is municipal, and in a growing degree

parliamentary. In the U. S. it will probably follow our political divisions of states, counties, municipalities, townships, and the nation. Socialism, therefore, is not Fourierism, nor Marxism, nor Bellamyism. Says Sidney Webb: "It seems almost impossible to bring people to understand that the abstract word socialism denotes, like radicalism, not an elaborate plan of society, but a principle of social action."

All Socialists, too, are agreed that many elements often identified in the popular mind with socialism have no necessary connections with it. A report of the Fabian Society says:

The object of the Fabian Society is to persuade the English people to make their political constitution thoroughly democratic and so to socialize their industries as to make the livelihood of the people entirely independent of private capitalism.

The Fabian Society endeavors to pursue its Socialist and democratic objects with complete singleness of aim. For example:

It has no distinctive opinions on the marriage question, religion, art, abstract economics, historic evolution, currency, or any other subject than its own special business of practical democracy and socialism.

Professor Schäffle, in his "Quintessence of Socialism," shows that some Socialists believe in and practise free love—some individualists also do—but that socialism as a system has no necessary connection with loose family relationships. Many Socialists believe that only socialism can save the family. Nor is there more authority for identifying socialism with anarchy. Theoretically, the two are opposites, and practically they are opposed.

Most modern Socialists oppose communism (*q. v.*), ordinary local cooperation, and the establishment of communistic colonies. Some Socialists believe that under certain conditions local experiments in these directions may be wise as temporary means of education or of economic living, and where cooperation has got an established hold, as in England and Belgium, Socialists are learning the wisdom of working with the co-operators (see COOPERATION), but where local cooperation experiments or colonies are put forth as in themselves a sufficient ideal to work for, or where they are attempted, as they often have been in the U. S., under conditions too weak to compete against the competitive civilization with which they are surrounded, Socialists oppose such efforts as reactionary and unwise. It follows once more from the evolutionary idea that Socialists to-day spend little time in dreaming of the future. To the future the future may be left. Content with a firm grasp on their central aim Socialists are learning more and more to concentrate their efforts on the present political battle, and to leave the details of the future to the decision of circumstances. Says Mr. Kidd, speaking of this policy ("Social Evolution," p. 206):

We have not now to deal with mere abstract and transcendental theories, but with a clearly defined movement in practical politics, appealing to some of the deepest instincts of a large proportion of the voting population, and professing to provide a program likely in the future to stand more on its own merits in opposition to all other programs whatever.

Socialists, however, urge that there is not only an evolution of socialism but an evolution toward socialism. Many Socialists, indeed, believe that this is the most important portion of the development. Such Socialists point to and rejoice in the steady growth of monopolies, trusts, and concentrated wealth on the one hand, coupled, on the other hand, with the steady advance of democratic tendencies among the masses of all coun-

Forms of Socialism

tries. They tell us that the choice lies between private monopoly, which is tyranny, and public monopoly, which is socialism, between the combination of the few and the cooperation of all. They say that the State must own the railroads, or the railroads own the State. Nor is the argument weakened by the fact that, among certain portions of the educated classes, there is a reaction against democracy. This reaction is largely caused by fear of a Socialist democracy, and this rather shows the advance of socialism.

Other Socialists find more evidence of the advance of socialism in the steady expansion of the function of the democratic State. This is admitted by those who most oppose it. Of England Herbert Spencer says:

Evolution "The numerous socialistic changes
Toward made by act of Parliament, joined
Socialism with numerous others presently to be made, will by and by be all merged in State socialism; swallowed in the vast wave which they have little by little raised." Of this advance Mr. Sidney Webb writes in the "Fabian Essays":

Slice after slice has gradually been cut from the profits of capital, and therefore from its selling value, by socially beneficial restrictions on its user's liberty to do as he liked with it. Slice after slice has been cut off the incomes from rent and interest by the gradual shifting of taxation from consumers to persons enjoying incomes above the average of the kingdom. Step by step the political power and political organizations of the country have been used for industrial ends.

Even in the fields still abandoned to private enterprise, its operations are thus every day more closely limited, in order that the anarchic competition of private greed, which at the beginning of the century was set up as the only infallibly beneficent principle of social action, may not utterly destroy the State. All this has been done by "practical" men, ignorant, that is to say, of any scientific sociology; believing socialism to be the most foolish of dreams, and absolutely ignoring, as they thought, all grandiloquent claims for social reconstruction. Such is the irresistible sweep of social tendencies that in their every act they worked to bring about the very socialism they despised.

Evidences of this are in all countries, particularly in Europe and New Zealand. Hundreds of public services formerly carried on by private enterprise are now carried on by government, while very rarely does a service conducted by the State change to private conduct. If evolution means the survival of the fittest, public ownership is rapidly proving itself the coming order. (See MUNICIPALISM; LIGHTING; RAILROADS; etc.) A great change, too, has come over public thought. In the development of avowed socialism there come tidal waves of action and reaction, but the steady advance of general socialistic thought is one of the marked characteristics of the day. The significance and the real socialism of the so-called Socialists of the Chair (*q. v.*) and the confessions of English economists may have been exaggerated by some, but the very reaction shows the extent to which the change has gone. Says Sidney Webb ("Fabian Essays"):

Changes The significance and the
in Thought real socialism of the so-called Socialists of the Chair (*q. v.*) and the confessions of English economists may have been exaggerated by some, but the very reaction shows the extent to which the change has gone. Says Sidney Webb ("Fabian Essays"):

The publication of John Stuart Mill's "Political Economy" in 1848 marks conveniently the boundary of the old individualist economics. Every edition of Mill's book became more and more socialistic. After his death the world learned the personal history, penned by his own hand, of his development from a mere political democrat to a convinced Socialist. The change in tone since then has been such that one competent economist, professedly anti-Socialist, publishes regretfully to the world that all the younger men are now Socialists, as well as many of the older professors. It is, indeed, mainly from these that the world has learned how faulty were the earlier economic generalizations, and, above all, how incomplete as guides for social or political action.

Says Professor de Laveleye:

It was at one time imagined that the means of combating socialism would be found in the teachings of political economy; but, on the contrary, it is precisely this science which has furnished the Socialists of to-day with their most redoubtable weapons. (Introduction to "Socialism of To-day.")

A similar change has come over religious thought. Christian Socialism under some form has appeared in all Christian lands. Says Professor Kirkup, in his article on socialism, in the "Encyclopædia Britannica": "The ethics of socialism are closely akin to the ethics of Christianity, if not identical with them." Says Professor de Laveleye (Introduction to "Socialism of To-day"): "Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of his Master is at heart a Socialist, and every Socialist, whatever may be his hatred against all religion, bears within himself an unconscious Christianity."

At the London Diocesan Conference of May 16, 1906, it was voted, 58 to 13, that the principles of socialism were calculated to promote the general welfare of the community in Church and State.

Professor Schäffle long ago said: "The future belongs to the purified socialism" ("Bau und Leben des Socialen Körpers," vol. ii., p. 120).

II. Arguments for Socialism

1. The fundamental argument for socialism is that it will mean a personal liberty to-day disappearing under the stress of economic competition and the resultant development of private monopolies. A man cannot be said to be free to-day who on penalty of starvation for himself and his family is compelled to work at some manual or machine task, allowing of little creative action, or intellectual interest, and often more strenuously than the slaves of any age, and all for a pittance barely more than will sustain life under modern conditions. Yet such is the present

Socialism
Necessary
to Freedom

economic condition of vast portions of the human race in all civilized countries. (See WAGES; WEALTH.) Nor can those more economically fortunate and successful be said to be free when almost all branches of trade are dominated by the very few. The ownership of shares in trusts many believe to be spreading, but all admit a marked and startling concentration at least of the control of wealth. This condition limits, too, the freedom of the intellectual classes; the journalist employed by a millionaire (it takes a million dollars to establish a great modern daily), the educator engaged by a university of necessity supported by the donations of the wealthy, the clergyman receiving a salary from the well-to-do, can scarcely be said to be economically free. Socialists believe that under any system of competition, even when the natural values of the soil are unmonopolized, economic power *must* go to the shrewd, the able, and often the unscrupulous; that this power will enable them to secure more power, so that eventually, under any system of economic competition, the many will become, as to-day, economic dependents on the few. How much freedom the average individual has under individualism we see in Mill's declaration that "the restraints of communism would be freedom in comparison with the present condition of the majority of the human race." Socialists urge, therefore, that, exactly as government, through law and the police, protects the man physically weak from

aggression at the hands of the physical bully or giant, has so developed, not a perfect but a comparative physical freedom, and made possible a competition higher than physical, so government should protect the economically weak from the hands of economic giants and bullies, should introduce cooperation in place of competition, and so make possible a competition higher than economic. As in Periclean Athens (see ATHENS), socialistic legislation for the free citizens made it possible for them to live without economic competition or stress, it freed the individual to compete in art, beauty, literature, philosophy, and so produced an amount of individuality elsewhere unapproached in the world. In no country in the civilized world is there so little developed socialism as in the U. S., and in no country in the world is there such concentration of economic power and such rule by money over all classes of society. Under socialism, relieved from the necessity of concentrating all energies on getting a living (as is largely necessary to-day in the U. S., even for the well-to-do), a man can be free to think his own thoughts, to live his own life, to do his own deeds, to be free. This is the fundamental claim of socialism.

It is said in answer to this that economic production will thereby be decreased, since it would take away from the worker the spur of self-interest, which is declared to be the main economic spur of the world. The U. S. is adduced as economically the most productive, inventive, and progressive country of the world. It is declared that here wages are the highest, prosperity the most diffused, economic security the greatest, and therefore there is here, in this sense at least, the greatest possible freedom. It is argued that only by our captains of industry being allowed the spur of enormous gains have they developed the great systems of industry which have brought such prosperity to the many. To limit the possible returns of great capitalists, we are told, would be to kill the goose that lays the golden egg for the whole community. In Germany, and to a less extent in Great Britain and other countries where the operations of capitalists are more fettered by legislation, more or less socialistic, we are reminded that there has been no such progressive industrialism and production as in the U. S.

To this it is argued by Socialists that it is true the U. S.—commencing her national life on a new continent, and with unlimited natural resources,

at a time when economic competition was in its first full swing, and giving away for nothing, to the few who could make use of them, vast privileges and franchises which have become, as population grew, of enormous value—has developed an economic production elsewhere unequalled. It is true that this has brought a substantial prosperity to many. It is true also that unwise legislation and the fettering of industrial initiative would undoubtedly lessen such production. But this does not prove that wise legislation and a gradual socialistic organization of society would lessen production. The modern country which undoubtedly has made the most rapid progress in economic production next to the U. S. is Germany, the large country where there has also been the greatest amount of socialistic legislation. Indeed, while the U. S. has doubtless produced the greatest number of millionaires and material product, it is not proven that, considering prices of

both the pleasures and comforts of life, the ordinary workingman has much, if any, more joy of life in the U. S. than in Germany. It must be remembered, too, that the U. S. has had the enormous advantage of a continental domain calling for settlers and for capital to develop transit, etc., for those settlers. Whether the U. S., with these economic advantages, but the development of a strong central government controlling private initiative and operating the public utilities for the good of all, might not have developed a still greater economic production, is at least an open question. For her capitalistic production in any case the U. S. has paid an enormous price, in a government corrupted by gigantic corporations (see CORRUPTION), business demoralized by dealings at which the world stands aghast, adulterations of food, drugs, and materials, from which we are only beginning to be saved by socialistic legislation; purchasers robbed by prices which largely take away the benefit of high wages, charges for public service of transit, light, telegraph, telephone, expressage, the highest in the world, and also in many ways the most reckless of human life and careless of the public good. It is doubtful if the difference between the natural production and the number of millionaires in the U. S. and Germany is worth this frightful cost. In very many important respects Germany is ahead. New Zealand (*q. v.*), again, tho a small country, is making important economic advance under the most socialistic institutions of the world. The country has yet to be found where economic production has been lessened by socialistic legislation.

That the asserted lack of invention and expansion of public conveniences in socialistic countries is not due to their socialism, but to general racial characteristics, is shown, too, by the fact that this lack of progress exists quite as much in realms not at all affected by the socialistic laws, while Public Ownership in these countries has in every case largely produced expansion and improvement. (See PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.)

It is not true that government production is expensive compared with private operations, save in those municipalities and states corrupted by private corporations working through party bosses. (See CORRUPTION.) Public ownership and operation is winning its way around the world on its economic merits. (See PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.)

Nor is it true again that public ownership is less progressive than private. In any given country where both systems have been tried, as in street-railways, lighting, etc., the public-owned services have been proven the most progressive. (See PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.) In the U. S. the post-office has been far more progressive than the private Western Union Telegraph Company. (See POSTAL SERVICE.) Our public schools

are almost universally superior to private schools, our state universities to private universities, except for a very few very highly endowed beneficiaries of vast private wealth. Patents (*q. v.*) are repeatedly bought up by private companies to prevent their being put on the market.

Socialists, too, deny that hope of economic gain is the greatest spur to inventiveness and action.

The greatest inventions of the world have not been made for gain. Socialists do not propose to abolish competition, only to substitute competi-

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Public Ownership More Progressive than Private Monopolies

tion for honor in place of competition for gain. And in so doing they appeal to one of the deepest human motives. Says Mrs. Besant (in the "Fabian Essays"):

The desire to excel, the joy in creative work, the longing to improve, the eagerness to win social approval, the instinct of benevolence—all these will start into full life, and will serve at once as the stimulus to labor and the reward of excellence. It is instructive to notice that these very forces may already be seen at work in every case in which subsistence is secured, and they alone supply the stimulus to action. The soldier's subsistence is certain, and does not depend on his exertions. At once he becomes susceptible to appeals to his patriotism, to his *esprit de corps*, to the honor of his flag; he will dare anything for glory, and value a bit of bronze, which is the "reward of valor," far more than a hundred times its weight in gold. Yet many of the private soldiers come from the worst of the population; and military glory and success in murder are but poor objects to aim at. If so much can be done under circumstances so unpromising, what may we not hope from nobler aspirations? Or take the eagerness, self-denial, and strenuous effort thrown by young men into their mere games! The desire to be captain of the Oxford eleven, stroke of the Cambridge boat, victor in the foot-race or the leaping—in a word, the desire to excel—is strong enough to impel the exertions which often ruin physical health. Everywhere we see the multimiform desires of humanity assert themselves when once livelihood is secure.

The second main argument is that socialism will purify government. To day it is becoming very generally admitted that the main cause and

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source of governmental corruption is the great corporation or monopoly, whose need of franchises and favorable legislation is the corrupt politician's stock in trade, and the chance to sell which, under one form or another, is the one thing which attracts him into politics and makes it worth while for him to organize a ring and control elections. Compare article CORRUPTION, p. 326, where Mr. Steffens is quoted as saying, "Not the politician then, not the bribe-taker, but the bribe-giver, the man we are so proud of, our successful business man—he is the source and sustenance of our bad government. The captain of industry is the man to catch." Socialism would do away with these sources of corruption by taking economic power from the few and giving it to the many. Socialism would interest the good man in government. Says Prof. R. T. Ely (*The Christian Union*, Oct. 9, 1890):

We are reversing the order of nature in planning to reform city government first and then to carry out changes and to make improvements in behalf of the poorer classes. Let any one name a city where this policy has been successfully pursued. I know of none. . . .

When civil-service reformers in New York come before the people with large and generous plans of reform, with a program including adequate school accommodations, strict enforcement of the compulsory education law, better sanitary measures, public ownership and management of gas and electric-light plants, playgrounds for children, public parks in crowded sections, and strict enforcement of laws for the protection of working children, and when leading citizens pledge themselves to these reforms they will arouse an enthusiasm which will sweep the city. . . .

Another fundamental fact is that the program which I propose will, when carried out, arouse municipal pride and self-respect. It will awaken what you may call a self-consciousness. Cities with us do not, as it were, respect themselves. They are like men who have lost their self-respect, while they are despised by private corporations, whose tool they become.

This has been the actual result of public ownership in England and wherever tried. Birmingham, where this phase of the movement largely began, had up to its inception the reputation of being one of the most corrupt boroughs in England. Since that policy has been developed it often has been spoken of as "the best governed city in the world." It is a natural result. When

a city or state does large things for its citizens, the citizens naturally take a healthy and proper interest in it. Complete civic purity is not developed in a day; but no one hears much of gross civic scandals where public ownership is highly developed. Corruption breeds almost solely where the ordinary citizen has little interest in the government and private interests have enormous favors to gain from corrupt councilors or officials.

As for the continually asserted argument that socialism would better liberty by putting all life under the control of a bureaucracy, it is to be said that this is based on an utter misunderstanding of what socialism is. Socialism is everywhere, in practice, constructive and positive, not negative. It says you may have cheap postage, transit, higher wages, better homes. It does not forbid private railroads, but introduces nationalized railroads so much cheaper and better that private roads disappear. This is socialism as it is actually evolving. Its bureaucracy is a myth of its opponents, based on some foolish outgrown Socialist Utopias.

The supreme argument for socialism, however, is that it will produce not only freer but a higher type of men and women. Those who argue that we need economic competition because character is so developed forget that competition develops strength primarily in that field of effort only in which the competition takes place. Character tends to be what men strive for. If men concentrate attention on industrial competition, they tend to develop materialism and shrewdness. This is exactly what we have to-day. Artists complain that commercialism is killing art; religionists say we are growing material; the bourgeois middle class boast of our material prosperity. It is the natural result of industrial competition. Under socialism, if men seek to serve the public it will produce a higher character.

Once competition was mainly physical. With naked hand or rudest club men fought for existence; later, with poisoned arrow and hurtling spear they battled for the best fisheries and the richest hunting-grounds. It produced physical individuality, the physical giant, the Nimrods, the Achilles, the Agamemnons, kings of men. Then came a competition a little more intellectual, producing an Alexander, a Richard Cœur de Lion, finally a Napoleon. Next came the modern world where men battle, not with poisoned spears, but with poisoned groceries; not with clubs and spears, but, like bulls and bears, with cornerings of the market and tricks of stock. It has produced the Jay Gould and the Baron Rothschild. Now comes socialism, and says, Let us cooperate in industry, and compete only to see who shall best serve the public. Is it not easy to see what kind of an individuality it will gradually produce? The development of species by environment is one of the commonplaces of science to-day, as brilliantly shown by Mrs. Gilman (*q. v.*) and proven by most careful scientists.

Germany, where government does so much, has produced the best trained and most effective public servants.

The assertion is often made, nevertheless, that Socialists are materialistic, irreligious, free-lovers, disrespecters of property, etc., etc.

Mr. Lecky's "Democracy and Liberty" argues that the sense of right and wrong is the basis of the respect for property and for the obligation of

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of a Higher
Character**

ORGANIZED SOCIALISM

	Year of election	Socialist votes	SOCIALISTS ELECTED TO—			PERCENTAGE OF—		Socialists elected mayors or to communal or other councils	Socialist journals
			Upper House	Second House	Out of	Second House	Total electorates		
Germany.....	1907	3,258,960	10	43	397	13.1	24.3	2,000	158
France.....	1906	1,120,000	1	375	584	12.0	212.0	2,769	70
Austria.....	1907	1,041,948	0	87	425	20.4	22.6	526	45
Belgium.....	1906	469,094	7	30	166	18.0	28.5	741	56
United States.....	1904	442,402	0	0	386	0	3.2	50	50
Australia.....	1904	5421,270	15	626	75	34.6	34.0	.....	3
Great Britain.....	1906	7342,196	0	845	670	6.7	6.7	845	12
Finland.....	1907	330,000	.....	80	200	40.0	.....	81	19
Italy.....	1904	320,000	0	25	508	4.9	20.0	1,000	92
New Zealand.....	1905	9311,844	.....	60	80	75.0	75.0	.....	.....
Russia.....	1906	2300,000	0	1060	500	12.0	.....	850	.....
Denmark.....	1906	77,000	4	24	114	21.0	221.0	.....	25
Switzerland.....	1905	70,000	0	2	167	1.2	.....	2100	15
Holland.....	1905	65,743	0	7	100	14.2	12.5	.....	14
Norway.....	1906	45,000	0	10	123	8.1	19.0	817	16
Hungary.....	1907	80,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4217	13
Argentina.....	1906	35,000	0	1	120	0.8	.....	25	5
Bulgaria.....	1902	30,000	0	8	201	4.0	.....	.....	2
Sweden.....	1905	26,000	0	15	230	6.5	12.0	13	31
Spain.....	1905	23,000	0	0	406	0	.....	71	7
Chile.....	1906	16,000	0	3	107	2.8	.....	80	22
Rumania.....	.....	118,000	0	0	183	.....	12.4	.....	1
Luxemburg.....	1906	124,000	0	5	15	11.1	.....	.....	.....
Servia.....	1906	3,133	0	1	160	0.6	.....	17	2
Canada.....	1905	182,867	0	0	214	0	.....	.....	1
Total.....	.....	8,803,457	27	607	.....	.....	.....	.....	14646

¹0 means none; means unknown.² Estimated.³ Fifty-five Party Socialists and 20 Independent Socialists, besides 136 Socialist Radicals.⁴ 1904.⁵ The portion of the total electorate corresponding to the proportion of Labor members in the Australian federal House of Representatives. The Australian Labor Party is practically a Socialist Party.⁶ Labor members elected to the federal House of Representatives. In the separate Australian state legislatures there are many more Labor representatives—34 in Queensland alone, 25 in New South Wales, 18 in Victoria.⁷ The portion of the total electorate corresponding to the proportion of the Labor group in the House of Commons.⁸ In the Labor group. Of these, only 2 were elected as strict Party Socialists, representing the Social Democratic Federation; but 7 belong to the Independent Labor Party, which is explicitly socialistic, and 13 more belong to the Labor Representation Committee, which is practically socialistic, and 6 more still are Fabian or economic Socialists elected as radicals. Of the remaining 16 in the Labor group, if any are not socialistic they are more than balanced by those who favor Socialist measures among the Liberals, Irish Unionists, and Nationalists. The number in Parliament favoring most Socialist measures is probably nearer 100 than 45.⁹ The portion of the electorate corresponding to the proportion of estimated Socialist members in the House. Almost all parties in New Zealand are more or less socialistic.¹⁰ Social Democrats and Group of Toil in the Second Duma.¹¹ Members of Socialist Party.¹² The portion of the electorate corresponding to the proportion of Socialist Deputies.¹³ As in England candidates must bear the cost of the election, Socialist candidates were nominated only in five parliamentary districts.¹⁴ Of these 28 are dailies. The large numbers are in countries where the trade-union papers are also Socialist papers.

THE GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST VOTE

Estimated approximately from Reports at International Congresses

	ELECTIONS NEAREST TO THESE DATES						
	1867	1877	1887	1892	1897	1903	1907
Germany.....	30,000	493,000	763,000	1,876,000	2,107,000	3,010,000	3,259,000
France.....			47,000	440,000	790,000	805,000	896,000
Austria.....					750,000	780,000	1,041,000
Belgium.....				320,000	467,000	464,000	469,000
United States.....			2,000	21,000	55,000	442,000	.....
Great Britain.....					55,000	100,000	1342,000
Finland.....						10,000	330,000
Italy.....			22,000	26,000	135,000	300,000	320,000
Denmark.....		1,000	8,000	20,000	32,000	53,000	77,000
Switzerland.....			2,000	39,000	40,000	100,000	70,000
Holland.....			1,500	.....	13,500	38,000	65,000
Norway.....					7,000	30,000	45,000
Sweden.....				723	.....	10,000	26,000
Spain.....				5,000	14,000	29,000	23,000
Total vote ²	30,000	494,000	931,000	1,798,000	3,896,000	6,285,000	8,803,000

¹ Estimated Labor vote, not from Socialist report.² Including other minor countries.

contract, and that it is being subverted by Socialists.

We are told that in England the Fabian Society is committed in its declared principles to the transfer to the community of land and industrial capital "without compensation (tho not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community)," that the Social Democratic Federation has as a plank in its platform "the repudiation of the national debt," that in the U. S. Henry George ("Social Problems," pp. 213-221) argues it as "a preposterous assumption that one generation should be bound by the debts of its predecessors."

In Germany, Bebel, in his "Woman," argues for "free love." Deville, a French Socialist, is quoted as saying:

Marriage is a regulation of property. . . . When property is transformed, and only after that transformation, marriage will lose its reason for existence, and boys and girls may then freely and without fear of censure listen to the wants and promptings of their nature. . . . The support of the children will no longer depend on the chance of birth. Like their instruction, it will become a charge of society. There will be no room for prostitution or for marriage, which is in sum nothing more than prostitution before the mayor.

Mr. Morris and Mr. Bax, in their "Socialism, in its Growth and Outcome," contend that "marriage should be a voluntary association, dissoluble by either party at pleasure."

It is perfectly true that such quotations and many other similar ones can be found on the pages of Socialist writers. They can also be found to at least the same extent on the pages of individualistic writers. (See FAMILY; CURRENCY; etc.) Socialism per se has no views on these questions. But as to the family, marriage, etc., how many family quarrels and divorces have their root in dissensions over money. This cause of family disruption socialism would largely remove, since all in a socialistic state would inherit equally from the State, at least in proportion to their need. Again, how far economic pressure to-day is destroying the home is seen in the articles HOMES, OWNERSHIP OF; OVERCROWDING; TENEMENTS. Socialism would make it possible for every man and woman to have a home. It would take the money root out of marriage, and make marriages for love, not for money or home or maintenance. Which system is likely to produce the truest homes and the most permanent marital relations? The wisest State legislation as to marriage is a separate question. (See DIVORCE.)

It is perfectly true, however, that the large majority of avowed Socialists are divorced from recognized religion and the Church, and that this does lead many of them to extreme radicalism on all questions of ethics, money, and the family. But what drives them to this? Unquestionably not the Christianity of the Church, but its lack of Christianity, its real or asserted mammonism, indifference to the demands of the people, and dependence upon and subserviency to wealth. (See THE CHURCH AND THE WORKING-MAN.) However much these things may have been exaggerated or the facts distorted, no one who knows working men denies that these things exist, at least in the belief of the working men, while all those who know them best wonder not at the irreligion and radicalism of the working classes, but at their freedom from radicalism and their acceptance of conventional ideas. It is not socialism which produces the radical and the ethical freethinker. It is materialism, the worship of wealth, the mammonism of existing society. Socialism would at least diminish this. Conversion to socialism has made it possible for many a man to accept a rational religion. Many

consider socialism the religious revival of the world. Says Sidney Ball (*International Journal of Ethics*, April, 1896):

At first sight it seems true that character has not been put in the foreground of Socialist discussion; its emphasis appears to be laid almost exclusively on machinery, on a reconstruction of the material conditions and organization of life. But machinery is a means to an end, as much to a Socialist as to any one else; and the end, at any rate as conceived by the Socialist, is the development of human nature in scope, powers of life, and enjoyment. . . . The forces required to work collectivist machinery are nothing if not moral; and so we also hear the complaint that Socialists are too ideal, that they make too great a demand upon human nature and upon the social will and imagination. Of the two complaints this is certainly the most pertinent. A conception, however, which is liable to be dismissed, now as mere mechanism, now as mere morality, may possibly be working toward a higher synthesis. . . . If institutions depend on character, character depends on institutions; it is upon their necessary interaction that the Socialist insists.

As for the argument that under socialism parental responsibility would be weakened, and overpopulation result, John Stuart Mill ("Political Economy," bk. ii., chap. i.) has well said:

Another of the objections to communism is similar to that so often urged against poor-laws: that if every member of the community were assured of subsistence for himself and any number of children, on the sole condition of willingness to work, prudential restraint on the multiplication of mankind would be at an end, and population would start forward at a rate which would reduce the community through successive stages of increasing discomfort to actual starvation. There would certainly be much ground for this apprehension if communism provided no motive to restraint equivalent to those which it would take away. But communism is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest intensity against this kind of selfish intemperance. Any augmentation of numbers which diminished the comfort or increased the toil of the mass would then cause (which now it does not) immediate and unmistakable inconvenience to every individual in the association; inconvenience which could not then be imputed to the avarice of employers or the unjust privileges of the rich. In such altered circumstances opinion could not fail to reprobate, and if reprobation did not suffice, to repress by penalties of some description, this or any other culpable self-indulgence at the expense of the community. The communistic scheme, instead of being peculiarly open to the objection drawn from danger of overpopulation, has the recommendation of tending in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil.

As for the biological argument, sometimes made against socialism, that the right of the strongest to survive and to gradually exterminate the weak is necessary to progress and even to the perpetuity of the race, and while socialism would at least check this, so that a country adopting socialism would soon be conquered by a race not adopting socialism, it is to be said that this might occur if socialism be conceived of as a system to be adopted by a country in one great economic upheaval. But no Socialists to-day believe in such an impossible catastrophic Utopianism. Even the most catastrophic Socialist believes in some evolution. Socialism is not the aiding of the weak at the expense of the strong. It is the gradual development of a new strength—the strength of public service to replace the strength of private service and to lift up the economically weak to a plane of increased efficiency where they, too, can compete in the public service, and thus produce a higher biologic progress. Socialism is yet a comparatively new movement, and has naturally made false claims and given rise to many mistakes and errors, both in thought and action; yet no student of socialism will deny that it is as rapidly growing in wise self-control as in numbers. A truly scientific and disciplined evolutionary socialism, and this is what is being evolved through political discussion and actual public ownership, will

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make not a weaker but a stronger country. This socialism, not always recognized or acknowledged by all Socialists as socialism, has the future and on its adaptation to and adopting of human nature bases its modern argument.

W. D. P. BLISS.

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MEMBERS OF ORGANIZATIONS OF JUVENILE SOCIALISTS

(In Great Britain Socialist Sunday-schools)

Sweden.....	17,000
Belgium.....	13,000
Germany.....	6,800
Italy.....	5,000
Austria.....	4,200
Bohemia.....	35,000
Great Britain.....	3,200
Denmark.....	1,400
Spain.....	1,200
Bulgaria.....	900
Norway.....	800
Hungary.....	700
France.....	500
Netherlands.....	450
Switzerland.....	325
Finland.....	250
Total.....	59,225

SOCIALISM, DEFINITION OF (from standpoint of the International Socialist movement): To the organized international socialist movement must be granted the right to determine what is and what is not socialism, just as would be granted to the Pope and the College of Cardinals the right to declare what is true Catholicism, and to a Republican national convention the right to declare what is Republicanism. The famous utterance some fifteen years ago of Sir William Vernon Harcourt, "We are all Socialists now!" is merely an instance of a too common looseness of thinking and speaking. Socialism, tho informed and inspired by a spirit common to many men in all ages, holds to a definite doctrine, a definite program,

and incarnates itself in a definite movement, international and revolutionary.

Not many men, according to the orthodox school, are as yet real Socialists. Bebel said once—and it was when the German Social Democracy had polled some 1,400,000 votes—that there were probably not more than 200,000 thorough-going Socialists in Germany. There is thus a recognizable difference between Socialists and persons who vote or support the Socialist ticket, not to speak of persons who merely hold vague inclinations toward a collectivist order of society.

And yet it is a piece of folly, which every common-sense Socialist recognizes, to make overmuch of this distinction. The man who has now but a mere leaning toward socialism will next year, under the impress of new experiences, or the cumulative force of the totality of his experiences, be quite as ardent a Socialist as one who learned his lessons a decade ago. In the light of these considerations, society resolves itself into Socialists and potential Socialists on the one hand, and on the other those who, out of self-interest or temperamental obstinacy, are anti-Socialists. No more should be claimed for the international Socialist organization than that it is the core, the gravitational center of the greater movement without it.

As a doctrine, modern socialism is founded upon the materialist conception of history, or, as it might better be called, *the economic interpretation of history*. This economic interpretation of history sees the superstructure of society in all times, with all its institutions, its codes of morals and of laws, as a reflex of the prevailing system of production and distribution. It does not, as is often maintained, see in man's every action the spur of an economic impulse. It does not blind itself to countless individual acts of renunciation, of sacrifice, of martyrdom; but it *does* see a coloring and an impress given to all human actions through this material environment. Men gladly give themselves to torture, privation, or death

Principles

in behalf of a great cause, but the *cause* itself will almost inevitably be found to be a reaction from some form of social or economic oppression.

As a part of this economic interpretation of history, we have also the theory of a *class struggle*. Human activities, tho fundamentally individual, take on a collective form through the very necessities of social life. Men widely separated from one another, if working at like tasks, under like conditions, or suffering from like modes of oppression, instinctively react in like ways. They see the futility of individual revolt, and spontaneously they act in concert. They may be but barely conscious of their motives in resisting a wrong, or in seeking a political, social, or economic advantage. And yet, conscious or but partly conscious, or even unconscious of their motives, they tend to act in like ways under like conditions. Thus, history resolves itself into a series of struggles between possessing classes and non-possessing classes, attended by varying fortunes and carried on with but slight intermission through all the changes in modes of production. In our day the development of industry reaches a stage wherein we see steadily maintained a contest, however disguised, between a class of owners of the means of production and an increasing class of workers who own none of the means of production, but are employed at wage labor in producing wealth for the owners. It is a situation which, Socialists

say, cannot last. Production has become social. That is, most commodities are produced by masses of men working in gangs or herds in great workshops. But ownership, which in varying degrees has been in past times common and social, has become individual and restricted to but an infinitesimal part of the population.

You may hold either one of two beliefs as to the manner in which the change will come. You may hold, as Marx and others of his time held, what has been called the "theory of increasing misery," which is, that the increasing concentration of wealth makes for a greater disparity of conditions between the owners and the workers—increasing the privation of the workers as it increases the wealth of the owners. And this development will bring about a stage wherein the workers, goaded beyond endurance, and having no other alternative, will put an end forever to the private ownership of the means of production. Or, you may still be a good Socialist and hold that the facts have not borne out this forecast. You may hold rather that with the growth of organization, economic and political, among the workers, they are bettering their lot materially, they are acquainting themselves more and more with the facts of history and of economics, and that by the increase of intelligence and thought, by an increased discipline and mutuality of effort—rather than through the spur of extreme privation—they will bring about this change. But whether you hold one theory or the other, you must, if you would be a good Socialist, hold that the change, when it comes, must be thoroughgoing and revolutionary, an abolition of the private ownership of the means of production.

Program

The *program* of socialism is the securing of the political powers in every nation, the expropriation of capital, the holding of productive property in common—in a word, the co-operative commonwealth. This program is not to be achieved by paltering with compromises, by following the lead of economic Messiahs who constantly arise, and who deal out vast promises of what they intend to do for the benefit of the "dear people." It is to be achieved by the organized, disciplined effort of the class which has most to gain from such a program—the *working class*. This does not mean that all those who take part in the work of carrying forward this program are wage-laborers. As a matter of fact, many of those who have done the greatest work in formulating this program are men who have never done wage-labor. But the *working class* is the basis, because it is by reason of its material needs that it alone, when once aroused, can never be dissuaded from seeking to carry this program to its fulfilment. Men from other classes, through altruistic motives, may voice a hope for a juster order of life. There are periods, indeed, wherein many of those from the more leisurely walks of life have taken enthusiastic and determined part in movements for social regeneration. We have, perhaps, a better example of such endeavor in the great Fourierite movement of the forties than in any other. But these movements are necessarily superficial. They do not grow out of the instinctive demands of the workers, but out of the sentiments of a class not prompted by need. Such sentiments are easily shattered, for the best of men weary in well-doing. Only as those who come from other classes give over, renounce, and repudiate their allegiance to the class from which

they sprang; only as they come to see the historic mission of the working class and as they espouse the cause of the workers, making themselves an integral part of the working class, can they render real and lasting service toward the fulfilment of this program.

Finally, we have the organized Socialist movement, which is an embodiment of this spirit, of this doctrine, and this program. This movement, in its modern form, has but a brief history. It would be difficult to state the exact date or incident which might be called its beginning. It may be dated, if you will, from the publication of the Communist Manifesto in February, 1848; or the organization of Ferdinand Lassalle's Universal German Working Men's Association, in May, 1863; or the organization of the International Working Men's Association in September, 1864. But of many materials, heterogeneous, scattered, it has in forty years been aggregated and welded into a compact political body, reaching out into all the civilized parts of the globe. Persecution has for a time obstructed its growth, as, for instance, in Germany. It has had to meet ridicule, misrepresentation, the thunders of ecclesiastical denunciation; but in spite of all opposition, it steadily grows in numbers year by year, it carries its message to remote places, and year by year its menace to the existing order is more clearly recognized.

Socialism, the movement, carries on its work with a sleepless, an untiring energy; everywhere it is educating, organizing, and disciplining the working class and arming it, not with lethal weapons, but with knowledge and argument. Everywhere it opposes unjust wars, the rage of conquest, the oppression of capitalist class rule. It defends from legal persecution its Moyers and Haywoods; it relentlessly exposes the chicanery and pious fraud of those who dwell in high places. And this activity will go on and on, with cumulative force, despite transitory defeats and disheartenments, until the goal of a cooperative commonwealth is won. W. J. GHENT.

SOCIALISM, HISTORY OF (see also articles SOCIALISM; SOCIALIST PARTY; UNITED STATES SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY; SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION; FABIAN SOCIETY; LABOR PARTY [ENGLISH]; CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; COMMUNISM; NATIONALISM; INTERNATIONAL. For details, see also each leading country and the names of prominent Socialists). Some writers on the subject include in the history of the Socialist movement all ancient and medieval manifestations of communistic thought and institutions. But, as a matter of fact, the modern Socialist movement has nothing in common with the Utopias of Plato, Campanella, and More, or with the prehistoric tribal institutions, early Christian practices, or the various sectarian communities of the Middle Ages.

The political Socialist movement of our days is primarily a movement of the working class, and has for its object the reconstruction of the present-day system of industry on the basis of collective ownership of the tools of production.

The movement thus presupposes the existence of a competitive individualist system of industry and of a wage-earning class. In other words, modern socialism is unthinkable without its antithesis—capitalism. Socialism is the child of the modern or "capitalist" system of production. And more than that, it is the product of that sys-

tem at a certain advanced stage. The Socialist movement is a protest against the present industrial system, hence it presupposes a state of development of that system to a point where it has become oppressive; it involves a criticism of the system, hence it implies a dissatisfaction with it, and finally it offers a substitute for the present system, hence it is predicated on the assumption of a state of senility of the capitalist régime.

Thus, while the beginnings of the present industrial system may be traced back to the fifteenth or sixteenth century of our era, the modern Socialist movement is barely more than a century old.

Socialism, like most other social theories and movements, has passed through several stages of development before it reached its modern aspect.

In its first phases it was primarily a humanitarian movement, and its political rôle was but secondary and incidental.

The early Socialists saw only the evils of the new system of production, but did not penetrate into its historical significance and tendencies.

Utopian Beginnings

The evils of the system appeared to them as arbitrary deviations from the "eternal principles" of "natural law," justice, and reason, and the social system itself as a clumsy and malicious contrivance of the dominant powers in society.

To the "unreasonable" and "unjust" social systems of their times they opposed more or less fantastic schemes of social organization of their own invention supposed to be free from the abuses of modern civilization, and thereupon they appealed to humanity at large to test those schemes.

One of the fruits of these theories was the organization of the numerous communistic societies in the early part of the last century.

Another practical application of the utopian Socialist philosophy is to be found in the conspiratory revolutionary societies which accompanied the Socialist agitation of several European countries, notably France, in the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century.

The first gleams of Socialist philosophy appear in the works of the prerevolutionary French philosophers of the school of the "Encyclopedists," notably in those of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who as early as 1754 denounced private property as the cause of all crimes.

But a much more definite and elaborate expression of the Utopian Socialist creed we find in the two works of Morelly, "*Naufrage des îles flottantes* ou *La Basiliade*" (The Shipwreck of the Floating Islands or Basiliade), 1753, and "*Code de la Nature*" (Code of Nature), 1755. The first is a Utopian novel in metric form, and the latter is a philosophic essay. Morelly is a keen and far-seeing critic of the industrial system of individualist competition, and advocates a somewhat loose form of communism.

Next to Morelly, Gabriel Mably (1709-85) must be mentioned among the early French Socialist writers. Like Morelly, Mably advocated a social system based on the community of property, with the difference, however, that the State of Mably is highly centralized, both in the system of production and distribution.

A more realistic note in the literature of the young Socialist speculation is introduced by the French lawyer, François Boissel (1728-1807), whose "*Catechisme du genre humain*" (Cate-

chism of Mankind), which appeared in 1789, the year of the French Revolution, contains the first attempt at a scientific analysis of the modern mode of production.

The first direct step toward an active revolutionary and Socialist movement was made by François Noel Babeuf (1760-96). Babeuf, himself an active factor in the great French Revolution, was by no means satisfied with its accomplishments. "The Revolution," he argued, "has proclaimed liberty, fraternity, and equality,

but equality is a mere sham unless it is social and economic as well as political." With the aim of capturing the government of France and establishing social and economic equality, he organized the famous

Conspiracy of Equals. The movement is said to have attained considerable dimensions in Paris when it was detected in 1796, and Babeuf convicted on the charge of treason and beheaded. Years later, Filippo Buonarroti, a friend and disciple of Babeuf, published the history of the conspiracy and the program of the conspirators, and the work played a large part in the movement of the secret Socialist societies of later years.

Babeuf was the last representative of the eighteenth-century socialism. The beginning of the nineteenth century produced a series of Socialist thinkers and workers who have influenced the shaping of the present-day Socialist movement more directly than their predecessors.

Of these, two are always mentioned together—Charles Henri Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier.

Saint-Simon is a teacher rather than a practical social reformer. The keynote to his philosophy is the demand that society be organized not on a political but on an industrial basis. His last work, "*Nouveau Christianisme*" (New Christianity), is the most complete exposition of his social views, and contains the germs of the theory of economic determinism, which in the hands of Karl Marx has subsequently become one of the most powerful weapons in the arsenal of contemporary Socialist philosophy.

After the death of Saint-Simon his work was continued by a talented coterie of his disciples, prominent among whom were Olinde Rodrigue (1794-1851), Barthélémy P. Enfantin (1796-1864), Amand Bazard (1791-1832), Auguste Comte, the father of positive philosophy, and Ferdinand de Lesseps, of the Suez Canal fame. The Saint-Simonian school at one time gained considerable influence in the intellectual circles of France; its organ, the *Globe*, had a large circulation, and in the Revolution of 1830 the Saint-Simonians played a not unimportant part. But the movement ultimately split, principally on the question of woman's rights.

If Saint-Simon was the preacher of order and system, Fourier may be called the apostle of harmony.

God created the entire universe on a harmonious plan, reasons Fourier, hence there must be harmony between everything in existence.

Saint-Simon emphasizes the rights and importance of society, Fourier dwells principally on the rights of the individual citizens as against organized society. The two great Utopians may be said to be the prototypes of the two dominant tendencies in the Socialist and social theories of our times—collectivism and individualism.

Chief among the French disciples of Fourier is

Victor Considerant, under whose leadership the Fourierist movement attained some importance years after the master's death.

Cabet's Utopian novel "Voyage en Icarie" (Voyage to Icaria), published in 1842, gave rise to a popular movement in favor of communism, which at one time was said to number several hundred thousands of adherents. The movement resulted in the establishment of the "Icarian communities" in the U. S. The first of these communities was established in Texas in 1848, and the last of the series perished in California almost half a century later.

Louis Blanc, who first achieved fame through his work "Organisation du Travail" (Organization of Labor), published in 1840, played an important part in the French Revolution of 1848 as a member of the Provisional Committee.

Lamenais is the father of Christian socialism in France. He early advocated the union of the Catholic Church with the growing Socialist movement of the working men. His views were condemned by Pope Gregory XVI., and Lamenais thereafter address his appeals directly to the people. His "Paroles d'un Croyant" (Words of a Believer), published in 1834, contains a burning indictment of the selfish rich, and is full of tender sympathy for the disinherited of the world. It was widely read by the working men of his generation, and made a deep and lasting impression on his countrymen.

Proudhon, the author of the famous "Qu'est ce que la propriété?" (What is Property?) and "Contradictions Économiques" (Economic Contradictions), may be said to be the father of modern "communitistic anarchism."

This review of early French socialism would not be complete without a brief reference to the secret societies which made their appearance immediately after the Revolution of 1830, and continued with varying degree of strength and success for about ten years. The principal organizations of that cycle are the *Société des Amis du Peuple* (Society of the Friends of the People), *Société des droits de l'homme* (Society of Human Rights), *Société des familles* (Society of Families), and *Société des saisons* (Society of Seasons), and the most prominent leaders of the movement were Louis Blanqui (1805-81), Armand Barbès (1809-70), Voyer d'Argençon (1771-1842), and Filippo Buonarroti, mentioned above.

While the socialism of France during the first half of the last century was thus replete with various movements, schools, and thinkers, the movement in England during the corresponding period is practically represented by one name—Robert Owen.

The socialism of Owen differed from that of his French contemporaries just as much as the political and industrial conditions and national temperament and genius of England differed from those of France.

Owen's early activity in the field of social reform was more of a philanthropic than revolutionary character: it consisted in the long and patient work of improving the conditions of his own employees in the Scotch manufacturing village of New Lanark, and in this he succeeded so well that within one generation (from 1800 to 1824) the former miserable village, with a degenerate and wretched population, had become a model community of healthy, industrious, and happy men and women.

His revolutionary career may be said to date from 1817, when, upon the invitation of the "Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Laboring Poor," he unfolded his views on the causes of poverty and the needed social reforms. The gist of his views is that wide-spread pauperism and popular misery are inseparable from an industrial system based on free competition, and that under such a system the increased productivity of labor inevitably leads to the deterioration of the condition of the working class.

He was a great believer in the influence of environment on the formation of human character, and predicted that improved material conditions of the laboring population would result in the physical, intellectual, and moral regeneration of the masses.

His activities as a Socialist propagandist and experimenter extend over forty years, and are as variegated as intense.

Owen's influence was, however, mainly personal; he left no school or movement behind him.

In Germany the first manifestations of Socialist thought and activity are connected with the names of the celebrated philosopher, Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), who in his "Geschlossener Handelstaat" (Closed Trading State) advocates the State regulation of production and distribution of goods, and the tailor, Wilhelm Weitling (1808-71), who may be considered the connecting link between present-day socialism and its earlier forms.

Weitling seems to have imbibed the theories of French communism in his early traveling days, but he instilled in them the life and faith of the active propagandist and enthusiastic apostle. Like Owen he extended his activity to all spheres

Beginnings in Germany

of radical social reform known in his day, organizing cooperative enterprises, working men's study clubs, a communistic settlement, trade-union organizations, etc. His main theoretical works are: "Die Welt wie sie ist und sein sollte" (The World as It is and as It Should Be), 1838; "Die Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit" (The Guaranties of Harmony and Freedom), 1842, and "Das Evangelium des Armen Sünders" (Evangel of a Poor Sinner), 1846.

Weitling is the first Socialist to make a more direct appeal to the working class, altho the modern Socialist conception of class struggle is still foreign to him. Weitling's fields of activity were Switzerland and the U. S., but his influence also extended to Germany, Austria, and the colonies of German emigrants in other countries.

In the mean time the industrial development of Europe had proceeded with giant strides, and with it also the scientific study of the character and tendencies of the existing industrial régime. The fantastic theories and hypotheses of early socialism, like those of so many other young sciences, had to be strongly modified if not entirely discarded. Socialism had to be given a new, more realistic, and sound foundation, and this task was accomplished toward the middle of the last century by the twin fathers of modern socialism, Karl Marx (1818-83) and Frederick Engels (1820-95).

The socialism of the new school, known as Marxian or scientific socialism, proceeds on the theory that the social and political structure of society at any given time and place is not the

Owenite Period

result of the free and arbitrary choice of men, but the logical outcome of a definite process of historical development, and that the underlying structure of such foundation is at all times the economic system upon which society is organized.

As a logical sequence from these views it follows that a form of society cannot be changed at any given time unless the economic development has made it ripe for the change, and that the future of mankind must be looked for, not in the ingenious schemes of inventive social philosophers, but in the tendencies of economic development.

The Marxian Socialists base their hopes on the tendency of modern industries toward centralization and socialization, the inadequacy and wastefulness of the individual and competitive system of production, and the growing revolt of the working classes against the iniquities and hardships involved in that system.

Modern Socialists address themselves not so much to the humane sentiments of society at large as to the self-interests of the working class, as a class primarily concerned in the impending social change. They do not indulge in miniature social experiments or in political conspiracies, but direct their efforts toward the education and political and industrial organization of the working class, so as to enable that class to steer the ship of state from individualism into collectivism, when the time is ripe for it, and to hasten that time.

Marxist Socialism

This phase of the Socialist movement may be said to date from the publication of the celebrated "Communist Manifesto." The "Manifesto" is a brief pamphlet written conjointly by Marx and Engels; it has since been translated into almost all modern languages, and has remained to this day the classical exposition of modern evolutionary socialism.

The "Communist Manifesto" appeared in 1848. The great revolutionary movement of that year, and the long period of European reaction following upon its defeat, temporarily paralyzed the young Socialist movement inaugurated by Marx and his comrades. For almost fifteen years the movement was confined to a few scattered circles of "intellectuals" in the different countries of Europe without penetrating into the masses anywhere. The general political and social awakening which marks the beginning of the sixties of the last century in all principal countries of Europe and in the U. S. of America did not pass without affecting the working classes. A strong labor movement grew up in the most advanced countries of Europe, and a large portion of it fell under the spiritual leadership of the Socialists.

The first fruit of these renewed Socialist and labor activities was the organization of the International Working Men's Association (commonly styled The International) in 1864. The International was organized in London by some representative English trade-unionist in conjunction with a number of political

The International

refugees of various nationalities with whom the capital of England was fairly teeming just then. Its constitution and declaration of principles were drafted by Karl Marx, and the latter instrument was a concise exposition of the Socialist philosophy winding up with the declaration—"No rights without duties; no duties without rights."

The International extended over England, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, Poland, Australia, and the U. S. of America, and at one time was considered a great power in European politics. Its active career embraced a period of about eight years, from 1864 to 1872, during which time it held six conventions. These conventions were largely devoted to the discussion of social and labor problems, and served to impress the Socialist movement of the world with a uniform and harmonious character.

The dissolution of the organization was brought about by a number of factors, not the least of which was the fate of the Paris Commune.

The Commune, proclaimed in Paris on March 18, 1871, in its inception had no connection whatever with the International or the Socialist agitation of the time. Its name was not intended to imply any sympathy with the doctrines of communism; it was merely meant to signify the communal or municipal autonomy of Paris. The proclamation of the Commune was a result of the revolt of the Parisians against the excessive centralization of government in France.

But the deciding blow to the life of the International was dealt by the growing spirit of anarchism within its ranks.

Up to about 1869 the International was under the undisputed control of the Marxian wing of socialism, but in the later years of its existence the school of individual anarchism steadily gained ground in the councils of the society under the leadership of the apostle of the new creed, Michael Bakounin (1814-76).

Anarchism threatened to become a power in the International, and Marx and his friends decided to avert the danger by sacrificing the organization. In 1872 the seat of its General Council was transferred to New York, and three years later the International was formally dissolved.

The International, however, had fully accomplished its purpose, and during its activity the Socialist movement of Europe had developed to such dimensions that it became impossible to confine it within the bounds of one central organization. Hereafter we will have to follow the varying fortunes of the movement in the different countries coming under its sway.

Chief among such countries is, of course,

GERMANY

In Germany the present-day Socialist movement runs in an unbroken chain from the days of the agitation of Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-64). Of extraordinary eloquence, profound learning, and indomitable energy, Lassalle was probably the most powerful popular tribune produced by the nineteenth century.

His active work in the cause of socialism is practically confined to the last two years of his life. But during that short period he succeeded in thoroughly rousing the phlegmatic working class of his country by his ringing speeches and powerful writings. In his social views he was a disciple of Marx, but the principal issues of his agitation were the demands for universal suffrage and the establishment of cooperative workshops with State credit.

In 1863 he organized the General German Working Men's Association, which at the time of its founder's death numbered only 4,610 members,

but grew considerably in later years, notwithstanding one serious schism within its ranks.

In the meanwhile a new Socialist party, more strictly Marxian, was organized in 1869 under the leadership of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, and the six years following are marked by a bitter feud between the rival organizations. The feud was terminated in 1875 by the amalgamation of all Socialist organizations at the Gotha Convention; the present Social Democratic Party of Germany was thus born. Since then the progress of the Socialist movement has been rapid and steady. Even the period of the most unrelenting government persecution inaugurated by the Exceptional Laws did not succeed in checking its growth. These laws were designed to suppress all forms of Socialist propaganda, and their enforcement was attended by the imprisonment and exile of large numbers of the most active Socialists. They were enacted in 1878 after two successive attempts by irresponsible individuals on the life of the emperor, and were abandoned in 1890 after their utter futility had been demonstrated in practise. The growth of socialism in Germany can be best seen by studying the steady growth of the Socialist vote in the empire.

ELECTION IN	Social Democratic votes	Percentage of votes, total	Elected to the Reichstag
1871.....	124,655	3.	2
1874.....	351,952	6.8	9
1877.....	493,288	9.1	12
1878.....	437,158	7.6	9
1881.....	311,961	6.1	12
1884.....	549,990	9.7	24
1887.....	763,128	10.1	11
1890.....	1,427,298	19.7	35
1893.....	1,876,738	23.3	44
1896.....	2,007,076	....	57
1903.....	3,008,000	24.0	81
1907.....	3,258,968	24.3	43

This table is the best answer to the statement sometimes made that the Socialist Party in Germany lost ground in 1907. It did not lose ground because, in spite of an unprecedented opposition, it increased its vote. It lost seats in the Reichstag not because of weakened strength, but because the elections of 1903 showed the Social Democratic Party to be so strong that in this election the various groups of the Bourgeoisie and Liberal parties largely combined against it. They put forth every effort, led by the government itself. After the election of 1903, a *Reichsverband* (Imperial Union) was formed, the one purpose of which was to work in every way to unite the Bourgeoisie and defeat socialism. The union aided Conservatives here and Liberals there in any way that would mean the defeat of a Socialist candidate. It sent out false statements against socialism and had them published in over 1,000 journals. After the election it reported that it had distributed 10,149,330 pamphlets against socialism. It sent speakers and lecturers into every possible social or literary club. It raised the cry of patriotism, declaring that Germany was attacked. It raised large sums of money from the capitalists and spent it for the election. It roused the small country proprietors who, in Eastern Prussia and the less enlightened districts, terrified the peasants into voting against socialism. The so-called Christian Unions (Evangelical) and the Roman Catholic, so called, Christian Social-

ists voted against the party. Not a stone was left unturned. As the result thirty-eight Socialist seats were captured by combinations against them. Yet in spite of all this the party increased its vote by a quarter of a million. The real strength of the party was never more shown. It was said in the *Antisozialistische Correspondenz* after the election: "The working classes have stood by and will stand by the Social Democratic Party. . . . The party is now more than ever a class party, the revolutionary party of the proletariat, and from the point of view of the proletariat and the revolutionary, the party in this political baptism of fire has now received revolutionary power, while in the election of 1903 it only stood for a certain movement toward democracy."

It should be remembered, too, that by the constitution of the German Empire, in the union of the various German states, the representation in the Reichstag is so arranged that some of the states and districts with comparatively small populations have very much more representation than others. Particularly have the great cities where the Social Democracy has its strength but small representation in proportion to their population. This largely reduces the Socialist representation in the Reichstag. If each vote counted alike the Social Democrats would have elected not 43 but 116 representatives. They cast 3,258,968 votes and only seated 43 representatives, 73 less than they were entitled to, while the Center (Roman Catholic) cast 2,183,384 votes but seated 108 representatives (30 more than they were entitled to), the Conservatives 1,070,658 votes, seating 60 representatives (22 more than they were entitled to). The Socialist press in Germany is very strong. There are 79 Socialist political organs. The *Vorwärts*, of Berlin, has a circulation of 112,000; the *Hamburger Echo* has 40,000; the *Volkszeitung*, 30,000. There are two comic weeklies and one scientific weekly.

The party is thoroughly united, tho allowing of some differences of opinion. Of late years Edouard Bernstein has led a wing of the party advocating a less doctrinaire and more opportunist policy than his critics in the party; yet it has not produced the split that the enemies of the party predicted; the wise leaders of the party have allowed differences of opinion and yet held the party as a unit in action for whatever view the majority held.

Industrially the party works in the trade-unions, which are said to have gained 913,000 new members in Germany since 1905. In every way the party holds the working classes. The number elected as councilors in German communes is over 2,000.

AUSTRIA

The Socialist movement in Austria is closely linked with that of Germany, so much so that in their earlier stages the two movements were hardly differentiated. In the famous Convention of Eisenach, held in 1868, the Austrian Socialists were represented as well as their German comrades. But notwithstanding the common beginnings and intellectual identity of socialism in both countries, the movement in Austria soon fell behind that of Germany. There were many reasons for this phenomenon, chief among them being the industrial backwardness of Austria, and the difficulty of carrying on a systematic and uni-

form propaganda of socialism among the many heterogeneous nationalities constituting the Austrian Empire.

The beginnings of the Socialist movement in Austria appear in 1867, when the Imperial Council granted a partial right of assembly and association to the people of Austria. Two years later the movement was strong enough to force the government to revoke its ban against Socialist propaganda by a most remarkable and unexpected demonstration on the streets of Vienna (Dec. 13, 1869). The succeeding period (1870-1888) is principally noteworthy for the internal dissensions within the movement. The practical disfranchisement of the working class and the brutal government persecution had bred among the more radical working men a spirit of embittered pessimism which made them unusually susceptible to the propaganda of anarchism, then in its prime all over Europe, and the main work of Austrian Social Democracy during that period was to combat the anarchist movement. The turning-point of the Socialist movement in Austria may be considered the Hainsfeld Congress (1888) which marked the final victory of Social Democracy over anarchism in the Austrian labor movement, and created a unified and well-organized party which has since been making rapid and steady progress. Its efforts recently have been mainly directed toward attaining universal suffrage by steady agitation, monster demonstrations, till at last the government has been compelled to yield, and in the parliamentary elections of 1907, for the first time held on the basis of universal suffrage, the Social Democratic Party polled over 1,000,000 votes, electing no less than eighty-seven deputies to the Reichsrat.

Austria has an extensive Socialist press—2 dailies, of which the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, of Vienna, is the most important; 24 periodical journals, and 36 trade-union papers. Besides these Bohemia has 2 dailies, 15 periodical organs, and 19 trade-union journals. Austria in 1904 reported 526 Socialists elected communal councilors. Bohemia in 1907 reported no less than 1,953 local unions with 130,000 members connected with the Socialist Party.

GREAT BRITAIN

Notwithstanding the fact that England is the most industrial country of Europe, its Socialist movement has been rather tardy in appearing and in growth.

The organized Socialist movement of England may be dated from the formation of the Democratic Federation in 1881. The federation, called into life by H. M. Hyndman, Herbert Burrows, and a few other well-known Socialists, was originally not of outspoken Socialist views, but became so in 1883, when it was reorganized under the name of Social Democratic Federation. The federation has ever since continued a somewhat uneventful existence, and is to-day the orthodox representative of Marxian socialism in England. It has now two members of Parliament, and about 100 in various municipal or county councils and boards. Its organ is *Justice*.

In 1893, however, another political party of socialism was founded principally through the efforts of Keir Hardie. The organization assumed the name of the Independent Labor Party, adopted a somewhat broader platform than the Social Democratic Federation, and laid more

stress on the political side of the movement. But contrary to the expectations of its founders, it did not acquire a larger influence among the working classes of England than the older organization, and works to-day with the newly formed Labor Party. (See below.)

Besides these two parties, the Socialist movement of England is also represented by the well-known Fabian Society, founded in 1883, principally for the purpose of educational propaganda along Socialist lines. The society has published a large number of tracts on the main aspects of theoretical socialism and has achieved considerable success in the field of municipal reform, and in influencing the middle classes. The outspoken Socialist organizations in England have been, till recently, a factor of but mediocre importance in the social and political life of the country, but it would be a mistake to measure the strength of the Socialist movement in England only by its organized portions.

The Socialist movement in England largely expresses itself in the radical or "new" trade-unions, many of which are avowedly socialistic in their views. The formation of the Labor Representative Committee, which has recently elected twenty-nine members to Parliament, and has taken the name of "The Labor Party," is principally the work of these unions aided by the Socialist organizations, and it is the masses behind that committee which to-day must be considered as the main factor of English socialism and as the nucleus of a larger and more influential Socialist movement in England.

Not only has the English labor movement 29 representatives to Parliament, but some 800 members of town, county, urban, or rural councils and boards of guardians, etc. The distinctively Socialist press of Great Britain is not large, consisting of only 12 papers, representing the different movements; but there are besides 16 local labor papers and 25 trade-union journals; and socialism is discusst largely in many other English papers, and not seldom at least partially favorably.

FRANCE

If the Socialist movement of Germany may be considered a model of orderly and methodic growth, that of France has, on the contrary, a most bewildering and stormy career.

With the fall of the Paris Commune the movement in France received a blow from which it recovered but very slowly. For a number of years after 1871 the only manifestation of Socialist activity was to be found in the students' circles organized by Gabriel Deville and Jules Guèsde, and the main efforts of these circles were directed toward the propaganda of socialism among the trade-unions. In these efforts they gained a partial success in 1878, when the general trade-union congress of Lyons pledged its support to some socialist candidates, and several large trade organizations indorsed the entire Socialist program. The arrest of Guèsde and thirty-three other labor leaders in 1879 for participation in a political labor conference, and the brilliant defense of Guèsde on that occasion, largely served to increase the sympathies of the working population for socialism, and the general trade-union congress of Marseilles held in the same year unreservedly declared itself in favor of the movement.

But this declaration made by the delegates

under the influence of the events immediately preceding the convention did not seem to have the unanimous support of their constituents. At the following convention held in Havre in 1880 the discussion was resumed, and resulted in a split. The organized working men divided themselves into two separate organizations distinguished from each other as "collectivists" and "cooperativists" respectively. And the Socialist movement in France has ever thereafter progressed through a process of alternate fusions and divisions. The first schism in the ranks of the Socialist movement proper took place in 1882, when the strict adherents of Marxian socialism led by Jules Guèsde, Paul Lafargue, and Gabriel Deville separated from the "Possibilist" or opportunist Socialists headed by Paul Brousse and Benoît Malon. The former organized the *Parti Ouvrier* (Labor Party), and the latter the *Fédération Française des Travailleurs Socialistes Révolutionnaires* (French Federation of Socialist Revolutionary Working Men). To these must be added the *Parti Révolutionnaire*, founded by the veteran of the French Revolution, Blanqui, upon his release from the last term of imprisonment in 1879, and after his death directed by the well-known communard, Edouard Vaillant.

The number of Socialist parties was further augmented by a split within the ranks of the "Possibilists," the more radical wing of which organized an independent party in 1891 under the name of *Parti Ouvrier Révolutionnaire Socialiste*, and under the leadership of Allemane, and also by the formation of numerous local groups of "Independent Socialists" whose membership included such prominent Socialists as Étienne Millerand and Jean Jaures.

The period between 1898-1901 is marked by efforts to bring about the union of Socialist forces. These efforts were partly realized in 1900, when a national congress of all French Socialist parties and organizations was held in Paris. But in the meanwhile a new issue presented itself to the Socialists of France. The events attending the Dreyfus agitation had forced socialism to the front of national politics, and one Independent Socialist, Étienne Millerand, was given a portfolio in the cabinet of the new premier, Waldeck-Rousseau. Millerand's entry in the "bourgeois" cabinet had the approval of the more liberal or "opportunist" wing of the Socialist movement under the leadership of the eloquent Jaures, but was strongly condemned by the more orthodox faction headed by Jules Guèsde. And on this new issue the Socialist organizations of France now grouped themselves. The "ministerialists" combined into the *Parti Socialiste Français* while the "antiministerialists" united into the *Parti Socialiste de France*. Both parties continued a separate tho not always antagonistic existence until 1905, when they united into one party largely through the good services of the International Socialist Congress held in Amsterdam in 1904. The new party is the first in France to bring together all of the more important Socialist organizations under one administration, altho a number of minor groups of "independent" Socialists still remain in existence.

This united party, taking the name of *Le Parti Socialiste*, is organized on the following basis (we quote only its most essential points):

1. The Socialist Party is a class party which aims at socializing the means of production and exchange; that is, of transforming the capitalistic organization of society into

a collectivist or communal organization. Its means to this end is the industrial and political organization of the proletariat (the working classes). By its aim, its ideals, the means which it adopts, the Socialist Party, while working for the immediate reforms demanded by the working classes, is not a party of reform but a party of the class struggle and of revolution.

2. The parliamentary representatives of the party form a distinct group, opposed to all the political parties and groups of the *bourgeoisie* (middle classes). The Socialist group in Parliament must refuse the government all the means which continue the domination of the *bourgeoisie* and its maintenance in power; it must therefore refuse military appropriations, appropriations for colonial conquest, secret funds, and must not accept the budget as a whole.

Even in exceptional circumstances the representatives of the party cannot speak for the party without its consent. . . . While full liberty of discussion is given to the Socialist press, as to both doctrine and method, when it comes to action they must conform to the decisions of the Congress, interpreted by the Central Committee of the party.

Upon this basis the party is attaining solidification. It has groups in 80 out of 87 departments, organized in 70 federations. It has elected 60 general and 51 district councilors, 149 mayors, 219 assistants, and 2,160 municipal councilors. It has elected 52 *deputies* out of 584. Its central organ is the *Socialiste*, a Paris weekly. The press of the party besides includes 2 dailies, 4 semiweeklies, 37 weeklies, and 2 monthlies. The steady growth of French socialism is, however, best seen in the growth of the French Socialist vote.

The first Socialist campaign in parliamentary elections was made in 1885, when the combined Socialist parties polled about 30,000 votes. The successive growth of the vote is shown by the following round figures:

1887.....	47,000
1889.....	120,000
1893.....	440,000
1898.....	700,000
1902.....	805,000
1906.....	1,000,000

ITALY

The Socialist movement in Italy antedates the International, and when the latter split between the adherents of Karl Marx and Michael Bakunin, the Socialists of Italy, like those of almost all southern and economically backward countries, sided with Bakunin.

The first manifestation of Socialist political activity occurred in 1882, when several scattered Socialist groups united for the ensuing parliamentary elections and nominated candidates. The elections gave to the Socialist candidates about 50,000 votes, or 4 per cent of the total vote cast, and secured the return of two of them to Parliament. Encouraged by this success, the Socialists of Italy organized a national Socialist Party in 1885, but the party made but little progress, and between government persecutions and internal dissensions, it led a very precarious existence.

It was only in 1892 when a Socialist Party after the general European model was organized in Italy, and since that time the Socialist movement in Italy has made large and steady gains. In 1903 the party consisted of over 1,200 local groups with a total dues-paying membership of over 42,000; it had 32 representatives in the Chamber of Deputies, and had control of about 100 municipalities, besides having representatives in almost all other of the most important cities and towns of the kingdom. One of the most remarkable features of the Socialist movement in Italy is its strength among the rural popula-

tion of the country, principally the farm-laborers. The membership of the Socialist Party is largely made up of them, and the Socialist Party also took the initiative of organizing these laborers into an independent national organization. In 1900 that organization numbered over 200,000 members. The organized Socialist movement of Italy is divided into several camps on questions of policy and methods, but that does not seem to interfere with its work or progress.

The course of the party, however, has been somewhat tempestuous. Strikes have been numerous, wide-spread, and heated. There is a strong party press—5 dailies, of which *Avanti*, published at Rome, and edited by Enrico Ferri, is the party organ; 65 weeklies, and 23 trade-union journals. Many Socialist communal councilors have been elected, and in over 100 communes they have the majority.

BELGIUM

It was from Brussels that Marx and Engels issued their "Manifesto" of 1848, and in Belgium the International early took root, but the split of the International in 1872 divided the local movement into two hostile camps, the Marxists and Bakunists, or Social Democrats and Anarchists, and in this division the movement finally disappeared, so far as that phase was concerned.

The first distinctly Socialist political organization was founded in 1885 under the name of the Socialist Labor Party of Belgium. Notwithstanding the frequent dissensions and heated disputes between the Belgian Socialists, the movement has made rapid progress. In 1903 the party undertook a general agitation for universal suffrage (Belgium still having a plural vote seriously discriminating against the working classes). This, however, did not succeed, and in 1904 the party vote was reduced to 463,967 and its representatives in the Chamber of Deputies reduced to 28. In 1906, however, the vote was 469,094 with 30 representatives. The party besides has elected 7 senators, 91 provincial councilors, 650 councilors in 193 communes, and holds the majority in 22 communes. The party press includes 11 dailies, 20 weeklies, 7 monthlies, and 18 Socialist trade-union journals. The leading weekly is *Le Peuple* of Brussels. The party has also connected with it 252 trade-unions, 229 political societies, 25 artistic, and 180 mutual.

The activity of the Belgian Socialists is principally marked by their repeated and embittered struggles for universal suffrage, as above stated, and by their successful organization of cooperative enterprises. Of these there were in 1903 no less than 1,200 establishments with a membership variously estimated at 130,000 to 200,000, and their combined annual business amounted to 40,000,000 francs. The most important of these cooperatives are the "Vooruit," established in Ghent in 1880, and the "Maison du Peuple," founded in Brussels in 1884.

HOLLAND

The movement in Holland, as in Belgium, began with the International, but developed a still stronger anarchistic tendency, and one from which it more slowly freed itself.

The first political organization of socialism in Holland was the Social Democratic Union, founded in 1878, but it made but little progress until

1893, when the anarchistic elements under the leadership of the eloquent Domela Nieuvenhuis withdrew from it. Since then the party has grown, tho not rapidly. It had in 1906 167 sections with 7,471 members, and cast in 1905 65,743 votes, electing 7 deputies. It is represented also in 30 communal councils. The party press has 1 daily, the *Het Volk*, of Amsterdam, and 7 weeklies. Trade-unionism in Holland also long suffered from its connection with anarchism, but in 1905 a federation of Dutch trade-unions was formed, which is now composed of 18 national organizations, with about 28,400 members, and which works sympathetically with the Social Democratic Party.

THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

The Socialist history of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway may be reviewed together. The movement in Denmark is the oldest. It dates back to the days of the International (1870-72), but the present Socialist organization of the country, the Social Democratic Union, was founded in 1878. In 1889 the Danish Socialists elected one deputy to the *Folkething* (Parliament), out of a total of 114; in 1903 the number of their representatives rose to 16, and in 1906 to 24. The Socialist vote was 77,000; 4 representatives were also elected to the *Landsling* (Senate). The party has no less than 25 daily papers and 2 weeklies, the leading daily being the *Sociale Demokraten*. In municipal politics the Socialists have elected over 400 municipal councilors in different cities and towns.

The movement in Sweden was initiated under Danish influence in 1881, and grouped itself around three Socialist papers, the *Social Demokrat*, published in Stockholm since 1885; the *Arbetet* (Worker), established in Malmo in 1887, and the *Ny Tid* (New Times), founded in Gotheburg in 1889. As in the case of Belgium and Holland, the main activity of the Socialist Party has been for years directed toward the conquest of universal suffrage, and its campaign in that behalf was as picturesque as it was energetic and effective. The party has now elected 15 members to the Second Chamber out of 230. It cast in 1905 30,000 votes.

The Socialist organization of Norway, the Norwegian Labor Party, was organized in 1887, but it constituted itself as a Socialist political party only two years later. In the elections to the *Storting* in 1906 the party polled about 45,000 votes and elected 10 deputies; it also has about 330 representatives in the various municipal councils, a number of them being women. The party press includes 4 dailies (the *Social-Demokraten*, of Christiania, the most important), 9 others, two or more times a week, 2 weeklies, and 3 reviews.

The 25,308 members of the united labor-unions of Norway also support the Labor Party. Indeed, the distinguishing feature of the Socialist movement in the three Scandinavian countries is its complete fusion and unity with the trade-union organizations. In fact the organized working men of each of these countries up to a very few years ago constituted but one party, operating simultaneously or alternately on the economic and political fields. The types and methods of the Socialist movement in the three countries are similar to such a point that joint conferences or conventions of the Socialists of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway are quite frequent.

RUSSIA

While the modern Socialist movement in Germany and France, as well as in all other European countries, is primarily economic in its character, and is supported principally by the industrial working classes, the movement in Russia was in its inception preponderantly political and ethical, and was represented principally by men and women of the better situated and cultured classes. This difference in the character of the movement is accounted for by the difference between the social and economic conditions of that country and the rest of Europe at the period of the birth of socialism in Russia. At a time when the modern industrial régime was fully developed, and the system of representative government firmly established in all principal countries of Europe, Russia was a purely agricultural country with a population of peasants just liberated from serfdom, with no manufacturing class or industrial proletariat worth mentioning, and with an almost Asiatic form of autocratic government. The socialism of Russia was not the direct result of economic development, not a form of class struggle between the classes of capitalists and working men; it was partly an expression of political revolt against absolute czarism, and partly a reflex of the economic Socialist theories with such modifications as the peculiar conditions of Russia comported.

The first expressions of Socialist thought in Russia coincide with the agitation for the emancipation of the serfs, and its best known representatives of that period are a famous coterie of publicists and critics, among whom we must mention Alexander Herzen, an expatriated nobleman of considerable wealth, who conducted an active agitation for Russian freedom from London, principally by means of his magazine, *Kolokol* (Bell), and Nicholas Chernyshevsky, the editor of the influential magazine *Sovremennik* (Contemporary), who was deported to Siberia in the prime of his life, to return thence an old man and a physical and mental wreck.

The next phase of the Socialist movement in Russia is that designated as "Nihilism." The word was coined by the well-known novelist Ivan Turgenev as a term of ridicule of the new current of Russian thought which developed strongly around 1860-70, and whose main characteristics were a crude materialism and the negation of all established beliefs.

"Nihilism" was an intellectual rather than a political or social movement, but its effect was to promote socialism in two ways: it created a negative attitude toward the old order of things in Russia, and it developed a thirst of positive knowledge among the youth of both sexes, driving large numbers of them into the universities of Western Europe, principally those of Switzerland, since they could not quench that intellectual thirst at home. There young and receptive Russian students were powerfully attracted by the awakening Socialist movement of Western Europe, and also came under the influence of their own exiled countrymen, Michael Bakunin, Alexander Herzen, and Peter Lavroff, the foremost Russian representative of scientific socialism at that time. The Socialist sympathies of these Russian students were so manifest that their government finally took alarm, and in 1873 summarily recalled them to their fatherland under pain of exile. The effect of the order was hardly

gratifying to the government; the students returned in large numbers, but they returned as active Socialist propagandists.

At this stage of the movement Russian socialism was perfectly peaceful. The activities of the young propagandists were principally educational: their main effort was to raise the intellectual level of the illiterate peasantry composing the great bulk of the population. They spread in the villages, settled among the peasants, whose habits, language, and even dress they tried to imitate, and conducted the work of Socialist propaganda side by side with that of general education. But their activity provoked severe government reprisals: the "political offenders" were hounded down, executed, imprisoned, or exiled to Siberia frequently without as much as the formality of a trial. Within five years the young movement found itself practically checked: the Socialist propagandists, decimated in numbers and rendered desperate by the relentless and cruel police persecution, abandoned the peaceful methods of propaganda. A seeming accident determined the succeeding phase of Russian socialism.

In 1878 a young woman named Vera Sassulich shot at General Trepoff, the military commandant of St. Petersburg, as an act of revenge for his brutal treatment of a political prisoner. Vera Sassulich was placed on trial for the offense, but was triumphantly acquitted by the jury amid the plaudits of the better part of the population. Encouraged by the success of Sassulich, deprived of all means of peaceful activity, and rendered desperate by the relentless police persecutions, the Socialists turned to methods of force and conspiracy.

A sudden and radical change took place in the Russian revolutionary movement. The old type of peaceful propagandist and dreamer disappeared, and instead of him there arose the sullen and determined terrorist. The Russian Socialists engaged in mortal combat with the autocratic government, and the embodiment of that government, the czar in person. The struggle lasted but a few years, and it was the most unique ever witnessed in history. A mere handful of idealists, without substantial support on the part of any class of the population, was arrayed against the rulers of Russia, supported by a powerful police, a vast army, and unlimited resources, and still the struggle was fierce, just as fierce on the one side as on the other. The "white terror" of the government was fully balanced by the "red terror" of the revolutionists. The enthusiasm, courage, and ingenuity displayed by the Russian Socialists, men and women, during that period, defies comparison. The annals of these few years of the movement are the most romantic in the history of international socialism, and are characterized by numerous political assassinations, and by the imprisonment and execution of the most gifted leaders of Russian socialism. The movement culminated in the assassination of Czar Alexander II., and this triumph of the first period of revolutionary terrorism in Russia was also its end. The Russian revolutionists had expected that the killing of the czar would be the signal for a general revolt, but in this expectation they found themselves sorely disappointed. The population of Russia was not ready for a revolution at that time, and had but little sympathy or understanding for the youthful Socialists.

The "Will of the People," the famous fighting organization of the revolutionary terrorists, survived the assassination of Alexander II. only a few years.

In the meanwhile modern industrial conditions rapidly developed in Russia, and with them developed a new social power, the class of factory workers.

Thus was prepared in Russia the soil for a Socialist movement after the pattern of Western Europe, and the soil rapidly produced a plentiful harvest. Already in the days of revolutionary terrorism a small group of Russian Socialists, headed by George Plekhanoff, Paul Axelrod, and Vera Sassulich, based their hopes for the future of Russian socialism in the nascent class of industrial workers, and their propaganda kept pace with the growth and spread of that class. In the early nineties of the last century official Russia, greatly to its surprise and dismay, found itself confronted in all industrial centers by a well-organized and radical labor movement, which refused to yield to persecution or to be side-tracked by governmental ruses. The organized labor movement gave a new impetus to the political Socialist movement. The Social Democratic Party, originally organized by Russian political exiles in Switzerland, soon had a number of local committees in various parts of Russia, and was reinforced by the organizations of the Jewish, Polish, Lettish, and Armenian Social Democrats. At the beginning of the present century the Social Democratic Party, secret and persecuted as it was, had developed into a power of no mean proportions, and during the most agitated days of the overt outbreak of the Russian revolution, toward the end of 1905 and the beginning of 1906, it was this party that led the movement.

With the revival of the Socialist movement in Russia, revolutionary terrorism, the natural child of unbridled autocracy, gradually reappeared. This movement was at first represented by a number of scattered groups, but in 1901 the large majority of them combined their forces and created the party of Socialist Revolutionists, which is responsible for the numerous political assassinations preceding and accompanying the present war between the government and the people of Russia. It is impossible at this time to estimate the number of Russian subjects enlisted in the ranks of socialism of one shade or another, but the fact that the Second Duma, elected on a restricted suffrage and under government surveillance, had about 100 Socialist members (Social Democrats, Socialist Revolutionists, and representatives of the "Group of Toil"), is eloquent testimony of the immense spread and power of socialism in Russia. The outcome of this power is best studied as Russian rather than distinctively Socialist history. (See RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.)

In Finland the Socialists cast 330,000 votes and elected 80 out of 200 delegates to the Diet, according to the report made at the International Socialist Congress of 1907.

UNITED STATES

In the early part of the last century the United States were the chief theater of communistic experiments. The disciples of Owen, Fourier, Weitling, and Cabet alike sought the realization of their Utopian ideals on American soil, and during

the decade of 1840 to 1850 Fourierism in America developed great strength, both as an intellectual movement and as a practical experiment. Among its adherents were many persons of national reputation, such as Horace Greeley, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Charles A. Dana, Albert Brisbane, Margaret Fuller, George Ripley, John S. Dwight, and William E. Channing, and among its experiments the famous Brook Farm and the North American Phalanx each lasted a number of years.

But modern political socialism made its first appearance in the U. S. years after the Fourierist and other Utopian Socialist movements had died out, and there seems to be no direct connection whatever between that movement and its early Utopian precursors. The present Socialist movement in America may be dated from 1868, when the "Social Party of New York and Vicinity" was organized. That party immediately after its formation nominated an independent ticket, but its vote was insignificant, and the organization collapsed. It was succeeded by the "General German Labor Association," which in 1869 became the first local organization or "section" of the "International Working Men's Association." Between 1869 and 1872 a number of additional "sections" of the International were organized in almost all the principal industrial centers from New York to San Francisco. The Socialist movement thus organized seemed so promising that the International transferred its General Council to the U. S.; but after a few years, and especially during the industrial crisis of 1873, the organization rapidly disintegrated.

The first political party on a national scope organized on American soil was the "Social Democratic Working Men's Party," called into life on July 4, 1874, which party, together with several other then existing Socialist organizations, merged into the "Working Men's Party of the U. S." in 1876. It was this party, which had in the meanwhile changed its name to "The Socialist Labor Party of North America," which maintained undisputed hegemony in the Socialist movement during twenty-three years, and was largely instrumental in laying the foundation of the present Socialist movement in this country. In 1892 the Socialists of the U. S. for the first time nominated a presidential ticket, and they have ever since invariably adhered to the policy of independent politics, steadfastly refusing to ally themselves with any other political parties.

But notwithstanding the untiring efforts and persistent propaganda of the Socialist Labor Party, the growth of the Socialist movement in the U. S. was exceedingly slow and entirely out of keeping with that of the movement in other countries. As a matter of fact, the movement was largely confined to foreign working men, principally Germans, and until the end of the last century it did not succeed in acquiring a foothold in the broad masses of the native population. But during the last decade a number of circumstances have combined to insure a more favorable reception to the gospel of socialism in the U. S. The rapid industrial development of the country, accompanied by the growth of gigantic trusts and powerful labor-unions, the growing intensity of the overt struggles between capital and labor, and the collapse of the Populist and other reform movements, all served to prepare the soil for the Socialist seed. Alongside of the Socialist Labor Party, largely built on the narrow lines of a mere propaganda club,

a new party, the "Socialist Party," sprang up, absorbing a considerable part of the members of the Socialist Labor Party, and attracting large numbers of new converts, native Americans of all parts of the country, recruited principally from among the working class. The Socialist Party has at this time (1907) about 1,000 local organizations in the different states and territories of the union, with a dues-paying membership of over 35,000. It polled a vote of almost half a million in the presidential elections of 1904, and its press consists of over thirty periodical publications in almost all conceivable languages. The Socialists have no representation in the U. S. Congress, but they have lately conquered a number of seats in several state legislatures and municipal councils.

OTHER COUNTRIES

Socialism has now made organized appearance in practically every civilized country of the world. In Switzerland socialism, early connected with the International, is now organized on Marxist lines, and has identified with it the *Grütlverein*, the oldest Swiss labor organization, as well as other societies and trade-unions. The party cast in 1906 about 70,000 votes and elected 2 representatives to the National Council, besides 4 others, whom it claims to have elected but who were disqualified. In Spain a Socialist Party is now organized in 100 groups with 6,000 members. It has 7 weeklies, the *Socialista*, of Madrid, being the most important. In Hungary since 1903 the Social Democratic Party has grown from a handful more or less under the ban of the police, to a strong political party which the government cannot ignore. As in Austria, the struggle has been for universal suffrage, and the government, as again in Austria, has been compelled to grant this, tho no elections having yet been held under universal suffrage, the number of Hungarian Socialists cannot be given. The membership in Hungarian trade-unions, which are practically Socialist organizations, has grown from 10,000 at the beginning of 1902 to 129,332 in 1906. Farther east Socialism claims over 3,000 in Bulgaria, mainly of the lower middle class, the proletariat not yet being awakened to it.

In 1902 the party polled 30,000 votes and elected 8 deputies. There are 43 unions with a membership of 1,970. In Servia a Social Democratic Party is struggling against the government for universal suffrage. In 1906 it had 23 locals, 1,400 members, and polled 3,133 votes, electing 1 deputy. In Rumania, Greece, and Portugal there are only the beginnings of a movement. Luxemburg, however, has 5 Socialist deputies.

Outside of Europe and the U. S. socialism, too, is spreading. In Australia, as in England, the Labor Party is the main political expression of the working classes; but tho not explicitly Socialist, its program, even more than in England, is socialistic, and a very large number of its leaders and members are avowed Socialists. It has in the Upper Federal Chamber 15 representatives out of 36, and in the Lower Chamber 26 out of 75. In several of the state legislatures they have even more representation. There is, however, also a Social Party organized in Victoria and in New South Wales.

In Canada socialism has not been much developed except in British Columbia, where there

is a Socialist weekly, *The Western Clarion*. Two Socialist candidates were elected in this province in 1903. Toronto in the east cast 8,200 votes.

In South America there are Socialist organizations in the Argentine Republic (35 groups, 5 papers, 1 daily, *La Vanguardia*, and polling in 1906 3,500 votes), in Bolivia (with a paper, *L'Aurora*), in Chile (100 groups, 4 dailies, and several other journals, polling 18,000 in 1906 and electing 6 deputies), and beginnings in other countries.

We have thus briefly surveyed the development and present condition of the Socialist movement in the principal countries of Europe and America. At the International Socialist Congress held in Stuttgart in 1907 no less than 23 distinct nationalities were represented by delegates, some of them coming from the countries of the Balkan, Japan, South Africa, and Australia. The number of Socialist voters all over the world is at present estimated at about 10,000,000, and the number of adherents of the Socialist creed, voters and non-voters, all over the world, is probably no less than 30,000,000. The Socialist movement has representation in the parliaments of fifteen nations, and in the senates of four countries (Belgium, Denmark, France, and Australia).

An important fact of the movement is the formation of juvenile Socialist organizations, reporting 59,225 members in all the principal countries of the world; also a very large and important Socialist movement among the women in these countries, with a growing literature.

MORRIS HILLQUIT.

SOCIALISM, OBJECTIONS TO: While it would be absurd to say that the present industrial system will remain forever unchanged, there is reason to think that, in its essential features, it will continue for a long time to come. The vitality of capitalism is habitually underestimated by Socialists, who think of it as a decaying system, whereas it is still full of life and vigor.

The basic principle of business activity is the exchange of commodities and services for one another, the giving of a quid pro quo, so that business life, in spite of the dishonesty connected with it, is essentially ethical, and not a system of legalized robbery and exploitation.

Another of the foundation-stones of capitalism is the principle of egoism, the fact that men work for themselves and their families first of all, and secondarily, if at all, for the good of society. Self-interest is the most powerful of all motives and is the mainspring of industrial activity. And yet, as a rule, a man in business best secures his own good by making himself valuable to society.

Another element of strength in capitalism is the fact that it affords to the industrially capable free scope for their energies, opportunity of advancement, and great material rewards. In spite of the concentration of industry, or because of it, the laborers' chances of promotion are greater than ever before in the

history of the world. By a process of economic selection the natural leaders come to the front, while the rank and file of the industrial army are employed most of the time, and are supported in a degree of comfort unknown to the common people of former times, or to those of non-capitalistic countries of the present day.

Strength of Capitalism

Still another strong feature of capitalism is the automatic process of exchange, by which the social value of commodities and the social efficiency of workers are measured. Employers and employees as a rule are paid out of the products of their own industry, and their social efficiency is measured by the profits and wages which they receive. There is thus a mathematical test of efficiency, which is rigorously applied throughout the industrial system, and by which the cost of production is reduced and the product increased, so as to secure a maximum of social utility at a minimum of social cost. Defective as this method of distribution may be, because of imperfect competition, it is more equitable than any artificial system that could be devised, and, tho working hardship to the inefficient, it rewards the efficient, increases the total product of industry, and is good for the majority of the working class.

These and other characteristics make the capitalistic system very strong, but it has the further advantage of possessing the field. It is a working system, which has done great things for the countries that have adopted it, making Western civilization dominant throughout the world, and promising to do as much for Russia, Japan, China, and other non-capitalistic countries, to develop their resources, increase the productivity of their labor, and raise the standard of living.

So the burden of proof rests upon those who would abolish capitalism. They must make it clear that it can be and will be replaced by something radically different and vastly better, or intelligent people will be content to make the best of an imperfect but measurably perfectible system, rather than to commit themselves to a policy of radical experiment and social revolution.

The world is not yet converted to socialism, nor is likely to be for many years to come. The numerical strength of capitalism is very great. Its supporters include manufacturers and merchants, large and small, and it is to be noted that the petty bourgeoisie are not being eliminated as many Socialists contend. Capitalism also commands the adherence of the farmers, with few exceptions; also the vast majority of clerks and officials, the influential professional classes, and the more efficient and highly paid laborers, who have much to lose and nothing to gain by a plunge into democratic collectivism. The proletariat, the propertyless class, who, as Marx says, "have nothing to lose but their chains," are not relatively increasing, nor is their misery increasing, while the new middle class of highly paid workers and professional people is steadily increasing, and forms a bulwark against the realization of socialism.

The laboring class itself, the hope of Socialists, is not united, nor is it likely to unite, upon a program so radical as that of socialism. Probably a majority of those who vote with the Socialists in Germany are not Socialists at all, but republicans, reformers, opportunists, people who protest against monarchism, militarism, and the many evils of capitalism, but who do not look for a social revolution, nor desire the establishment of democratic collectivism. The realization of socialism would not benefit the working class, particularly the more efficient. There would probably be a leveling down, rather than a leveling up, and the laboring class would not be slow to realize the danger of such a process.

The experiments that have been tried in gov-

ernment ownership and management of public utilities have been disappointing, if not discouraging, to the advocates of State socialism. In every country, not excepting Germany, the government official is found to be slow, inefficient, and unprogressive, a slave to routine and red tape, lacking initiative and the stimulus which is necessary to high industrial attainment. The inertia of the public service is notorious, and it is almost an accepted principle that whatever the government does is done in the slowest and most expensive way. The moderate degree of efficiency that is found in public undertakings is largely due to the example of private enterprise, and to the fact that they are managed by people who have been trained in the school of private business. Unless public ownership can show better results in the future than in the past, it is not likely that the people will favor an extension of such activities, even when the government is wholly controlled by the working class.

But in spite of all considerations of prudence, it is possible that the working class in some small country, like Belgium, Switzerland, or New Zealand, may determine to establish collectivism, and thus put their economic theories to a practical test. What would happen in such a case it is impossible to tell.

One may reasonably suppose, however, that production would be carried on by industrial groups, composed of the leading industries with their natural subdivisions. To secure harmony and cooperation it would be necessary to have a governing body at the head of each group, and a central committee representing the industries of the whole nation. There would be a vast and complicated organization, demanding not only faithful industry on the part of the rank and file, but great executive ability and intense application on the part of the officers and the members of the central executive body. But since all the industrial army would be civil servants, working, not chiefly for their own advantage, but for the welfare of society at large; and since it would be necessary to operate by rules, more or less inflexible, with a system of red tape and routine, and, since there would be no scientific measure of industrial efficiency; and since the workers would demand shorter hours and easier conditions in general, there is every reason to think that the working of the system would be characterized by the slow and unprogressive spirit that now marks all governmental undertakings, but in a far greater degree, because of the absence of competition with private enterprise.

There can be little doubt that the cost of production would be greatly increased; that Belgium, for example, would lose her foreign trade to England, Germany, and the United States; that New Zealand would not be able to compete with Australia and the Argentine in the production of mutton; and that all the countries of western Europe, under socialism, would be ruined by the competition of Japan and China.

Realizing the possibility of such an outcome, and recognizing the fact that the capitalistic countries of Europe cannot economically produce their own supply of food and raw materials, many Socialists do not approve of national collectivism. They wish to have international collectivism, and thus forever abolish international competition, as well as competition between private persons within the limits of a given

Results of Socialism

state. This is surely the extreme of Utopianism, ignoring, as it does, all racial prejudice between Europeans, and completely blind to the impracticability of industrial cooperation between the white race on the one hand and Asiatics and Africans on the other. To think, moreover, that the industries of the world can be combined into a single cooperative system on any basis that would be satisfactory to all the nations and all the workers involves a stretch of the imagination and an exercise of faith quite beyond the bounds of mere unaided reason.

Even within the limits of a single socialistic state, the causes of disagreement would be such as to threaten the disruption of the new society from the very first. Socialists generally think of man as tho he were purely a social being, whereas his antisocial instincts, his love of fighting, and his desire to rule are almost if not quite as strong as the impulses that make for unity and peace. The capitalistic system, by giving place to industrial rivalry, as well as cooperation, is well suited to the present state of human nature, and there is reason to think that, under collectivism, people would be too closely associated to remain at peace among themselves.

If the productivity of collective industry, within a given state, were reduced, there would be terrible disappointment among the workers, with mutual recriminations and a fierce struggle for shares in the diminished product. But if the national income were abundant, which is not likely, there would still be opportunity for disputes concerning the principle of division. Would the distribution be equal, according to efficiency, or according to needs? If according to needs, who could suggest a measure of needs other than the needs of the most efficient? If according to efficiency, could a satisfactory measure and test of efficiency be found and put into operation, and would the majority of the people, the relatively inefficient, ever consent to reward adequately the efficient services of their natural leaders? If equal distribution should prevail, and this would be most in accord with the traditions of socialism, what motives would operate to stimulate the latent energies of the workers, and prevent society from sinking to the dead level of uniformity and mediocrity? Socialists give no convincing answer to these questions, but express the hope that altruistic motives and the desire for honorable distinction would replace the love of material things which now controls the economic activity of the vast majority of mankind.

Another cause of infinite contention would be the assignment of workers to their proper places in the industrial army, and their promotion, when deserved, to higher or more desirable work. That all drudgery could be abolished, or by any device made as pleasant as other kinds of work, is not to be believed. Nor is it probable that the hours of work could be greatly reduced without a serious falling off in production. The election or appointment of officers, too, would be a source of endless trouble. If they were elected by their associates, it would be impossible to keep politics out of industrial life, and efficiency would be destroyed, while, if they were appointed from above, the way would be open for administrative tyranny and the utter destruction of democracy.

Again, there would be growing discontent among the consumers, as such, since production would not be regulated automatically, as now, but

artificially, by a central administration, remote from the individual consumers, and not readily persuaded to produce new commodities, or to improve the old, or to depart in any way from the established and intolerable uniformity.

It would be easy to mention other serious causes of dissatisfaction, which would inevitably result in political factions, class struggles, and a disorderly condition of things, necessitating the establishment of a standing army for the control of the discontented and the maintenance of law and order. From this it would be only a step to a system of compulsory labor, under which the masses of the people would be wage-slaves in a far worse sense than now, toiling for a bare subsistence, and exploited by an aristocracy of parasitic officials.

But it is not at all probable that revolutionary Socialists will ever be able to control the industrial life of more than one or two small nations, for the experience of these will be so disastrous as to deter the rest of the world from following in their footsteps.

Competition, after all, is the best and safest test of industrial efficiency. If governments show themselves able to compete with private enterprise in producing better results at a less cost of capital and labor, and if cooperative societies prove that they can do the same, then governmental and cooperative industries controlled, no doubt, by the laboring class, will possess the field, by virtue of superior efficiency, and the socialistic ideal will be realized by a process of slow and continuous evolution. But if not, capitalism will continue to exist, and the laboring class will find it to their advantage to preserve and foster it, while at the same time doing their utmost to remove abuses and to secure as large a share in the product as they can get without injury to the industrial system of which they form a part.

J. E. LE ROSSIGNOL.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY: A political party in the United States, organized in New York in 1876, mainly of Germans, under the name of the Social Democratic Working Men's Party. In 1877 it cast 1,365 votes in New York City, and the same year adopted the name of the Socialist Labor Party. In 1892 it first nominated presidential candidates and polled 21,157 votes. In 1897, however, the Social Democratic Party was formed, largely under the lead of Eugene V. Debs and others who believed in a party more genuinely American than the Socialist Labor Party, and one that could work in and through existing trade-unions, while the Socialist Labor Party believed in trade-unions but only in unions which would declare for socialism. The movement thus became divided. The Socialist Labor Party, however, mainly under the lead of Daniel de Leon, has continued its course, believing that the so-called "broader" policy of the Social Democratic Party (usually called The Socialist Party) would not endure. In 1896 the Socialist Labor Party polled 36,564 votes; in 1900, 34,191, and in 1904, 33,536 (the Social Democrat Party polling 408,230). The Socialist Labor Party is still largely a New York party and still largely German. In carrying out its principles it organized a Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of a few Socialistic labor-unions opposed to the American Federation of Labor, and in return considered a "scab" organization by the American Federation. The "Alliance," how-

ever, has been virtually merged in "The Industrial Workers of the World" (q. v.). The party publishes *The Daily People*, edited by Daniel de Leon. *Secretary* of the party, Frank Bohn, 2 New Reade Street, New York City.

SOCIALIST PARTY, THE (OF THE UNITED STATES) (for the earlier history of socialism in the United States, see **SOCIALISM, HISTORY OF**): The first Socialist political movement in the U. S. was the Social Party of New York and vicinity, in 1868; in the same year the first sections of the International Working Men's Association were formed. In 1871 the North American Federation of the I. W. A. began its agitation. In May, 1874, the Social Democratic Working Men's Party was organized. In July, 1876, this party and the I. W. A. united in Philadelphia under the name of the Working Men's Party of America, and in Dec., 1877, the name of this party was changed to the Socialist Labor Party of North America. Until 1898 this was practically the only Socialist political party in this country, surviving a number of serious internal controversies as well as adverse political conditions. In June of that year, partly because of dissatisfaction with the vigorous antitrade-union policy which dominated the Socialist Labor Party, partly because of the highly centralized power exercised over the party and its press by a few individuals, and also because it was felt that the methods of agitation of the party were not such as to appeal to the American working class, the Social Democratic Party was organized at Chicago. The organizers of the Social Democratic Party were themselves a bolting faction from the first national convention of the Social Democracy of America, which had been formed in 1897 by Eugene V. Debs at the final convention of the American Railway Union. The Social Democracy had had for its main object the formation of cooperative colonies, but also presented a political platform. In its first convention (June, 1898) a contest over whether the organization should continue as originally planned, or become purely a Socialist political party, resulted in a bolt of those favoring the latter policy and the formation of the Social Democratic Party, with the political organization of the working class for socialism as its one object.

The new party started out with a declaration of sympathy with the trade-union movement, and immediately began active political work. In Nov., 1898, it attracted universal attention by electing two members of the Massachusetts legislature and the Mayor of Haverhill, in the same state. Meanwhile the growing dissatisfaction within the Socialist Labor Party finally resulted in a revolt among its members against the dominant powers that dictated what was believed to be a ruinous policy. This revolt culminated in Aug., 1899, and out of the conflict came what was afterward known as the Rochester Socialist Labor Party, on account of the revolting faction holding a convention in Rochester, N. Y., in Feb., 1900. At this convention the administration of the old party was repudiated and a new line of general policy agreed upon, including an attitude of sympathy with the trade-union movement. A presidential ticket composed of Job Harriman, of California, and Max S. Hayes, of Ohio, was nominated.

In March, 1900, the Social Democratic Party held its first national convention at Indianap-

olis. To this convention came a delegation from the Rochester Socialist Labor Party, on a mission of unity between that party and the Social Democratic Party. As a result of the movement for unity amalgamation was thought to have been accomplished and a joint ticket was nominated, consisting of Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana, for president, and Job Harriman, of California, for vice-president. Later, however, differences arose which caused the establishment of another national headquarters at Springfield, Mass., in opposition to the one already existing at Chicago. There were, therefore, two separate organizations in the national campaign of 1900, each claiming the name Social Democratic Party, altho both supported the original ticket nominated at Indianapolis. In July, 1901, unity between these two rival bodies was accomplished under the name of the Socialist Party, which is the present organization.

At the present writing (Aug., 1907) the Socialist Party has state organizations in thirty-nine states and territories, and local organizations in the remainder. Its membership is estimated at between 30,000 and 35,000. Its national headquarters, since 1901, have been successively situated at St. Louis, Omaha, and Chicago, and they are now in the last city, in charge of a salaried national secretary. A regular corps of interstate speakers is kept in the field and the agitation and organizing work never stops. The party is known as the Social Democratic Party in Wisconsin and the Public Ownership Party in Minnesota.

Since 1899 the Socialist Party has elected state and local officials in many states, particularly Wisconsin, Illinois, Montana, and Pennsylvania, besides Massachusetts, already mentioned. In 1900 the national ticket polled 97,730 votes, and in 1904, with Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana, and Ben Hanford, of New York, as its candidates for president and vice-president, respectively, 408,230 votes were recorded.

The press of the party has grown rapidly. The principal periodicals appearing in English are: *The Worker*, New York (weekly); *Chicago Daily*

Socialist Press

Socialist; *The Socialist*, Seattle, Wash. (weekly); *Montana News*, Helena, Mont. (weekly); *Labor*, St. Louis (weekly); *Social Democratic Herald*, Milwaukee, Wis. (weekly); *International Socialist Review*, Chicago (monthly); *Socialist Review*, Hoboken, N. J. (semi-monthly). Of these *The Worker*, *Montana News*, and *Socialist Review* are owned exclusively by the party organizations where they are published. Among general propaganda papers supporting the Socialist Party are *The Appeal to Reason*, Girard, Kan. (weekly); *Wiltshire's Magazine*, New York (monthly); the *Socialist Woman*, Chicago (monthly).

Of the large number of papers in foreign languages the most important are the German New York *Volkszeitung* (daily), established in 1878; the *Vorwärts*, New York (weekly); the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, St. Louis (weekly); *Die Wahrheit*, Milwaukee (weekly); the French *L'Union des Travailleurs*, Charleroi, Pa. (weekly); the Polish *Robotnik*, Brooklyn (weekly); the Bohemian *Spravdnost*, Chicago (weekly); the Jewish *Forward*, New York (daily). In addition, the party has the open support of many trade-union journals in different languages, including the *Brewers' Journal*, Cincinnati (weekly); *Cleveland Citizen*,

Cleveland, Ohio (weekly); *Miners' Magazine*, Denver, Colorado (weekly).

As a part of the International Socialist movement, accepting the platform and principles of that movement, the Socialist Party is represented at the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels and takes part in the congresses of the International Party of Socialism.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR: In 1871, in Germany, Herr Offenheim, in the *National Zeitung*, dubbed those professors of political economy who inclined toward certain socialistic views, *Katheders Sozialisten* (Academic Socialists or Socialists of the Chair). The term was taken up and accepted by Professor Schmoller (*q. v.*) in his opening address at a gathering at Eisenach in 1872 of those who sympathize with the view, and it led to somewhat of a movement in Germany, and the formation in 1873 of the *Verein für Sozial-Politik* (Social Economic Club), an organization to represent their views, holding meetings almost annually and producing considerable literature. The name has passed into other countries, and in England and America is applied to professors (and they are not a few, see **SOCIALISM**) who incline to certain socialistic propositions. Nevertheless, Socialists of the Chair are not Socialists. In Germany, especially, they stand for little more than an expansion of the paternal State, while Socialists oppose paternalism.

Professor Schmoller, in his opening address at Eisenach, said:

"The marked division of classes in the midst of existing society, the open war between masters and workmen, between owners and proletarians, and the danger, still distant but threatening the future, of a social revolution, have for some years caused doubts to arise as to the truth and definitive triumph of the economic doctrines represented by the congress of economists; and on all sides it is questioned whether absolute freedom of labor and the complete abolition of the antiquated regulations of the Middle Ages will bring about that perfectly happy situation which the believers in *laissez-faire* have so enthusiastically predicted." (While thus separating himself from the old optimism of the Manchester party [Das Manchesterthum], Schmoller was careful to show that he did not accept the conclusion of the Socialists.) "Tho by no means satisfied," he said, "with existing social conditions, and convinced of the necessity of reforms, we preach neither the upsetting of science nor the overthrow of the existing social order, and we protest against all socialistic experiments. All the great advances shown in history have been the results of the work of ages. The existing economic legislation, the present methods of production, the psychological conditions of the different classes, ought to be the basis of our reforming energy. We demand neither the abolition of industrial freedom nor the suppression of the wage system; but we do not wish, out of respect for abstract principles, to allow the most crying abuses to become daily worse, and to permit so-called freedom of contract to end in the actual exploitation of the laborer. We do not desire the State to advance money to working men in order that they may make experiments on systems inevitably destined to fail; but we demand that it should concern itself, in an altogether new spirit, with their instruction and training, and should see that labor is not conducted under conditions which must have for their inevitable effect the degradation of the laborer."

SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, THE (English): The Sociological Society was constituted in Nov., 1903, by a combination of representatives of all departments of social investigation, as well as of practical interests, political, educational, philanthropic, religious, etc.

The aims of the society are scientific, educational, and practical. It seeks to promote investigation, and to advance education in the social sciences in their various aspects and applications. It aims at affording a common ground on which workers from all fields and schools concerned with

social phenomena may meet. Economist and historian, psychologist and moralist, anthropologist and archeologist, geographer and naturalist, as also physician and alienist, criminologist and jurist, hygienist and educationist, philanthropist and social reformer, politician and cleric.

The Sociological Society prosecutes its work by means customary to an efficiently organized learned society, namely, meetings for papers and discussions, the collection of relevant periodical and book literature, and by publications. For papers and discussions the society holds meetings in its rooms, 24 Buckingham St. The society also publishes a quarterly journal, *The Sociological Review*.

The foreign correspondents of the society include many of the most eminent continental and American sociologists. Membership is open to all interested in sociological studies. *Secretary*, Dr. Slaughter. *Address*: 24 Buckingham St., Strand, London, W. C.

SOCIOLOGY (from Latin *socius*, a comrade, whence *societas*, society, and Greek *λόγος*, reason) is in general the science of society. Three distinct conceptions of the science have, however, prevailed. It has been conceived (1) as a mere coordination of the various particular social sciences; (2) as itself a particular science dealing with all social relations not considered under other social sciences; (3) as a science of the fundamental laws and general principles underlying all social phenomena. This is the view which obtains to-day with the best thinkers. It is a modern science. Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hume, Bentham, Burke, Hegel, Fourier, and others developed many profound and valuable thoughts as to social principles, yet Comte (*q. v.*) in 1838 first used the word sociology for the science of society, or social physics, as he called it, and first developed social principles in a systematic way, based, as he believed, on an induction from facts. He conceived of the social world as a unity, looked at according to his well-known analysis of the history of human thought, first theologically, then metaphysically, and lastly positively, or as a mere study of facts apart from all preconception. But Comte's acquaintance with social facts was limited. Jacques Quetelet in his "*Du Système Sociale*" (1848) and "*Physique Sociale*" (1855) laid the foundations and developed the methods of quantitative—that is, of scientifically exact—studies of social phenomena. Herbert Spencer (*q. v.*) introduced the conception of evolution and formulated the great basic propositions of evolutionist sociology. His "Principles of Sociology," as a developed part of his synthetic philosophy, did not begin to appear till 1876, but most of his more important positions are already developed in his earlier works. With wide knowledge he undertakes to explain the genesis of all phenomena, mental and natural, in accordance with a universal law of evolution. Mr. Spencer's social theories, however, have not satisfied those who believe that the State should assume more than the simplest governmental functions. Lester F. Ward ("*Dynamic Sociology*," vol. i., p. 218) says of Spencer:

No man probably ever wrote as much as he has written without saying more than the average judgment of mankind could not indorse as soon as presented. . . . Paradoxical as it may sound, and whether it be construed as complimentary or otherwise, Mr. Spencer has too much good sense and too much real knowledge to build a perfect system of philosophy.

The biological conception of society is minutely carried out by the German A. Schäffle (*q. v.*) in his "Bau und Leben des sozialen Körpers" (1875), and by the Belgian Guillaume de Greef in his "Introduction à la Sociologie" (1886-89). In the United States Lester F. Ward, in his "Dynamic Sociology" (1883), "The Psychic Factors of Civilization" (1893), "Pure Sociology" (1902), and "Applied Sociology" (1906), lays emphasis upon the self-conscious purpose of man as a controlling factor in the advanced stages of social evolution. His works are of special importance in reform because of his argument that at a certain point the natural evolution of society passes over into an artificial and teleological evolution. Mr. Ward's belief that society can consciously determine its own status perhaps contributes to socialism as truly as Mr. Spencer's position opposes socialism. At least mention should be made of an earlier American who, tho not using the term sociology, nevertheless treated sociological subjects with some originality and force—Henry C. Carey (*q. v.*). He published his "Principles of Social Science" in 1858-60, grouping all phenomena round the principle of association, but somewhat forcing facts to suit his own fancies about association. More recent writers have found various principles as the elementary and distinctive principle of society. Gabriel Tarde ("Les Lois de l'Imitation," 1890) finds it in imitation; Ludwig Gumplowicz ("Der Rassenkampf," 1883, and "Grundriss der Sociologie," 1885) finds it in the conflicts, amalgamations, and assimilations of heterogeneous ethnical groups; J. Novicow of Odessa ("Les Luttes entre les Sociétés Humaines," 1893) finds it in the variation of conflict and alliance; Emile Durkheim ("De la Division du Travail Sociale," 1893) finds it in a division of functions creating not only division, but solidarity, ethical and moral as well as economic; John S. Mackenzie ("An Introduction to Social Philosophy," 1870) elaborates the Platonic or moral-organic conception of society; Gustav Ratzenhofer ("Wesen und Zweck der Politik," 1893, and "Die Sociologische Erkenntniss," 1898) and Albion W. Small ("General Sociology," 1905) interpret society in terms of *interests*. Small has given particular attention to the progress of method in sociology which he says has been marked from Spencer to Ratzenhofer "by gradual shifting of effort from analogical representation of social structures to real analysis of social processes." Prof. F. H. Giddings first in numerous articles, and in 1896 in his "Principles of Sociology," held that "the original and elementary subjective fact in society is the consciousness of kind" (p. 17). In later works ("Elements of Sociology," 1898, "Inductive Sociology," 1901, and "Descriptive and Historical Sociology," 1906) he derives the consciousness of kind itself and all other social phenomena, from the varying degrees of like and unlike response, by like and unlike individuals, to a common stimulation. Out of these elements are built up concerted volition and social control, and social organization, the function of which is to create and maintain the social welfare. Such, in brief, is the development of sociology up to the present time. We shall now consider its content and main positions, following, for the most part, the outline of the last-named author. According to him descriptive sociology comes first, a knowledge of the facts being of necessity preliminary to their analysis. Society is not limited to human beings;

most animals are social. The associations of the ants, bees, and beavers are well known. Among mammals and birds isolated lives are rare. Some degree of aggregation is necessary usually to preserve life in the struggle for life. In his "The Ascent of Man" Professor Drummond has developed the thought that the struggle for the life of others is a necessary concomitant of the struggle for life of self. Say the authors of "The Evolution of Sex" (p. 279): "The activities of even the lowest organisms are often distinctively referable to either category. . . . Hardly distinguishable at the outset, the primitive hunger and love become the starting points of divergent lines of egoistic and altruistic motion and activity." Kropotkin emphasizes the fact played by the social life in animal evolution in his use of Brehm's "Illustriertes Thierleben." Aggregation is of two kinds: genetic, or by descent from a common ancestor, and congregate, or by the coming together of individuals. The patriarchal theory of the origin of society supposed a genetic basis; the social-contract theory, a congregate basis. Neither is exclusively the case. External physical conditions, as necessity of food and water and protection, compel aggregation. Yet the evidence that close interbreeding is injurious is familiar and is generally accepted as conclusive.

Association

We come next to consider the social mind. This is not an abstract but a concrete thing. It exists only in individual minds, and yet is more than any individual mind; it is the phenomenon of individual minds in interaction. Aggregation is supplemented by various processes of communication, suggestion and imitation, conflict and association, all constituting an interstimulation and responsive mind in relation with mind. In this process resemblances and differences are accentuated, like natures become aware of their similarity, the consciousness of kind arises, and assimilation begins. Like response to common stimulation played upon by the consciousness of kind becomes concerted volition and develops into cooperation. In animals the social mind is instinctive only. In the lowest men and on occasions among more highly developed men it is mainly instinctive and emotional, manifesting itself in panics, fads, crazes, mobs, revivals, revolutions, lynching, etc.

Social Mind

The social mind acquires continuity through the social memory or tradition. Tradition is the integration of the public opinion of many generations. Primary traditions are economic, juridical, political, and are developed in this order. Secondary traditions are personal, esthetic, and religious. Tertiary traditions are theological, metaphysical, and scientific. The highest form of the social mind is attained through investigation and discussion and the evolution of a reasoned public opinion.

The social organization includes the social composition, or groupings in which individuals or minor groups of individuals dwell together, and the social constitution, or groupings in which individuals work or otherwise act together whether they dwell together or not. Social composition begins with the family group. Not much social composition is found below the birds, tho nearly all birds live in families. Brehm declared that genuine marriage could be found only among birds. ("Thierleben," bd. iv., p. 20.)

Groups which are composed of families are

either ethnical, that is, composed of kindred and genetic; or demotic, that is, associate and civil. (See FAMILY.)

The composition of demotic societies into villages, towns, counties, states, nations, is well known (*q. v.*). This social composition is psychological rather than physical. The constitution of society is its organization into specialized associations for various social ends. Examples are municipal governments, churches, schools, industrial corporations, societies, clubs, etc. In the tribal society composition and constitution are substantially identical.

In civilized communities the constitution of society is like a great circle with numberless small circles within it. Socialists are right in saying that the State could do all; individualists are right in saying that society could get on without government; but neither is the normal development. The end of society is the evolution of the rational and spiritual personality of its members. Cultural associations develop this and are religious, educational, scientific, ethical, esthetic, or what is called polite society. Economic, legal, and political associations exist in a functional sense for the sake of cultural organization and activity. Psychologically the social constitution is the exact opposite of the social composition. It is an alliance of the like and the non-tolerance of the unlike in each simple association, supplemented by toleration and consideration of the unlike in complex association. Historical sociology Professor Giddings divides into four parts. (1) Zoogenic association (association of animals) long preceded the association of men and deeply affected animal life. Indeed we may say that association or society has been the supreme element in the struggle for existence. It was Mr. Darwin's dictum that "those communities which included the greatest number of the most sympathetic members would flourish best" (quoted in Drummond's "The Ascent of Man," p. 238). Kropotkin says, "Sociability is as much a law of nature as mutual struggle" (*Nineteenth Century*, 1890, p. 340). Herbert Spencer says of the ethical bearings of altruistic principles ("Principles of Ethics," vol. ii, p. 5): "Animal life of all but the lowest kinds has been maintained by virtue of them. Excluding the *Protozoa*, among which their operation is scarcely discernible, we see that, without gratis benefits to offspring and earned benefits to adults, life could not have continued."

Historical Sociology

"The ant," says Kropotkin, "thrives without having any of the 'protective' features which cannot be dispensed with by animals living an isolated life."

In their societies parrots find infinitely more protection than they possibly might find in any ideal development of beak and claw. Horses, badly organized on the whole for resisting both their numerous enemies and the adverse conditions of climate, would soon have disappeared from the surface of the earth were it not for their social spirit. When a beast of prey approaches them several studs unite at once, . . . and when a snowstorm rages in the steppes each stud keeps close together and repairs to a protected ravine. . . . Life in societies enables the feeblest insects, the feeblest birds, and the feeblest mammals to resist or to protect themselves from the most terrible birds and beasts of prey. . . . We maintain that under any circumstances sociability is the greatest advantage in the struggle for life. (Kropotkin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 7-11.)

(2) But after zoogenic comes anthropogenic association. There is here, however, no break. Society produced man rather than man society. The ape-like forerunner of man is social. (See Darwin's "Descent of Man," p. 180.) Language

is necessary to human development and society is necessary to language. Most evolutionary thought here has gone astray. Mr. Fiske argues that social development followed from prolonged infancy, but this forgets that association must precede prolonged infancy. The brain is the result of association and man the creature of social life, rather than social life the work of man.

Mr. Lester F. Ward (in *American Anthropologist*, vol. viii., No. 3, July, 1895) also argues that "man's erect posture is chiefly due to brain development," and that his psychologic evolution is to be explained largely by association.

Such is this view of the genesis of the human species, in society, rather than of society from man, tho Mr. Giddings reminds his reader that the conclusions are yet merely hypothetical. Economic ideas, even of tools, political ideas of toleration and obedience and of kinship, have their beginnings in the animal world. Characteristic of the beginnings of human society were the primitive explanations and traditions of life, death, and causation, as animism and the ghost theory.

(3) Coming now to ethnogenic associations, we find that self-consciousness is that which distinguishes human from animal communities. At first, however, the social constitution is not different from the social composition. The first groups were probably formed of family groups.

At the same time the relations of the sexes may have been the loosest. The family relation can and probably did coexist with the greatest sexual irregularities, especially at the great gatherings and festivals. The trading and lending of wives was common. It is probable that the domestic group was simply a monogamous family, mainly the result of male jealousy and power, as held by Darwin and Maine; with polyandry and polygyny the exception. (See FAMILY.) The male probably often deserted the female with her children, and they would know only the mother, thus accounting for the matronymic clan. The union of hordes produces the tribe, and the union of tribes an ethnic nation. In horde, clan, or tribe, chieftaincy can become hereditary; the clans are the juridical organization; the phratry is the religious organization guarding the religious tradition. Its secret societies of medicine-men give the germs of the professional class; the sachems elected by clansmen and clanswomen are the first judges. Chieftains become the founders of a nobility. There results a feudalism (*q. v.*) which prepares the way for another system.

In demogenic associations the social composition is subordinate to a developed social constitution. It has three stages. In the first all the energies of society are concentrated upon political integration and defense, as in Egypt and Babylonia; in the second there is a critical effort to achieve the union of personal liberty with stability through the constructive evolution of municipal constitutional law. Greece failed in construction and Rome sacrificed spontaneity to system. This stage went on through the Middle Ages, the Reformation, the French and American Revolutions. The third stage is industrial. The development of the fundamental social interests thus reverses the order of their genesis.

We found that there were three fundamental social traditions—economic, legal, and political—evolved in this order. But when society, build-

ing on these traditions, reaches the political stage it puts its social energies into perfecting that first, and then works back and perfects its legal and then its economic life. So with the secondary traditions of the personal or animistic, the esthetic and religious. When society has reached the political stage it has by no means perfected its secondary traditions, and therefore, in so far as it busies itself with intangible concerns, it interests itself in religion, then in art, then in personal interests.

The tertiary traditions, however, follow a different order. In the religious-political age the human mind is theological; in the critical age it is metaphysical; only in the economic and spiritual age it is scientific. The stages of civilization are then military, religious, and theological; liberal, legal, and metaphysical; finally, economic, ethical, and scientific.

In this philosophy of history will be seen both the basis and the inadequacy of Comte's trilogy of the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive; of Hegel's conception of the evolution of the personality of man, disregarding the stages of society; and Mr. Spencer's evolution of society in terms of differentiation of structures, and finding only two types, the military and the industrial.

Ethnic societies that have reached the age of confederation and kingship become lawless and aggressive. Migration and conquest result. The great historical races are the result of the superposition of races upon races, as in Egypt.

As a result of such conquests society becomes mingled, sovereignty is developed, the social constitution becomes more than the social composition, life and property become more secure than in nomadic days; wealth develops, trade flows to centers, division of labor between city and country grows. Traders come and outdo in wealth the older population. The problem is to incorporate, under political form, congregate societies. The genetic form of society gives place to the civil. Church and State are organized. Ethnic unity, however, is not lost. Territory is more thought of. Political integration goes on. Strong states absorb the weak. The community, too, reacts on the individual. Gradually the military state is outgrown. Natural selection favors those adapted to the dominant social characteristics. Selection, for example, has produced the American spirit, with its desire for change, its love of experiment, and its respect for enterprise. The legal and critical age is born. Voluntary organization, under the authority and protection of law, assumes endless variety. It produces personal liberty. There is much inherent democracy in mere numbers. But the development of liberalism disintegrates the social composition. The religious-proprietary family is weakened. Liberalism substitutes contract for custom. The authority of the parent is weakened. The family becomes romantic and unstable. Liberalism, too, weakens the State, but it increases wealth and introduces the industrial age. Increase of wealth multiplies population, if

not by increasing the birth-rates, by decreasing death-rates. The corrected Malthusian formula is: "In any given state of industry and the arts population tends to increase faster than it is possible to raise the general plane of living." This quickens invention and in-

dustrial progress begins anew. Invention is rhythmic. Spencer is right ("Principles of Biology," vol. ii., pt. 6), as Professor Lavasseur, M. Dumont, and Miss Brownell have shown that the birth-rate diminishes as individual evolution increases. This is partly the result of physiological changes, but mainly the result of psychological reasons. There is a deliberate prevention of births. The "preventive check" has come into general use, as in France and New England. But this proves not the falsity but the truth of Malthusianism. It gives indubitable proof that population feels the tendency to increase faster than it is possible to raise the general plane of living. Demogenic association develops classes and the class struggle. Disintegration of the social constitution shows itself in the city; savagery threatens the cities, but first private philanthropy, and then communal intelligence, awaken ethical character and effort and check the savagery. Society thus becomes more reflectively self-conscious and studies more the possibilities of both free contract and authority.

This leads us to the study of explanatory sociology, or the consideration of social law and cause. The initial causes of society are physical, but association furthers survival and happiness, and develops the conscious individual and the conscious society. Relations and activities are valued, choices are made, policies are devised, institutions founded. Natural selection works among these. The further task of sociology is to discover and use the details and laws of these complicated processes. Society is often described as an organism, but it is more. It is essentially psychical. It is more than a multitude of individual minds. Personality is a unity, but it is not indivisible or undecomposable.

Undoubtedly the individual will plays a large part in human life, but the question is whence comes the individual will. Sociology, as a science of natural causation and natural law, declares emphatically that the individual is, at least to a very large extent, the product of environment, including the social will. Man is a variable, but not an independent variable. The theory of natural rights is given up to-day by science, but there are norms of rights, socially necessary laws, which science is beginning to discover. Society is a psychological organization rather than a physical organism. Sociology then teaches that the struggle for life brings individual beings into a certain amount of aggregation; that a consciousness of kind begins in the earliest animal life; that the struggle for life is aided in the earliest stages by what Drummond calls the struggle for the life of others; that thus from aggregation there comes a more or less conscious association; that this reacts upon and develops the individual; that a social mind is developed, and eventually expressed in social purposes and control; that there follows a struggle for existence between, and a survival of, the fittest social institutions, and thus we have the persistence and coexistence of the highest personality and the highest social organization.

Society is not a physical organism, but it is a psychological organization of conscious organisms.

Revised by F. H. GIDDINGS.

REFERENCES: F. H. Giddings's *Principles of Sociology* (1896), *Inductive Sociology* (1901), and *Descriptive and Historical Sociology* (1906); Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Sociology* (1876); L. F. Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* (1883), *The Psychic*

Philosophy of History

Cause of Progress

Malthusian- ism

Factors of Civilisation (1893), *Pure Sociology* (1902), and *Applied Sociology* (1906); Henry Drummond's *The Ascent of Man* (1896); J. S. Mackenzie's *An Introduction to Social Philosophy* (1899); Ross's *Social Control* (1901); Small's *General Sociology* (1905).

SOETBEER, ADOLPH GEORGE: Statistician and political economist; born in Hamburg, 1814; taking his degree at Göttingen, entered the education department of the city of Hamburg, and later the Hamburg Deputation of Commerce, he became an authority on financial questions. Called "the father of German gold coinage," he regrets the decline in value of silver and favors the adoption of one gram of fine gold as an international unit of value, the coinage of gold to be free, on payment of a seniorage, but no gold coin containing less than 5.8065 grams of pure gold to be minted. All nations to coin silver in the ratio of 20 to 1, but its coinage not to be free. In 1872 he became professor of political science at Göttingen. Died Oct. 23, 1892.

Author of numerous works, he is best known for his tables of prices.

SOLVAY, ERNEST, AND THE SOLVAY INSTITUTE: Founder of the Solvay Institute at Brussels, Belgium; born in Brabant, 1838; manufacturer and inventor; he has made a fortune in the manufacturing of soda by a new process, being often spoken of as the Soda King. He has introduced various industrial betterment features into his factories, and founded (1901) and endowed the Solvay Institute, in Brussels, a large and well-equipped institute devoted to all forms of sociological research. He had previously founded an institute of physiology, and has been a large benefactor of the University of Brussels. He has received many honors from the State, and was elected senator, as a Liberal, in 1893 and 1897. Address: Solvay Institute, Leopold Park, Brussels, Belgium.

SOMERSET, LADY HENRY: Daughter of Earl Somers of Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire; president of British Woman's Temperance Association; born in London, 1851. She was married in 1872 to Lord Henry Somerset, the second son of the Duke of Beaufort.

For some years Lady Henry was often at court, and a leader in the fashionable society of London, but this position was not congenial to her tastes.

Leaving London in the year 1878 for one of her father's beautiful country places, she remained there for many years in comparative retirement with her son. In 1884 Lord Somers died, leaving Lady Henry Somerset heir to Eastnor Castle, Somers Town (London), and Reigate. The responsibility of administering an estate involving a tenancy of more than one hundred thousand persons deeply impressed the mind of Lady Henry Somerset, and in a crisis hour she seemed to hear a voice saying to her: "Act as tho God were and thou shalt know He is." This was the turning-point of her destiny, for she renounced society, broke away from her former relationships at the cost of criticism and alienation, and went with her son to Eastnor Castle, 100 miles from London, where for five years she lived among her tenants without comradeship of any kind save as Christian workers, whom she invited, came and went from time to time. She built chapels, hired missionaries, held meetings for the miners in Wales near where she had spent some years of her married life, and in every way improved the con-

dition of those dependent upon her. Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith, an American lady and a leader in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, came to Eastnor by invitation, and from her Lady Henry Somerset heard the history of the crusade in Ohio, the organized movement which followed it, and the wide sweep of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union. By Mrs. Smith's request, Lady Somerset consented to accept the presidency of the British Woman's Temperance Association, which had been founded as the result of a visit made by Mother Stewart to Great Britain in 1876. This was in 1890. In 1891 Lady Henry, with Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith, came by invitation to the first convention of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Boston, Mass., presided over by Miss Frances E. Willard. She was so deeply impressed by the White Ribbon women and their work that she remained six months in America, being associated with Miss Willard in the editorship of the *Union Signal*, the organ of the women's White Ribbon movement.

In April, 1891, Lady Henry Somerset returned to London. In August of that year Miss Willard lost her mother and went to Eastnor Castle. By their united efforts the British Woman's Temperance Association was reconstructed on the lines of the modern temperance movement as illustrated in the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the central idea of which is to correlate the temperance movement with other reforms such as the enfranchisement of women, the labor movement, the social purity movement, all of which are inextricably intertwined with the temperance reform itself.

In the previous year, 1892, Lady Henry had assumed the editorship of a London paper called *The Woman's Herald*, but in 1894 the name was changed to *The Woman's Signal*. It is now the leading woman's paper of Great Britain in the world of philanthropy and reform.

Lady Somerset is strongly opposed to all organizations and declarations in which "profession mocks performance." She has more and more connected herself with the labor movement and with a practical "Christian socialism."

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

SOUTH AFRICA, including Cape Colony, Natal, Orange River Colony, the Transvaal, Rhodesia, Swaziland, Basutoland, and Bechuanaland, comprises one of the largest and most important portions, having 1,313,000 sq. m., compared with 1,766,000 in India, 2,972,000 in Australia (commonwealth), 3,653,000 in Canada, and an estimated population of not under 7,000,000 (white, 1,135,016), compared with 294,000,000 in India, 4,000,000 in Australia (commonwealth), and 5,000,000 in Canada.

(For all statistics, dates of acquisition, etc., see *BRITISH EMPIRE*, p. 131.)

The office of High Commissioner in and for South Africa was created in 1878. He is also governor of Basutoland, administers the protectorates of Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Rhodesia, and represents the crown in all extra-colonial South African matters. A customs convention of the four colonies met in 1906 and arranged for increase of duties with preferential rates for all portions of the British Empire granting preferential rates to South Africa. South Africa has large industrial possibilities, important mineral resources, and vast undeveloped territo-

ries. It had in 1906 1,789 miles of railway with 644 miles under construction.

It has, however, had serious social problems, primarily those concerning the employment of Chinese labor (for which see CHINESE LABOR IN SOUTH AFRICA), and the political and constitutional troubles growing out of the Boer War. There has been much complaint about the lack of self-government, which is, however, now being gradually granted. The critics of the British Government's policy in the Boer War claimed that it was an unjust and inhuman war, in the interests of grasping British capitalists owning the mines in the Transvaal, who demanded and got the British Government to back up unjust demands from the Boer Government. The defenders of the war argued that the Boer Government had not and would not treat its British subjects with fairness; taxed them without granting them representation; refused them enfranchisement and suffrage; and that a government conducted on such antiquated and narrow ideas as those of the Boers, and which would not listen to reason or equity, must be forced to be just and progressive. To-day in the Transvaal the main parties are the Progressives, which represent the capitalists; the Independents, who oppose Chinese labor and claim to represent "Transvaal liberalism"; the Het Volk, or Boer Party, and the Labor Party. The government has recognized politically no difference between Britons and Boers, with universal male suffrage on the basis of one man one vote. The exports and imports of the Transvaal are greater than all the rest of South Africa combined. If the labor and racial problems be solved as they are now promised to be solved, South Africa is believed to have a very large future.

SOVEREIGNS OF INDUSTRY, THE: This was an order established in New England Jan. 6, 1872, to develop cooperative stores for the working classes similar to the cooperative movement started by the Grange (*q. v.*). Its leaders were William Earle and John Orvis. Many stores were started and much interest was taken, but the stores, which were to sell at cost, were undersold and run out by competition. Later they introduced the Rochdale system advocated from the first by Mr. Orvis, but it was too late, and the order failed about 1879, tho a few stores survived. (See COOPERATION.)

SOVEREIGNTY in political science Professor Burgess ("Political Science and Constitutional Law") defines as "original, absolute, unlimited universal power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects." Jellink defines it as "obligation through its own will." It is the most essential principle of the State. (For the development of the idea of sovereignty, and the views of it held by different writers, see articles POLITICAL SCIENCE and STATE.) Sovereignty, according to most modern writers, though not all, is based upon force. "The one thing that characterizes the State is coercive power" (Leroy Beaulieu, "The Modern State"). "Force is an absolutely essential element of all laws whatever" (James Fitzjames Stephen, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity"). "Penal sanction is the essence of law" (John Stuart Mill, "Utilitarianism"). "Let the edifice of law be as moral and effectual as you will, its foundation is the force of the community" (Goldwin Smith, "Essays on Questions of the Day").

Other thinkers, however, deny this. Bluntschli distinguishes between force and power. Woodrow Wilson calls sovereignty "a catalogue of influences." Lieber calls it "the sense and sentiment of the community." Hume says that government is founded on opinion, and "that force is always on the side of the governed." Austin says, "The monarch is superior to the governed . . . to an indefinite tho limited extent." (For the relation of sovereignty to liberty, see STATE.)

SPAHR, CHARLES B.: Editor, economist; born 1860 in Columbus, Ohio; graduated at Amherst College in 1881. During the years 1884-85 he studied in Germany, at Leipsic. On his return to America he became editorial writer on *The Outlook*, a position he held until his death. Besides this, from 1889 to 1891 he was on the editorial staff of the *Commercial Advertiser*. In 1890 was made lecturer on taxation and the distribution of wealth at Columbia University. He wrote various articles and essays on the taxation of labor, the single tax, etc. He died in 1904. Author: "The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States"; "America's Working People."

SPAIN: A monarchy of Europe. Area, including the Balearic and Canary Islands with smaller possessions on the north coast of Africa, 194,783. Population in 1900, 18,618,086, or 96.7 per square mile. The principal cities are: Madrid, 539,835 inhabitants; Barcelona, 533,000; Valencia, 213,530; Seville, 148,315; Malaga, 130,109; Murcia, 111,539; Cartagena, 99,871.

There were in 1905: Marriages, 136,947; births, 669,765; deaths, 491,372; surplus of births, 178,393. In 1901 there were 56,906 emigrants; 1905, 126,067; chiefly to Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina.

The State and national religion of Spain is the Roman Catholic, to which practically all inhabitants belong with the exception of 6,654 Protestants, 9,645 Rationalists, 402 Jews, and 13,175 not stated. The Church is supported by the State at an annual expense of about 41,000,000 pesetas. There are in all 10,630 monks and 40,000 nuns. Vast amounts of property are in the hands of the Church.

Education is on a low level, altho some progress has been made since 1860 when 75.3 per cent of the population were illiterate; the percentage in 1889 was 68.1 per cent. In 1902 a law was passed for a closer inspection of all schools, and a regular system of supervision was introduced. The annual expenditure for 25,340 public primary and grammar schools and 1,617,314 pupils was in 1901 about 25,000,000 pesetas or francs. There were also 6,181 private schools—mostly belonging to monastic orders—with 344,380 pupils. Each of the 49 provinces is required to have a secondary school or "institution," which prepares for the universities, of which there are 9 with 16,000 students. The government supports also a number of technical and professional schools. Its total expense for educational purposes was 43,122,259 pes. in 1903.

The occupations of Spain are chiefly agricultural, since 79.65 per cent of the total area is classed as productive, divided between farming vineyards, olive culture, meadows, and fruits. The soil is divided among a large number of proprietors, 3,426,083.



HENRY VIVIAN, M.P.
Co-partnership



BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, LL.D.
Negro Problem



GEORGE N. BARNES, M.P.
Engineering



Cardinal GIBBONS, U.S.A.
Lynching



Mining is of considerable importance, since Spain is rich in minerals; 93,375 workmen were employed in 1904 in 1,869 mining concessions. The total value of the mineral output was 170,456,511 pesetas; the principal items were: iron ores and pyrites, 42,793,335; cuprous iron pyrites, 41,467,289; coal, 28,099,625; argentiferous lead ore, 27,885,347.

Industries

Cotton manufactures use about 68,300 looms with 2,614,500 spindles. Silk manufacturers produced (1900-1) 700,000 kilograms of raw silk; 30,000 tons of cork are manufactured annually.

The commerce of Spain is not extensive since the loss of her West Indian colonies. In 1905 the imports amounted to 884,808,644 pes., chiefly stone, minerals, glassware, and pottery; drugs, cotton, grain, sugar, and other food products; the exports to 1,018,387,334, chiefly minerals, metals, food products, and wine—103,008,188 pes. Imports were chiefly from Great Britain, France, and the U. S.; exports chiefly to Great Britain, France, and Cuba.

The merchant navy of Spain consisted in 1905 of 449 steamers with 434,846 tons net, and 541 sailing vessels with 85,583 tons net.

The *Constitution* of Spain dates from June 30, 1876. It provides for a hereditary king or queen; a parliament called *Cortes*, with a Senate and Congress, equal in authority. In the former there are 360 members; 180 are appointed for life, hereditary, or become members by virtue of wealth; 180 are elected, and must be renewed one half every five years. The Congress is elected, one member to every 50,000 of the population. Their present number is 406; they cannot take offices, pensions, or salaries. The only remuneration members of Parliament receive is free transportation. According to the law of June 26, 1890, all male Spaniards, twenty-five years old, citizens of a municipality for two years, in full civil rights, may vote.

Constitution

The king with nine cabinet ministers is the executive of the country; his person is inviolable.

Many changes in the ministry have taken place the last few years, owing to an agitation to introduce bills for "civil marriages" and for separation of State and Church.

The *finances* of Spain are in a favorable condition, apart from the public debt.

The revenue is chiefly from direct and indirect taxes, stamp duties, government monopolies, and income from State estates. It amounted in 1906 to 1,010,337,296 pesetas; the expenditure to 968,856,760—chiefly for public debt, army and navy. The public debt in 1906 amounted to 9,478,062,148, the interest for which in 1907 was estimated to be 389,012,752 pes.; that is, about 20 pes. charge per head per annum, and over 500 pes. capital debt per head.

Railways had a length of 9,190 miles in 1906, and are all in private possession. The postal service had 3,902 offices; receipts, 25,924,823 pes.; expenses, 8,953,727; surplus, 16,971,096. Telegraph lines had a length of 20,100 miles in 1904 with 47,400 miles of wire, and 1,645 offices.

Army and Navy.—Military service is compulsory, but in the form of conscription rather than of universal service. The army is in a transitive stage, and numbered an effective peace strength of 80,000 in 1903, with about 40,000 men detailed in skeleton formations, fortresses, etc.

The navy numbers 16,700 men of all ranks and 9,000 marines. The *Cortes* passed bills in 1905 for a greatly enlarged navy.

SOCIAL REFORM

This has but scarcely begun in Spain. A Socialist agitation began in 1882, but was anarchist rather than true socialism. This element, however, is disappearing, and a somewhat true Socialist Party has been developed. In 1893 it cast 7,000 votes, and in 1905, 23,000, a decrease from the vote of 1904—20,000. The party has no representative in the *Cortes*, but has elected 50

councilors in 22 towns or cities. The leading Spanish Socialist is a councilor of Madrid. There are 7 Socialist weeklies, the leading one, *El Socialista*, of Madrid. The most powerful Socialist society, however, is the General Federation of Trade-Unions, composed of 253 unions with 34,537 members.

There are reported 140 cooperative societies in Spain, of which 100 are in a national union. Their entire annual trade is \$80,000. Most of these are distributive, but there are also cooperative brickmakers, upholsterers, shoemakers, and cotton-spinners.

The revolt against the Vatican has spread to Spain, and the government is promoting an Associations Bill which seeks to define the exact position of the Church in regard to the State.

The Church realizes that it must do something. Led by the Bishop of Madrid, several Spanish bishops are organizing classes and courses of social studies for their priests, so that they can lead a social-reform movement. Unions of working people, under the guidance of the Church, are being formed in the industrial centers, and in some rural sections. Rural and other cooperative societies are being agitated. A Catholic magazine has been started to direct the movement.

REFERENCES: *Statesman's Year Book*; *History of Modern Spain*, M. A. S. Hume (new ed., 1906); *Spain's Economic Advance* (articles in *Review of Reviews*, American, Nov., 1905); *Present and Future of Spain* (article in *International*, June, 1903).

SPARGO, JOHN: Socialist and reformer; born in Cornwall, England, in 1876. Starting out as a nonconformist minister, his interest in social questions and the Labor movement led him to leave the ministry; working at first as a granite-cutter, he has been in turn Labor leader, settlement worker, lecturer, and journalist. He was for six or seven years on the executive council of the English Social Democratic Federation. In 1900 he came to this country "to escape having to go to the House of Commons," politics being exceedingly distasteful to him. He was one of the founders and editors of *The Comrade*, an artistic Socialist monthly. He has served on the national committee of the Socialist Party and lectured for it extensively. He is now an editorial contributor to several journals and is a prolific writer on art, socialism, and kindred topics. Among his works are: "The Bitter Cry of the Children"; "The Socialists: Who They Are and What They Stand For"; "Socialism: A Study and Interpretation of Socialist Principles"; "Art, Life, and Freedom"; "Capitalist and Laborer." Address: Yonkers, N. Y.

SPARTACUS, by birth a Thracian, perhaps of royal stock, served in the Roman army, but is said to have deserted and to have been captured and made a gladiator. In 73 B.C. he, with a band of fellow gladiators, broke out of a training-school at Capua, and taking refuge on Mt. Vesuvius, rallied round him thousands of slaves. He defeated Claudius, sent against him with 3,000 men, and also Varenus and others, and, last of all, Manlius with 20,000 men. Spartacus tried to lead his forces out of Italy, but they would not go. Division arose, and Crassus finally conquered them. Spartacus fell in battle, and 6,000 of his followers were crucified on the road from Rome to Capua.

SPENCE, CATHARINE HELEN: Authoress and economic writer; president of the Effective Voting League of South Australia, and vice-president of National Council of Women. Born Melrose, Scotland, Oct. 31, 1825; arrived in South Australia 1839. Since 1859 the main interest of her life has been electoral reform on the Hare-Spence system of proportional representation or effective voting, and she has lectured extensively on these themes in Australia and in the United States and Canada. She has also interested herself in children of the State. Member of the State Children's Council; member of the Destitute Board; president of Woman's Cooperative Clothing Factory. Held a commission from the South Australian Government to inquire into educational, constitutional, and electoral laws, the management of benevolent institutions, and question of bimetallic currency. She has written extensively for the South Australian press since 1878, in *The Register*, *Fraser's Magazine*, *Cornhill*, *Harper's*, *Melbourne Review*, *Victorian Review*, *The Centennial*, etc. Authoress of many novels and works, including "The Laws We Live Under," with chapters on elementary political economy and duties of citizens. Address: Aveland Avenue, North Norwood, Adelaide, South Australia.

SPENCE, THOMAS: A London bookseller who advocated the "parochializing" of land "so that there shall be no more nor other landlords in the whole country than the parishes." In 1775 he read a paper on land nationalization before the Philosophical Society in Newcastle, and was thereupon expelled from the society; he was also prosecuted by the government for selling seditious literature. Among other reforms he advocated a kind of phonography. His Newcastle paper has been republished by the modern English Socialists.

SPENCE, HON. WILLIAM GUTHRIE: Member of Parliament for Darling, New South Wales, since 1901; president of the Australian Workers' Union since 1886; born Orkney, 1846; elected to Legislature of New South Wales for Cabar, 1898-1901. Secretary and organizer of Amalgamated Miners' Association for sixteen years. Address: Parliament House, Melbourne.

SPENCER, HERBERT, was born at Derby, England, in 1820. His father was a schoolmaster of original character and strong views. The boy was delicate and backward in early studies; was placed in 1833 under the care of his uncle, the Rev. Thomas Spencer, of Hinton, a clergyman of the Church of England, but of somewhat radical views, and a vigorous advocate of social reforms. In 1837 Herbert Spencer was articled to a civil engineer, and worked on the London & Birmingham Railway. In 1845, however, he moved to London and began his literary career. In 1842 he had already written, in the *Nonconformist*, a series of papers on "The Proper Sphere of Government." From 1848 to 1852 he wrote on the *Economist*, and in 1850 published his "Social Statics," the radicalism and brilliancy of which gained him friends like Huxley (*q. v.*) and George Eliot. In 1855 appeared his "Principles of Psychology," by many considered his greatest work. Already interested in the unity of sciences and in the evolutionary philosophy, he projected in 1859 an entire system of philosophy, to the development of which, in volumes on dif-

ferent portions of the subject, he has directed his life. "First Principles" appeared in 1862; "The Principles of Biology" (2 vols.); "The Principles of Psychology" (2 vols.); "The Principles of Sociology" (3 vols.); "The Principles of Ethics" (2 vols.) have followed at different periods; the last volume of the "Principles of Sociology" only appeared in 1896. In all these works he argues, with large learning and great ability, that all phenomena of matter and of mind, all motion and all force, proceed on a law of gradual development, from the general to the particular, from a simple homogeneous uniformity to a complex heterogeneous multiformity. This evolution proceeds, he argues, on laws of natural struggle for existence, of natural selection, and the resultant survival of the fittest. The same general principles he has worked out on many detached subjects, in his "The Data of Ethics," a part of his "Principles of Ethics" (1879), "Education" (1861), "The Study of Sociology" (1872), "Descriptive Sociology" (1873-78), "Justice" (1891)—several essays in which he bitterly attacks the Socialist tendencies of the day. "The Coming Slavery," "The Great Political Superstition," "The Sins of Legislators," "The New Toryism," have been collected under the title of "Man vs. The State." Died Dec. 8, 1903.

(For a discussion of Mr. Spencer's sociological views, see articles **EVOLUTION** and **SOCIALISM**.) Mr. Spencer has advocated his views with such power that he is sometimes called the philosopher of the century; but his influence is to-day distinctly waning in university circles, while his late utterances in "Justice," disowning his former position taken in "Social Statics," chap. viii., 1st ed., that equity does not allow private property in land, has much hurt his influence among the masses. His present view is that, tho absolute equity does not allow private property in land, to nationalize land without compensation would be wrong, since society has allowed private ownership, and that, with compensation, to nationalize land would do no good. In his "Social Statics," however, he asked, How long it took a wrong to grow into a right?

Many writers, like Huxley and Ritchie, have accused Spencer of inconsistency in seeing the necessity of the subordination of the part to the whole in the bodily organism, but not in the social organism (see **EVOLUTION**); but he remains a steadfast foe of all steps even tending toward socialism. (See **INDIVIDUALISM**.) The general fundamental proposition of his individualism he has thus stated:

The sphere of existence into which we are thrown not affording room for the unrestrained activity of all, and yet all possessing, in virtue of their constitutions, similar claims to such unrestrained activity, there is no course but to apportion out the unavoidable restraint equally. Wherefore, we arrive at the general proposition that every man may claim the fullest liberty to exercise his faculties compatible with the possession of like liberty by every other man (H. Spencer, "Social Statics," chap. iv.).

SPOILS SYSTEM: This is the name usually given to the custom of considering the bestowal of public offices, by the party in power, on the partisans of the party as a reward for service to the party in elections, etc. It develops rings, bosses, and corruption. (For further consideration of it, see **CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM**.)

STANDARD OF COMFORT: Many men believe that wages depend on the standard of comfort of the class of men receiving the wages.

They argue that if wages fall materially below what will enable men to maintain their "standard of comfort," they will usually strike or agitate in some way for higher wages; that, on the other hand, if wages are high enough to maintain their standard of living, they will remain usually content; and therefore, that the way to raise wages is to raise the standard of comfort, while all that tends to make living cheaper tends, other things being equal, to lower wages. (For a full discussion of this, see *SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT*; also *EXPENDITURE*; *WAGES*.)

STANTON, ELIZABETH, née CADY: Woman suffragist and lecturer; born Johnstown, N. Y., 1815. In 1840 she married Henry B. Stanton, reformer, author, and state senator. Attending the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London she met Lucretia Mott. Till 1847 she resided in Boston, Mass., then removed to Seneca Falls, N. Y.; in 1848 she signed with Lucretia Mott the call to the first Woman's Rights Convention, which met July 17, 1848. She devoted her life to this cause, addressing meetings, attending legislative hearings, and circulating petitions in the United States, Great Britain, and France. She canvassed Kansas in 1867, and Michigan in 1874. President of the National Association till 1892, and president of the first International Council of Women, held at Washington in 1888. Died in 1902.

STATE, THE: The State, says Professor Burgess (*"Political Science and Constitutional Law,"* vol. i., p. 51), is "a particular portion of mankind viewed as an organized unit." With this general definition in mind we shall in this article briefly trace the development of the ideal of the State. (For actual historical development of organized society, see articles *SOCIOLOGY*; *PRIMITIVE PROPERTY*; and *FAMILY*.)

The conception of the State which first prevailed in Asia and also in Greece recognized it as a natural part of the world, and, like the world, the gift of the gods. The Asiatic kings claimed to rule by right divine, and usually to be descended from the gods. The Greek city-State was considered of divine origin. The State represented to them the moral order of the world, in which human nature fills its end. The State was not a machine, but an end in itself.

Plato says (*"De Rep.,"* v., p. 462): "The best State is that which approaches most nearly to the condition of the individual. If a part of the body suffers, the whole body feels the hurt and sympathizes altogether with the part affected." Aristotle declares that "man is by nature a political animal," and says (*"Pol.,"* iii., 9, § 14) the State is "the association of clans and village communities in a complete and self-sufficing life." "The State," he says (*"Pol.,"* i., 2, § 8), "comes into being for the sake of mere life, but exists for the sake of the good life." The Greek State is all in all. (See *ATHENS*.)

The Roman ideal follows Greek models, but with the Roman genius for jurisprudence conceives of law as the creature of the State, and the State as based on the assent of the people. Cicero (*"De Rep.,"* i., 26) says the State is "the people organized." In the Middle Ages we have Greek ideals, Roman jurisprudence, Germanic personal liberty, all blending with Christian teachings. Both Church and State are conceived as coming from God. Which is supreme? This is the problem of the Middle Ages. We have also attempts, characteristically based on the Bible precedent of the covenant of King David with the elders of Israel, to show that the State

rests on the consent of the people. We have finally Saxon love of personal liberty, placing the individual as the center and not the State, giving the germs of constitutional government. Feudalism, with its personal element, its homage and service, is the characteristic form. Gradually from this develops the centralized State, and Machiavelli at the beginning of modern times concerns himself with the policy of kings. Bodin sees in the State "a right government, with sovereign power, of several households and their common possessions." Grotius calls the State "the complete union of free men who join themselves together for the purpose of enjoying law and for the sake of public welfare." This is the transition to the contract theory. With Protestantism and the dawn of modern freedom the individual is sovereign. The State is a compact between sovereign individuals. With Hobbes, however, individuals have contracted with each other to give over their rights to some sovereign power, and henceforth, having given over their rights, must absolutely obey the sovereign. He says (*"Leviathan,"* Morley ed., p. 84):

The State is established by a covenant of every man with every man in such manner as if every man should say to every man, "I authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man or to the assembly of men on this condition, that those give up their right to him and authorize all his actions in like manner." This done, the multitude so united in one person is called a commonwealth, in Latin *civitas*. This is the generation of that great "leviathan," or rather, to speak more reverently, of that "mortal God" to which we owe, under the immortal God, our peace and defense."

With Locke the State is also the result of a contract, but the individuals retain their sovereignty and we have constitutional government, and the people can judge the king. Rousseau carries the doctrine of individual sovereignty, of the social contract, and of natural rights to their logical extremes, and leads us to the French Revolution. (See *NATURAL RIGHTS*.) In America the same doctrine has led to the various bills of right and the limitation of government to that which the people expressly allow the government to do in their charters and constitution. The result is the tying of the hands of legislation by the dead hand of constitutions framed for other days and only with the greatest difficulty to be changed. (See *CONSTITUTION* and *CONSTITUTIONALISM*.)

Revolting from the results of the French Revolution, the historical school denied that the State was in any such sense the result of a contract. Savigny (*"System des röm. Rechts,"* i., p. 22) calls the State "the bodily form of the spiritual community of the nations," or "the organic manifestation of the nation." Burke says (*"Reflections on the Revolution in France"*):

Society is indeed a contract. Subordinate contracts for objects of mere occasional interest may be dissolved at pleasure. But the State ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some other such low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked upon with other reverence, because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection. As the ends of such partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living but between those who are living, and those who are dead, and those who are to be born. Each contract in each particular state is but a clause in the great primeval contract of eternal society.

Buckle strives to explain the State by a consideration of the forces of nature. The Germans

have developed a more ideal conception of the State. Kant calls it "a collective being" ("Werke, ed. Rosenkranz," vii., 197). Hegel says: "The State is the realization of the moral idea. It is the moral spirit as substantial will." Bluntschli, uniting the German idealism and the modern historical view, says ("The Theory of the State," tr., bk. i., chap. i.): "The State is a combination or association of men, in the form of government and governed on a definite territory, united together into a moral organized masculine personality; or, more shortly, the State is the politically organized national person of a definite country." The present tendency in England and America is to discard all abstract theories of natural rights and to ask what is the actual content of the State idea. Hence Professor Burgess's definition, as quoted above, "A particular portion of mankind viewed as an organized unit."

Bluntschli finds as necessary to the concept of a State (1) a number of men, (2) a fixt territory, (3) unity, mainly developed by history, (4) an organic nature, (5) a moral and spiritual character, (6) a masculine personality. He says, "The highest conception of the State—which, however, has not yet been realized—is humanity organized."

Professor Burgess ("Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law," vol. i.)

considers as "the peculiar characteristics of the organization which we call the State" (1) that it is all-comprehensive. "Its organization embraces all persons, natural or legal, and all associations of persons." (2) It is exclusive. "Political science and public law do not recognize the existence of an *imperium in imperio*." (3) It is permanent. "It does not lie within the power of men to create it to-day and destroy it to-morrow, as caprice may move them." (4) The State is sovereign. "This is its most essential principle."

Concerning sovereignty Professor Burgess says:

I understand by it original, absolute, unlimited, universal power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects. This is a proposition from which most of the publicists down to the most modern period have labored hard to escape. It has appeared to them to contain the destruction of individual liberty and individual rights. . . . They do not sufficiently distinguish the State from the government. They see the danger to individual liberty of recognizing an unlimited power in the government, and they immediately conclude that the same danger exists if the sovereignty of the State be recognized. . . . The unlimited sovereignty of the State is not hostile to individual liberty, but is its source and support. Deprive the State, either wholly or in part, of the power to determine the elements and the scope of individual liberty, and the results must be that each individual will make such determination, wholly or in part, for himself; that the determinations of different individuals will come into conflict with each other, and that those individuals only who have power to help themselves will remain free, reducing the rest to personal subjection. . . . No State has made liberty so full and general as the modern national popular State. Now the modern national popular State is the most perfectly and undisputedly sovereign organization of the State which the world has yet attained.

Concerning the forms of the State Aristotle found three primitive forms, monarchy, aristocracy, and "polity." He uses democracy only in a bad sense, the three perversions of the State being with him tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy or ochlocracy. Others have added "the mixed State." (See POLITICAL SCIENCE.)

STATE RIGHTS: From 1789 to 1870 the question of state rights, or the question of the rights of the respective states of the United States in reference to the federal government, was a burning question. (For a discussion of the history, see CENTRALIZATION; also CONSTITUTION.) In 1830 occurred the celebrated debate between Mr. Webster and Mr. Hayne upon this question, and South Carolina claimed the right of nullification. This led eventually to secession and the

war of 1861-65, which settled the doctrine, in most respects, at least, against the believers in state sovereignty if not in state rights.

Says Mr. James Bryce ("American Commonwealth," 1st ed., chap. xxxvi.):

What, then, do the rights of a state now include? Every right or power of a government except:

The right of secession (not abrogated in terms, but admitted since the war to be no longer claimable. It is expressly negatived in the recent constitutions of several Southern states).

Powers which the constitution withholds from the states (including that of intercourse with foreign governments).

Powers which the constitution expressly confers on the federal government.

STATISTICS: The science of statistics, strictly speaking, has no more place in an encyclopedia of social reform than a discussion of grammar or arithmetic. Yet statistics are not only so continually used in social reform discussion, but so frequently misused, that a brief statement of the generally accredited correct use of statistics seems practically necessary. So important indeed are statistics in social study that Professor Marshall has called statistics the straw out of which the economist has to make his bricks. ("Evidence to the Committee on the Census," 1890.) Yet half-baked bricks weaken a large proportion of economic structures. In this article we only, however, give general principles, since the history and details of the science are not our field. We abridge these principles from a recent statement of one of the highest modern authorities in the science, Prof. A. L. Bowley (in the Introduction to his "National Progress in Wealth and Trade"). He says in brief:

(a) Statistics must cover the whole field of inquiry. If statistics cannot be made complete, or at least if we cannot be sure that the part

Principles neglected is unimportant, we can establish no positive assertion; partial statistics are suitable only for party purposes.

(b) All statistics used must be closely related to the quantity whose change we wish to examine. Trade prosperity is not sufficiently tested by the traffic on railways or by clearing-house returns; the stress of poverty is not measured by the returns of pauperism. Such estimates are only enough to indicate the probable course of change, and to throw the burden of proof on those who allege that the tests are insufficient.

(c) When dealing with a quantity which fluctuates year by year, no judgment can be formed without examination of the records of a long series of years. Thus prices of wheat and of other commodities fluctuate violently, and it is only after a long period that it can be ascertained whether there is a permanent change of level. Most statistics relating to trade are subject to alternate expansion and contraction, and it is only by looking at the figures year by year for a long period that the rate of progress can be estimated.

(d) The purchasing power of gold is continually changing and it is always necessary to examine statistics relating to the value of goods to tell whether an argument will be affected if we express the facts in quantities instead of in value. Thus statements as regards money wages are of little utility till we know how retail prices are changing. Apparent increases of exports or imports are often attributable to the inflated price of particular commodities. The apparent relative growth of the trades of two nations often has quite a different aspect when we look at their quantities instead of their values.

(e) Before the change in a total is used as significant, it must be considered whether the various groups which compose it are of the same nature, or whether a change in one part has masked a change in the opposite direction in the other. The degree of similarity requisite depends entirely on the problem considered. The question should always be put: Is the total (or average) computed from items whose dissimilarity in any respect can affect the problem in hand?

The result often is that it is found that no definite conclusion can be drawn. It is humiliating to have to admit that our positive knowledge is so limited, and it is natural to ask whether more cannot be done in the way of official inquiry or private investigation. There is doubtless a wide field for the latter, but the unofficial student is constantly handicapped by the absence of essential data which the government only can collect.

REFERENCES: A. L. Bowley, *Elements of Statistics* (1902); A. Mertz, *History, Theory, and Technique of Statistics*;

R. Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Sociology*; A. Ninshorne, *Elements of Vital Statistics* (1899); M. G. Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics* (latest ed., 1898); *Annuals: Statistical Abstract of the U. S.*; *Statistical Abstracts* (various Boards of Trade, Great Britain); *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*; *Annuaire statistique de la France*. (All of these print valuable international statistics.) For separate countries and subject, see each country and subject.

STEAD, WILLIAM THOMAS: Editor of English *Review of Reviews*; born 1849, at Embleton, Northumberland; son of a Congregational minister; left school at fourteen; in 1871 was editor of *Northern Echo*, Darlington, the first halfpenny morning paper in England; 1880-83 was assistant editor of *Pall Mall Gazette*, becoming its editor in 1883. Left the *Gazette* in 1890 to found the *Review of Reviews*. Three months in jail for technical breach of the law committed in securing the raising of the age of consent for girls from thirteen to sixteen years. A reform in this regard was secured by the publication of "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon." Took prominent part in the Conference at The Hague in 1899. Traveled extensively in the United States. For four years edited *Borderland*; issued "Penny Poets" and "Books for the Bairns." Mr. Stead confesses himself a free trader, and as much of an imperialist and Socialist as is compatible with a due regard to common sense and the Ten Commandments. Author: "Truth About the Navy"; "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon"; "The Truth About Russia"; "The Pope and the New Era"; "If Christ Came to Chicago"; "The United States of Europe"; "The Americanization of the World"; "The Best or Worst of Empires, Which Shall It Be?" He edited the *Courier de la Conférence*, a daily for four months during The Hague Conference in 1907. Address: Mowbray House, Norfolk Street, Strand, London.

STEADMAN, WILLIAM CHARLES: English Labor M. P.; born 1869; apprenticed as a lad to the barge-building trade, he pursued that calling until 1892 when he was elected a member of the London County Council. Secretary of Barge Builders' Union since 1882. In 1890 he successfully managed a strike for better conditions. In 1898 he was elected to Parliament for Central Finsbury, and again in 1906 (Liberal and Labor). He was president of the Trade-Union Congress 1902, and secretary, and in 1905 president National Housing Council. Address: 49 Rectory Square, Stepney, London, E.

STEIN, HEINRICH FRIEDRICH KARL, BARON VON: Prussian statesman; born in Nassau, 1757. Studying at Göttingen, from 1773 to 1777, in 1780 he entered the service of Prussia as an official in the mining department. Rising in office, was made in 1804 Minister of State. Abolished serfdom and internal custom duties in Prussia, and introduced other reforms which largely paved the way to German unity. Frederick William III. dismissed him in 1807 on account of his criticism of the royal policy, but was obliged to recall him to office six months later, till Napoleon compelled the king to finally dismiss him. In Russia and in Germany, however, Stein worked against Napoleon, and after Napoleon's downfall Stein became president of a central commission to administer the lands occupied by the allied armies. After this he refused an office and lived in retirement in Frankfurt and Westphalia till his death in Westphalia in 1831.

STEIN, LORENZ VON: Political economist; born Eckernförde in 1815. Raised in orphanage, but was enabled by Frederick VI. to study at Kiel and Jena. Traveling in France, he met in Paris Cabet, Louis Blanc, Reybaud, and other Fourierist Socialists; published in 1844 "Der Sozialismus und Kommunismus des heutigen Frankreich." In 1846 he became professor at Kiel, and published various books, among others his "System der Staatswissenschaft." In 1852 he lost his position, but in 1855 became professor of political economy at Vienna. Here he published, among other writings, "Lehrbuch der Volkswirtschaft," "Lehrbuch der Finanzwissenschaft," and above all his great "Die Verwaltungslehre" (7 vols.), which were long an authority in administrative science. He died in Vienna in 1890.

STELZLE, CHARLES: Presbyterian clergyman; superintendent of the Department of Church and Labor in the Presbyterian Church; born 1869 in New York City. Attended schools of the city, but began to be breadwinner at eight years of age. In his eleventh year gave up school altogether and worked at various occupations. Apprenticed at fifteen years to learn the machinist's trade with the firm of R. Hoe & Co. Employed at this work for eight years. During that time, at evening schools of the city and under private tutors, gained what was practically a college education. Convinced by his experience among the 2,000 men in the machine-shops of the slight hold the Church had on the working men, resolved to enter ministry for the express purpose of winning such men for Christ and the Church. Studied for a year at the Moody Bible Institute, Chicago; became pastor of a church among working men in Minneapolis. Had pastorates afterward in New York City and in St. Louis. Then called to his present work as superintendent of the Department of Church and Labor of the Board of Home Missions in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Mr. Stelzle, as a trade-unionist, calls himself an opportunist. He is convinced that the social problem will never be settled except upon a moral and religious basis; believes that the Church has an important part in the solution of this question, and that it should have a clear, clean-cut message concerning the every-day needs of the common people. He writes regularly a syndicate article for the labor press of the country, which is published in about 300 papers. Author: "The Working Men and Social Problems"; "Boys of the Street, How to Win Them"; "Messages to Working Men"; "Christianity's Storm Center: A Study of the Modern City." Address: 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

STEPHENS, URIAH SMITH: Founder of the Knights of Labor; born near Cape May, N. J., 1821; educated for the Baptist ministry, but was compelled to learn a trade; became a tailor. He taught school and traveled extensively, but mainly followed his trade in Philadelphia. In 1869 he was the main founder of the Knights of Labor (q. v.), the first Master Workman of Assembly No. 1, and in 1878 was chosen the first Grand Master Workman. He died in 1882.

STEPNIAK, SERGIUS MICHAEL DROGO-MANOFF: Russian radical; born in the Ukraine Mountains in 1841. Studied at Kieff, and became a teacher of history there; professor in 1870; re-

moved by the government in 1876, and driven into exile, because of his strictures on Count Tolstoi. He had written works, as early as 1862, which had been published, and he now went to Switzerland and wrote in the Little Russian dialect against absolutism and for democracy in Russia. In 1885 he removed to London, and became a leading authority on Russian subjects, and a steady worker for social and political reforms. He died in London, 1895. Author: "Underground Russia"; "The Career of a Nihilist"; and numerous other works.

STEVENS, LILLIAN M. M.: President National Woman's Christian Temperance Union; born 1844, at Dover, Me.; educated at Foxcroft Academy; a teacher in the schools of Maine until her marriage. In 1874 assisted in the organization of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Maine, was its first treasurer, and afterward its president. From 1894-98 was vice-president of the National Union; after the death, in 1898, of Miss Willard, became the acting president, and on the meeting of the National Convention at St. Paul that same year was herself elected to the presidency; reelected every year since. Vice-president of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union. One of the managers of the World's Columbian Exposition, 1892-93; was for years representative for Maine in the National Conference of Charities and Correction. Mrs. Stevens believes in one standard of purity for men and women; that total abstinence from intoxicating liquor is the only safe and beneficent course. She also firmly believes that state and national prohibition of the liquor traffic would greatly help toward the settlement of all other reform questions. Address: Portland, Me.

STEWART, IRA, "Father of the Eight-Hour Philosophy," was a workingman of English birth, who, with Mr. George E. McNeill and others, founded the Boston Eight-Hour League. Mr. Stewart's thoughts have been best developed by one whose position, in many ways, was opposed to his, namely, by Mr. Gunton (*q. v.*) in his book on "Wealth and Progress." (See EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT.)

STEWART, JAMES DENHAM: Metaphysician; economist; born Edinburgh, 1712. Educated at the University of Edinburgh, entered the law, spent some time on the Continent. He became so involved and compromised by his relations with the Pretender to the throne that he was unable to return to Scotland, but was obliged to remain on the Continent from 1745 to 1763. He published in 1767 "An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy," the best known of his many writings. His complete works, political, metaphysical, and chronological, were collected and published by his son in 1806. Died in Lanarkshire, 1780. (See POLITICAL ECONOMY.)

STIRNER, MAX: Pseudonym of Kaspar Schmidt, an extreme individualist writer of Germany, born Bayreuth, 1806; studied at Berlin, Erlangen, and Königsberg, first theology, then philosophy. Spent his life as a teacher, but was always a student. He wrote in 1845 "Der Einzige und sein Eigentum" (The Individual and His Property), a book which most philosophic anarchists consider one of the earliest and ablest

statements of their views. Died at Berlin in 1856. (See ANARCHISM.)

ST. LOUIS: Situated, as it is, near to the center of population in the United States, is in many respects at once a Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western city, the center of vast railroad interests and of great wealth, yet with a population more complex than even most American cities, and has had more than her share of intricate social problems. Founded as a fur-trading center in 1764, first French, then Spanish, then French again, ceded to the U. S. by the Louisiana Purchase Act of 1803, chartered in 1822, growing rapidly after 1830, her emigration since 1850, owing largely to the revolutionary movements of 1848, has been chiefly German. Of her present population, 575,238 in 1900, tho the foreign-born are comparatively few, nearly one half are born of foreign parents, while of the foreign-born more than one half came from the German Empire. Since the war, too, a large colored population has developed, altho probably during the war the sympathy of a majority of the citizens was with the South, and the city was only saved to the North by the wise energy of a minority. Since the war, too, the city has become the center or starting-point of such vast railroad systems like the Gould system, and the abode of so much wealth growing out of its vast commerce, that it is small wonder that commercialism, playing on such a complex and often irresponsible population, has developed political and industrial scandals and made the city somewhat notorious for this. Into this, however, in this article we need not go. It is covered in the article CORRUPTION. At present there seems good ground for believing that the city's government is largely redeemed from its worst evils. The municipal government is vested in a House of Delegates representing the wards, a Council or Upper House with a more general representation, and a mayor with departments under him. The mayor appoints only the heads of the lower departments, and those of the more important ones are chosen by direct vote of the people. The sheriff, civil and criminal judges, with the police, however, belong to the county, except that the mayor appoints justices for the police courts. The police are under the final authority of the governor, but are directed by commissioners whom he appoints, and the expenses are met by the city treasury. The schools are under a board elected by popular vote—a complicated system making the fixing of responsibility difficult and reform uncertain. Public ownership and control extend only to the water-supply, streets, sewers, parks, and schools. (For statistics, see CITIES.) The city is more commercial than manufacturing, altho there were in 1900 6,732 manufacturing establishments in the city (without its suburbs East St. Louis or others), with an annual product of \$233,629,000, of which tobacco, food, and malt products are the principal. Its annual sales are approximately: dry goods, \$120,000,000; groceries, \$75,000,000; boots and shoes, \$50,000,000; tobacco, \$41,000,000, making it "the largest tobacco market in the world." The clearings of the banks and trust companies are some \$3,000,000,000 per year.

The relief institutions include a city dispensary, city hospital, other hospitals, insane asylum, poorhouse, house of refuge, reform school and prison, and a juvenile court. A school of

Philanthropy has recently been established. (See SCHOOLS OF PHILANTHROPY.) An active Y. M. C. A., a public library, numerous Turner societies and clubs, several institutional churches and settlements carry on the social life of the city. The Civic Federation is the main society of civic reform, but clubs and societies represent almost every phase of reform thought. St. Louis seems entering on a period of good government, the administration of Mayor Rolla Wells, the reform mayor, being without scandal, altho the enemies of reform are numerous and daring. The important social reform societies are all well organized, e. g.:

The Civic Federation, 319 N. Fourth Street.
Young Men's Christian Association, Grace and Franklin.
St. Stephen's House, Sixth and Rutgers Streets.
The Women's Christian Temperance Society.
Central Trades and Labor Union, 925 Franklin Ave.
Socialist Party of Missouri, 324 Chestnut Street.

STOCK EXCHANGES began in the creation of public debts on the modern plan late in the seventh century, but there was no formal organization of stock-brokers. The New York Stock Exchange was formed in 1792 by twenty-four brokers, but did not have a building till 1865. The London Stock Exchange (Capel Court) building dates from 1801; that of Paris from 1826. To-day by far the four greatest stock exchanges are those of London, Paris, Berlin, and New York. In the amount of wealth converging on the investment market and in world exchanges, London probably stands first; in the amount of actual money Paris is perhaps first; in the amount of transactions New York is by far ahead. Says Mr. A. D. Noyes (*Munsey's Magazine*, 1907, p. 596):

In 1905 there were sold on the New York Stock Exchange 263,000,000 shares of stocks and over \$1,000,000,000, face value, in bonds. If the average price of the stocks—a rough estimate—was \$70 per share, and if the price of the bonds averaged par, it will be seen that some \$19,500,000,000 worth of capital was paid over last year for securities purchased on the floor of the Exchange. On one day—April 30, 1901, the climax of the Wall Street speculative craze of that extraordinary year—3,200,000 shares of stock changed hands. This, on the average price above assumed, meant that \$224,000,000 worth of that class of securities alone was purchased in that single day.

There is no reason to suppose that transactions on any European stock exchange come within a fraction of these figures. None of the foreign markets pursues such a thorough system of reporting as our own; but the facts may be judged from what is considered a large sale in one market or in another. On a European market sales of single blocks of 1,000 shares of standard stocks are rare; on the New York Stock Exchange they are so familiar as to attract no special attention. The list of securities dealt in on the London Stock Exchange is much longer than that of the New York institution, but an active day causes no such pressure on the machinery of the institution as is exerted in New York. Except for the system of "clearing" stocks—placing the value of securities bought by one broker against the value of securities sold, and leaving only the difference to be paid in cash—the banking and credit facilities of New York could not possibly endure such a daily strain, while providing for commercial customers. Even with the "clearing" system, the demand on the loanable funds of New York banks, at times of a stock-exchange "boom," is so great as to lead repeatedly to the extraordinary rates for money of which so much has recently been said.

One reason why stock-exchange business at New York so far surpasses that of the European exchanges, is that a far larger portion of the Wall Street purchases and sales are purely speculative. It has been estimated that less than 10 per cent of the stocks bought on the New York exchange are bought by investors to keep. The rest are bought to sell again as soon as the expected rise has come. Profits made on the frequent advance in prices, during the epoch of American prosperity since 1898, have been so great as to dazzle the speculative mind.

European banks will not lend on such a scale to stock-exchange speculators, and European speculators will not take such risks. It is part of the American character that reckless gambling chances of the sort are coolly accepted. When Wall Street has gone too far, and is in a scrape—as in the

"rich men's panic" of 1903, and in the smaller convulsion after the earthquake of 1906—it resorts to London, Paris, and Berlin to borrow money, and, at a price, it gets it. There is always capital to be had on these slow-going foreign markets. (See WEALTH.)

STÖCKER, ADOLF: German Protestant Christian Socialist leader, and director of the *Stadt Mission* in Berlin, member of the Reichstag, and of the General Synod of the State Church of Prussia; born Dec. 11, 1835, at Halberstadt. He received his preparatory training at the Bürgerschule and Gymnasium of his native city; studied theology and philosophy at Halle and Berlin, 1856; was successively tutor and pastor in Neumark, Kurland, Seggerde, Hamersleben from 1857 to 1870. He became army chaplain in Metz in 1871, and in 1874 court preacher at Berlin until 1890. In 1877 he was the main leader in establishing Protestant Christian socialism in Germany. For an account of this, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM, but it must be remembered that Christian socialism on the Continent has not at all meant the radical movement it has usually meant in England and America. Especially under the lead of Stöcker it has meant little more than the religious wing of the paternal movement for the State and the Church to aid the poor. Stöcker has been even better known as a leader in the German anti-Semitic movement. In 1881 he was elected to the Reichstag for 1881 to 1893; but was reelected in 1898 and since. Author: "Christliche soziale Reden und Aufsätze" (1890); "Christlich Sozial" (1890); editor of *Deutsch Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*; "Wach auf! evangelisches Volk"; "Kirchenpolitische Aufsätze," 1901; "Dreizehn Jahre Hofprediger und Politiker," 9th ed.; and numerous essays in periodicals, besides purely religious works. Address: Berlin, S. W., Königgrätzer Strasse, 46.

STONE, LUCY: Woman suffragist; born West Brookfield, Mass., 1818. Taught school to earn money for a higher education; in 1847 graduated at Oberlin College. The same year she gave a lecture on woman's rights in her brother's pulpit at Gardner, Mass., and soon was engaged to lecture for the Anti-Slavery Society, in which work she had great success. In 1855 married Henry B. Blackwell, but always retained her own name. In 1866 she helped to organize the American Equal Rights Association, and in 1869 the American Woman's Suffrage Association, of the executive board of which she was chairman for twenty years. She died in 1893.

STOWE, MRS. HARRIET BEECHER: Author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; born Litchfield, Conn., 1812, daughter of Dr. Lyman Beecher and sister of Henry Ward Beecher (q. v.). Studied at home and in Hartford Female Seminary, where, too, she taught from 1827 to 1832. Her father becoming president of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, she moved there with him, and, in 1836, married there Prof. C. E. Stowe. They lived there till 1850, when her husband became professor of theology in Bowdoin College, Me. In 1852 he accepted a professorship at Andover, Mass., which ill health compelled him to resign in 1862. Mr. and Mrs. Stowe went to reside in Hartford, Conn. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was written first as a serial for *The National Era* of Washington, and was based on incidents with which Mrs. Stowe became acquainted in her life in Cincinnati. March 20, 1852, it was published as a book, and 300,000 copies were sold in a year;

forty editions appeared during the year. It has been translated into nearly twenty languages, and probably contributed more than any other one effort to rousing the country against slavery. In 1853 Mrs. Stowe visited Europe and wrote "Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands." In 1856 she wrote "Dred," another slave story. Among her other numerous tales are "Old Town Folks"; "My Wife and I"; "Men of Our Times." Mrs. Stowe died in Hartford, July 2, 1896.

STRAIGHT EDGE INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT, THE: Started in New York City in 1899, under the title of "A School of Methods for the Application of the Teachings of Jesus to Business and Society." It grew out of the desire of Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur F. Copeland to make their home a center for the study of social and industrial problems. *The Straight Edge*, a weekly newsletter started in 1899, gave its name to the movement, which, during its first seven years of experimental work, has enabled over two hundred persons—about eighteen at a time on an average—to earn their living by carrying on simple industries, such as a bakery, restaurant, pure-food laboratory, printery, laundry, dressmaking, gardening, and other branches for which from time to time it has had qualified workers. Its purpose is to find men and women who need work and to organize them into useful, self-supporting, cooperative industries. Each worker, after working two months on trial, is given a grade based on ten industrial qualifications, and shares in the earnings of the industries in proportion to his grade. The ten qualifications on which a worker is graded are that he:

1. Does useful and necessary work that adds to the industrial efficiency of the organization, and as much of it as could reasonably be expected from a thoroughly trained worker with the best equipment.
2. Puts in the time and energy necessary to do to the best of his ability all the work for which he becomes responsible.
3. Knows how to set himself to work and to keep at work without needless supervision.
4. Carries responsibilities continuously, never throwing his work on somebody else, or leaving it without arranging to have it done properly.
5. Requires no waiting on; is willing to do anything there is to be done.
6. Cleans up after himself; leaves his working-place in order; is clean about his work and in his personal habits.
7. Takes care of the tools and utensils with which he works.
8. Works in harmony with others; shows respect for his fellow workers and consideration for their rights, convenience, and comfort.
9. Attends the business conferences; watches the economies of the place; saves materials and expense; makes and helps to carry out helpful suggestions.
10. Has worked long enough to earn the proportionate share of working capital required on an average to furnish a first-class industrial opportunity for each cooperative worker.

The custom is to grade each adult worker who stays the two months on trial and wishes to continue, "36 points," or four points on each of the first nine qualifications, if there is no objection raised when the name is proposed, in open meeting of the workers, to be placed on the regular list. Then each month the grade of each worker is considered in the same way, and an additional point is given to each, if proposed by a fellow worker on some specific qualification and no objection is raised.

A primary industrial training department, known as the "Play-work School," is maintained for the children of workers and for any other children whose parents or guardians wish to pay for the service what it is worth. The children re-

ceive "points" as soon as they learn to do some useful task that contributes to the industrial efficiency of the enterprise. The children fold papers, stitch booklets, cook their food, wash their clothes, and do other ordinary work that they should know how to do for themselves.

Workers are not required to furnish capital, but a portion is laid aside from the general earnings to extend the plant, and bonds are issued in return for capital furnished, to be paid at the rate of 10 per cent a year, the issue of bonds being limited to \$500 per worker employed, and \$1 a week being laid aside for each \$500 of bonds outstanding. This enables workers to pay for their capital—land, tools, machinery, things to work with—by a very moderate tax upon their earnings. The settlement is located at 1 Abingdon Square, New York City, and has a country place near Alpine, Bergen Co., N. J.

WILBUR F. COPELAND, *General Organizer.*

STREET-RAILWAYS. (See also PUBLIC OWNERSHIP; STOCK-WATERING.)

THE UNITED STATES

Electric-railway lines in the United States are increasing rapidly. In 1890 there were 8,123 miles of track and in 1902 22,576 miles. In the same period the number of employees increased from 70,000 to 140,000. Upon some interurban lines the speed and equipment are so good that the electric-car competes with the steam-car.

The equipment and improvement of electric lines is causing important social changes. First, urban population is being better distributed; for example, the population of the Bronx and outlying parts of New York City increased from 88,900 in 1890 to 200,000 in 1900. Second, suburban life around all great cities has been increased with the consequent increase of land values and in some instances the decrease of land values in old residential sections. Third, a concentration of business has been made possible; retail districts, for example, in the central parts of the cities, being easily accessible, absorb nearly all the trade. Fourth, easy access to the country parks and pleasure resorts adds health and enjoyment to the lives of wage-earners.

The combined total capital stock and funded debt of all street- and electric-railways is equal to \$103,099 per mile of track owned by them; the net capitalization of those companies which operate primarily electric surface railways and which do no commercial lighting, amounts to \$92,114 per mile of track. These figures greatly exceed the capitalization per mile of the steam-railways of the country, the net capitalization of which, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission, is about \$36,000 per mile of track.

It is quite impossible to obtain accurate information as to the actual amount of money which has been spent in the construction and equipment of street-railways in general, or of most individual street-railways. The item, "cost of construction," according to the books and balance sheets of street-railway companies, gives no idea whatever of the cash investment. The intervention of construction companies composed of the promoters of the railway has in many cases rendered the book value of property misleading. The most important difficulty, however, is that the

Present Development

Capitalization

greatest railway systems now existing have been built up by combination and recombination.

The heaviest net capitalization is in Greater New York, where each mile of street-railway is represented by more than \$260,000 of securities. The surface lines in Manhattan were capitalized in 1902 at \$494,399 per mile of track, the highest average for any improved surface system, altho some of the trackage is operated by animal power.

There is not a wide variation in the wages of most employees on electric surface railways. Of all wage-earners on such railways, 32.7 per cent

Wages received between \$2 and \$2.04 per day, while 68.8 per cent received between \$1.75 and \$2.49 daily. The rate of \$2 per day is more common

than any other, and is probably the precise median for all classes combined. More than four fifths of all conductors and five sixths of all motormen received \$1.75 or more per day, while less than 2 per cent of other classes received \$2.50 and more per day.

The only states in which a median for all wage-earners combined exceeded \$2.10 per day are Montana, California, Colorado, Oregon, and Rhode Island.

The median wage for all employees of the fast, long interurban railways is \$1.90 and \$1.94, or somewhat less than the median for all classes of railways combined. The median rate for conductors and motormen on such interurban railways, however, is \$2 and \$2.04.

Street-railway companies, like other corporations, derive their charters, which give them the right to exist and which regulate in a general way

Franchises their internal government, from the state, either through general or special statute. The privilege of occupying a specific street or highway

usually requires further authorization, and it is this authorization which is designated by the term "franchise" in the more limited sense. In some state constitutions the legislature is expressly prohibited from granting the use of the streets and highways without the consent of the local governing authorities, while in nearly all other states the practise of the legislature is to give the local governments control in this respect. This control involves ordinarily the right of the local authorities to impose such conditions as they may see fit at the time the franchise is granted. Deviations are mostly confined to the New England states, where a large proportion of the street-railway companies have been chartered by special acts of the legislature.

The movement in favor of "direct legislation" has led to the requirement, in various states and cities, that franchises shall be submitted to popular vote, either in all cases, or on petition of a certain proportion of the voters. Such use of the referendum is most common in the Western states. In Colorado, South Dakota, and Utah, for example, all municipal ordinances are subject to the referendum on petition, or the optional referendum as it is commonly called. The same requirement is found in the San Francisco charter, and in the charters of various other cities. In Nebraska and Arizona all public franchises in cities must be submitted to popular vote; in Montana and Colorado to the vote of the tax-paying electors. In Iowa one fifth of the voters in any city may require any franchise to be submitted to popular vote.

During recent years it has become quite com-

mon, with a view to obtain more favorable terms, to offer franchises at public competition. This requirement often applies to other classes of public utilities as well as to street-railways. In California, Nevada, Kentucky, and Virginia the general state laws require competitive bidding, but contain no provision specifying the character of the bids, which apparently might, at the discretion of the local authorities, be either in the form of lump sums or of annual payments. In New York and Louisiana the bids must be on the basis of a percentage of the gross annual earnings. In Ohio the franchise must be granted to the bidder offering the lowest rates of fare. A similar method is required by the individual charters of certain cities, and in a few it has been adopted voluntarily by local authorities. The city ordinarily reserves the right to reject all bids.

State constitutions or laws usually, tho by no means always, limit the duration of corporate charters of all classes. Such limitations, however, are ordinarily of a formal character, and unless some action to the contrary is taken by the state legislature at the time of expiration, a charter can usually be renewed by a simple procedure on the part of the stockholders of the corporation. Nevertheless, the limitation on the duration of the charter offers to the state the possibility of imposing new restrictions if it so desires. State constitutions or laws seldom reserve to the state or local authorities the right to

Duration of Franchises

terminate a franchise, or to revise its provisions during the prescribed term, nor have the local authorities in granting franchises ordinarily reserved this right. The most important exception to the statement just made is found in Massachusetts. For a long time it has been the policy in that commonwealth to grant street-railway and other franchises for an indefinite term, subject to revocation either by the state or by the local governments.

Many street-railway franchises, particularly those of early date, are perpetual, and there is no state or local provision under which they can be revoked or amended. Where, however, a corporation whose charter is subject to revocation or amendment holds such an unlimited franchise, the state legislature can virtually annul it, or change the terms of the franchise, through its control over corporate existence. Even if both the charter and the franchise of a public-service company are unlimited in duration, the state may, subject perhaps to certain self-imposed limitations, exercise, directly or through local governments, its right of eminent domain to purchase the property for public use. The payment in such a case would ordinarily include not merely the tangible value but the full franchise value. In Indianapolis, Ind., and Portland, Ore., where competitive bidding for the renewal of franchises is required, it is especially provided that, if the grant is made to another person or corporation, the new grantee must buy the tangible property of the former holder at its appraised valuation. The same requirement is probably intended in the Virginian law and in the Baltimore charter, by which competitive bidding is also required. An arrangement of this sort has the great merit that it largely removes the discouragement to improvements which is otherwise characteristic of limited franchises.

The rate of fare on about two thirds of the urban street-railways in the U. S. is five cents

for any distance covered by a single car. The journey is often extended by means of transfers to other cars, a practise which will be fully discussed in the succeeding section. The practise, very common in Europe, of grading fares according to distance does not exist in any proper sense in American cities. In some cases the restrictions on transfers are such that certain journeys within the city's limits can be accomplished only by paying two fares. Naturally this is usually the case where different parts of the city are served by distinct companies. The most conspicuous illustration is in Chicago, where the railway systems of the south, west, and north sides are operated as independent units. The

Fares

one-city one-fare principle is being strongly urged for Chicago. Consolidation of street-railways has already virtually brought this about in most cities. American street-railway managers very generally maintain that the uniform fare is more advantageous to the public than fares graded according to distance.

The returns made to the Bureau of the Census show that more than one third of all the operating street-railways in the U. S. offer fares of less than five cents to all of their patrons under certain conditions. In almost all such cases the cash fare for a single trip is five cents, but tickets for a number of trips are sold at reduced rates. Sometimes these tickets are good only during the busy hours of the morning and evening. More than 200 railway companies offer tickets at a price of approximately four cents each. By far the most common practise among such railways is to sell 6 tickets for twenty-five cents. Sometimes a further reduction is made if a larger number of tickets is bought, 25 tickets being sold frequently for \$1, and sometimes 26 or even more.

A more important practise is that of granting reduced fares to school children. In such cases the most common rate is two cents and a half, tho sometimes three or four is charged. In New England it is almost universal for street-railways to carry school children at reduced rates. About sixteen of the street-railway companies of Massachusetts reported reduced fares for working men, the most common rate being two cents and a half, altho several railways reported three or four cents. The most important company which makes special rates for working men is the Boston & Northern Railway Company, which serves many cities and towns in eastern Massachusetts. Among other instances of reduced fares for working people may be mentioned the practise of certain railways in the mining districts of Pennsylvania. For example, two companies centering at Shamokin, and several others elsewhere, sell thirty working men's tickets for \$1. The Detroit & Port Huron Shore Line and the Saginaw Valley Traction Company sell eight tickets for twenty-five cents to working men, while the railways of Zanesville, Ohio, and Clinton and Dubuque, Iowa, make a two-cent-and-a-half rate.

The fact that transfers were issued to more than one fifth of the fare passengers on street-railways in 1902 indicates the great importance of this practise in connection with the social service of street-railways.

Transfers

The proportion of passengers who transfer is highest in the large cities, where the railway lines are complex and where the distances to be covered are great. An examination of the detailed statistics for individual companies shows that there is scarcely an important surface railway in a city of more than 100,000 inhabitants which does not grant transfers on an extensive scale.

For statistics see MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP, page 791.

The rapid increase in public ownership has made an impression on private enterprises. More recent private tramway undertakings have reflected the municipal standard, especially about London, where some splendid private lines have been opened. The fear of a demand for public ownership has compelled the street-railway companies, as it has the gas and electric lighting companies, to do many things which would have been deemed impossible a few years ago.

One of the most insistent sources of discontent under private management was the bad condition of the employees. Their hours were very long, oftentimes eighty hours a week and sometimes as much as fourteen hours per day. The rate of wages was low. This led to constant friction and was one of the principal causes of municipalization. The cities have uniformly corrected such abuses.

Labor

Present hours range from fifty-four to sixty per week, with one day off in seven. Wages now range from 5d. to 7d. (10 to 14 cents) an hour for motormen and 4½d. to 7½d. (9 to 15 cents) for conductors, while free uniforms and one week's holiday on pay are nearly universal. In some cities special funds are set aside for sickness and disability and death, while recreation rooms, with games, baths, and cafés, are found in many cities. The highways committee of the London County Council estimates that "the value of the concessions already made to the men in respect of increase in pay or alteration of hours and other matters amounts now to about £37,000 (\$180,061) a year." In Liverpool, according to Sir Charles Petrie, "the men have been provided with summer and winter uniforms, and we are paying them in wages upward of £40,000 (\$194,660) per annum more than they would have received under companies' rates."

GERMAN MUNICIPAL STREET-RAILWAYS¹

The introduction of the electric-railway marks a turning-point in the history of street-railway development in Germany. It inaugurated a movement toward municipal ownership and operation which is sweeping over the entire empire and which includes not only the larger cities, such as Munich, Frankfort, Cologne, and Nurnberg, but small towns such as Bonn, Trier, Colmar, and Graudenz.

Of the four larger cities that have embarked upon municipal operation of street-railways, the financial situation of the Frankfort system is most favorable. At the close of the fiscal year 1903, after paying all operating expenses, there remained a surplus of \$576,574.25. Out of this the fixt charges were paid, amounting to \$295,813.65.

From the remaining \$280,760.60, the city contributed \$15,805 toward the pension fund for employees, \$4,057.50 toward the pension fund for orphans and widows of employees, and \$36,250 toward the repaving and widening of streets, leaving a net profit of \$224,648.10.

In Cologne the fiscal year 1903-4 showed a net profit of \$130,816.06.

¹ Compiled from "Municipal Ownership and Operation of Street Railways in Germany," by L. S. Rowe, Ph.D., in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1906.

In Nurnberg the financial results of the first two years of municipal operation have been satisfactory. The street-railway account is burdened with the interest and liquidation charges on the loan contracted for the canceling of the companies' franchise. This means an annual outlay for thirty years of about \$138,000. In spite of this fixt charge, the street-railway department turned over to the general city treasurer a net profit of \$13,669.89 in 1903, and \$38,263.91 in 1904.

Fares.—Frankfort has a zone tariff system. The graduation of fares is as follows:

For one mile and one fifth or less, 2½ cents.
Over one mile and one fifth and less than two miles and one tenth, 3½ cents.
Over two miles and one tenth and less than three miles, 5 cents.
For every nine tenths of a mile over three miles, 1½ cents.

Cologne has recently introduced a new zone tariff system arranged as follows:

Fare for 1½ miles..... 2½ cents
Fare for 3½ miles..... 3½ cents
Fare for 5½ miles..... 5 cents
Fare over 5½ miles..... 6½ cents

With every fare exceeding two cents and a half a free transfer is issued.

Nurnberg and Darmstadt are the only cities of any size which still retain the uniform fare in their municipal railway system. The fare is two cents and a half.

In Barmen the uniform two-cent-and-a-half fare with free transfer was also introduced immediately after the municipalization of the street-railways. Monthly commutation cards good for all portions of the system were issued at \$1.25. In Dec., 1903, this system was replaced by a zone tariff under which the lines were divided into five zones of two miles and a tenth each. The rate for each zone was fixt at one cent and a fourth with a maximum fare of two cents and a half.

In Königsberg within the limits of the city the uniform two-cent-and-a-half fare is retained; beyond the city limits three cents and three-fourths is charged.

Labor Conditions Under Municipal Management.—One of the most notable achievements of municipal operations in Germany has been the betterment of the labor conditions. The German cities undertook without delay to readjust the hours of labor so as to bring them within the ten-hour limit and so to arrange the schedules that this ten-hour service should be as continuous as possible.

JOHN MARTIN.

STRIKE-BREAKING: The most recent institution for meeting the exigencies of modern industrial life is an establishment concerned in strike-breaking. This is an agency which provides men to factories, street-car lines, etc., the employees of which have gone on strike. The strike-breakers are not a hoodlum class, neither are they men looking for excitement or occasional work; but a set of picked men, each skilled in a particular line of work. The agency has about 225,000 men on its lists in different trades throughout the United States. The handling of such an army of workmen and their proper placing in times of need requires system.

Candidates, in order to get their names on the list, must pass a rigorous examination as to character and physical and professional fitness. A corps of twenty-three men is detailed to examine

candidates. When a strike is impending or has been declared, this agency is notified by the employers, and it contracts to supply a sufficient number of skilled men to take the place of the strikers, and then selects its men, each of whom must sign an agreement to keep at work on the new job at least thirty days. Traveling expenses in addition to good wages are paid by the agency. The agency maintains a commissary and a quartermaster's departments to feed and house the strike-breakers, and is able to fill the strikers' places within a very short time.

Strike-breakers are, however, frequently exposed to violence on the part of the strikers and their friends. A department of protection has been formed by the agency to provide adequate protection for its men. The head of this department is in touch with sheriffs and police officials over all the country. His men, numbering between 500 and 600, are sworn in as special deputies on each occasion so as to have a legal standing; they are under military discipline and must pass an examination equivalent to that for the police department of New York.

While the department of protection is well organized and reckless or irresponsible men are kept out, it is nevertheless a reflection on the city, state, or county to have need of this private army of detectives or deputies for the protection of private or corporate property. The agency has succeeded well in breaking strikes, and has attained large financial success. But it is open to the same objection as the Pinkertons (*q. v.*) and other private semimilitary organizations within the state having the privileges but not the responsibilities of public officials.

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS: (For a discussion of principles involved, see **TRADE-UNIONS**.) A strike occurs when the employees of an establishment refuse to work unless the management complies with some demand. A lockout occurs when the management refuses to allow the employees to work unless they will work under some condition dictated by the management. In effect strikes and lockouts are practically the same thing, the disturbances simply originating with one side or the other in the case. A strike, however, is often really a lockout, because it not unfrequently happens that employers, finding a dull market and not wishing to bear the opprobrium of discharging their employees or suspending work, require some grievous condition which causes the employees to strike. The real origin of strikes is, therefore, by no means always easily determined.

Strikes are as old as labor itself. For the slave insurrections and labor strikes of classic times, see **GILDS**.

In Germany we hear of a strike in Breslau among the journeymen girdle makers as early as 1329, and in France among the tanners in 1349.

According to Mr. and Mrs. Webb, there was a strike and perhaps a trade-union among the serving-men of the cordwainers in London in 1387. In France in the next century they seem to have been common. In 1538 in England (the Webbs' "History of Trade-Unionism"):

The Bishop of Ely reports to Cromwell that twenty-one journeymen shoemakers of Wisbech have assembled on a hill without the town and sent three of their number to summon all the master shoemakers to meet them, in order to insist upon an advance in their wages, threatening that

"there shall none come into the town to serve for that wages within a twelfth-month and a day, but we will have an harme or a legge of hym, except they woll take an othe, as we have doon."

The first strike in the United States was probably among the New York City bakers in 1741, while in Philadelphia the journeymen shoemakers conducted a series of strikes, 1796-99. According to T. S. Adams and H. L. Sumner ("Labor Problems") the terms "strike," "scab," and "general turnout" were in common use and strikes were "the fashion" by 1835.

The Third Annual Report of the U. S. Bureau of Labor (1887) finds records of 1,491 strikes down to 1881, of which 813 took place in 1880, 199 took place from 1875 to 1879, and 185 from 1870 to 1874; 4 took place in the eighteenth century, the first being a strike among the bakers of New York City in 1741; 75 took place between 1800 and 1850. Of the 1,491 strikes, 1,089 related to wages; 316 succeeded, 154 were compromised, 583 failed, and 478 had their issue unknown.

CAUSES OF STRIKES, 1881-1900

PRINCIPAL CAUSE OR OBJECT	Establishments involved in disputes		Establishments involved in disputes	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Wages				
For increase.....	54,872	46.69	750	7.55
Against decrease.....	9,173	7.81	664	6.68
Other.....	917	0.78	544	5.48
Total wages strikes.....	64,962	55.28	1,958	19.71
Hours of labor.....	14,944	12.72	418	4.21
Sympathetic strikes.....		3.47		
Against employment of non-union men.....		2.34		
Adoption of new scale.....		2.33		
Recognition of union.....		1.40	4,509	46.00
Other causes.....		23.46		30.08
		100.00		100.00

RESULTS OF STRIKES ORDERED BY LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND NOT SO ORDERED

YEAR	Number of strikes or- dered by labor organizations	Per cent of estab- lishments in which strikes or- dered by labor organizations—			Number of strikes not ordered by labor organizations	Per cent of estab- lishments in which strikes not ordered by labor organizations—		
		Suc- ceeded	Suc- ceeded partly	Failed		Suc- ceeded	Suc- ceeded partly	Failed
1881...	222	65.61	6.46	27.93	249	48.25	8.67	43.08
1882...	218	56.38	9.56	34.00	230	44.75	3.76	51.49
1883...	271	64.26	18.39	17.35	207	26.25	4.07	69.68
1884...	239	55.79	3.26	40.95	204	30.79	6.90	62.31
1885...	301	63.70	10.50	35.80	284	26.20	7.08	66.72
1886...	760	33.49	20.46	46.05	672	41.65	7.38	50.97
1887...	952	48.38	7.19	44.43	483	26.96	7.24	65.80
1888...	616	56.17	4.99	38.84	288	25.00	8.86	66.14
1889...	724	45.61	21.37	33.02	351	49.93	9.26	40.81
1890...	1,306	53.99	10.17	35.84	525	39.86	8.45	51.69
1891...	1,284	38.46	8.10	53.44	432	36.76	11.68	51.56
1892...	918	39.33	8.75	51.92	380	19.19	8.16	52.65
1893...	906	53.94	10.89	35.17	399	28.42	6.19	65.39
1894...	847	37.35	13.67	48.98	501	43.94	12.12	43.94
1895...	658	59.25	10.05	30.70	555	27.21	9.18	63.61
1896...	662	62.47	6.55	30.98	303	29.93	15.69	54.38
1897...	596	59.67	29.51	10.82	482	30.83	12.54	56.40
1898...	638	69.72	6.15	24.13	418	33.06	7.64	58.40
1899...	1,115	76.33	14.19	9.48	682	36.56	14.92	48.52
1900...	1,164	48.06	21.95	29.99	615	29.94	7.03	63.03
Total.	14,457	52.86	13.60	33.54	8,326	35.56	9.05	55.39

AUSTRIA

(From "Die Arbeitseinstellungen und Aussperrungen in Oesterreich," in 1904 and 1905, 2 vols., issued by the Arbeitsstatistisches Amt im Handelsministerium.)

YEAR	Strikes	Establishments affected	Strikers	Per cent of strikers of total employees	Days lost	STRIKES		STRIKERS	
						Per cent succeeded	Per cent succeeded partly	Per cent succeeded	Per cent succeeded partly
1894	172	2,542	67,061	69.5	795,416	25.0	27.9	9.2	37.3
1895	209	874	28,652	59.9	300,348	26.8	24.9	12.8	60.7
1896	305	1,499	66,234	65.7	899,939	21.0	36.4	4.6	62.8
1897	246	851	38,407	59.0	368,098	17.5	37.0	15.7	47.8
1898	255	885	39,658	59.9	323,619	18.8	41.2	8.4	66.4
1899	311	1,330	54,703	60.2	1,029,937	15.4	45.0	10.2	72.0
1900	303	1,003	105,128	67.3	3,483,963	20.2	44.9	4.7	85.5
1901	270	719	24,870	38.5	157,744	20.7	36.3	20.1	47.8
1902	264	1,184	37,471	44.0	284,046	19.7	39.0	13.8	52.7
1903	324	1,731	46,215	60.5	500,567	17.3	43.5	10.0	68.0
1904	414	2,704	64,227	64.3	606,629	24.4	44.4	18.6	41.6
1905	686	3,803	99,591	63.6	1,151,310	21.8	51.2	14.0	71.3
						20.7	41.7	10.9	62.3

GREAT BRITAIN

(From "Report on Strikes and Lockouts" and in "Conciliations and Arbitration Boards in the United Kingdom, 1905," published by the Labor Department of the British Board of Trade.)

"Aggregate working-days lost by all employees thrown out of work" includes the aggregate duration in each year of disputes which began in previous years and extended beyond the year in which they began, and excludes the duration in 1906 of disputes which began in 1905.]

YEAR	Strikes and lockouts	Strikers and employees locked out	Other employees thrown out of work	Total employees thrown out of work	Aggregate working-days lost by all employees thrown out of work
1901.....	642	111,437	68,109	179,546	4,142,287
1902.....	442	116,824	139,843	256,667	3,479,255
1903.....	387	93,515	23,386	116,900	2,338,668
1904.....	355	59,380	30,828	87,208	1,484,220
1905.....	358	67,653	25,850	93,503	2,470,189

ITALY

(From statistics of the "Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, Direzione Generale della Statistica, 1906.")

STRIKES IN AGRICULTURE

YEAR	Total strikes	Strikes for which strikers were reported	Strikers	Aggregate days of work lost
1881.....	1	1	100	200
1882.....	2	2	2,200	4,400
1883.....	3	3	262	1,812
1884.....	10	2	245	245
1885.....	62	36	8,857	53,761
1886.....	17	16	3,846	9,623
1887.....	9	8	2,275	3,785
1888.....	5	5	1,366	1,366
1889.....	4	4	1,087	2,880
1890.....	8	7	1,950	8,420
1891.....	24	24	7,795	33,877
1892.....	10	9	3,504	7,123
1893.....	18	18	12,390	1,718,370
1894.....	8	8	4,748	43,058
1895.....	7	6	1,765	20,565
1896.....	1	1	100	100
1897.....	12	12	24,135	322,020
1898.....	36	36	8,495	82,833
1899.....	9	9	1,895	7,475
1900.....	27	26	12,517	72,057
1901.....	629	629	222,985	2,931,766
1902.....	221	221	146,592	2,024,833
1903.....	47	47	22,597	341,847
Total.....	1,170	1,130	149,616	7,692,416

¹In one strike the number of families taking part was reported.

STRIKES IN THE U. S., 1881-1900
(Compiled from the Sixteenth Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor)

YEAR	Num-ber of strikes	STRIKES ¹										LOCKOUTS ¹																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
		Number of employees thrown out of employment by strikes, the results of which were—					Percentage of employees thrown out of employment by strikes, the results of which were—					Total	Number of employees thrown out of employment by lock-outs	Number of establishments in which results of lock-outs were—				Total	Percentage of establishments in which results of lockouts were—																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
		In favor of work-people	In favor of em-ploy-ers	Com-pro-mised	Un-set-tled or un-known	Unset-tled or un-known	In favor of work-people	In favor of em-ploy-ers	Com-pro-mised	Unset-tled or un-known	In fa-vor of em-ploy-ers			In fa-vor of work-people	Com-pro-mised	Un-set-tled	In fa-vor of em-ploy-ers		In fa-vor of work-people	Com-pro-mised	Un-set-tled																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				
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1881..	471	55,600	56,439	17,482			129,521	42.93	43.57	13.50		6	655	8			9	88.89																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																							

¹The distinction drawn in the report between a strike and a lockout is: "A strike occurs when the employees of an establishment refuse to work unless the management complies with some demand; a lockout occurs when the management refuses to allow the employees to work unless they will work under some condition indicated by the management. . . in a strike the employees take the initiative while in a lockout the employer first makes some demand, and enforces it by refusing to allow his employees to work unless it is complied with."

ITALY
STRIKES IN INDUSTRIES OTHER THAN AGRICULTURE

YEAR	Total strikes ¹	STRIKES WHICH—		Strikes for which strikers were reported	STRIKERS				Strikes for which days lost were reported	Aggregate days of work lost
		Suc-ceeded	Suc-ceeded partly		Men	Women	Children	Total		
1879.....	32	2	10	28	(2)	(2)	(2)	4,011	28	21,896
1880.....	27	4	9	26	(2)	(2)	(2)	5,900	26	91,899
1881.....	44	4	11	39	(2)	(2)	(2)	8,272	38	95,578
1882.....	47	5	16	45	(2)	(2)	(2)	5,854	45	25,119
1883.....	73	10	29	67	(2)	(2)	(2)	12,900	65	111,697
1884.....	81	16	34	81	(2)	(2)	(2)	23,967	78	149,215
1885.....	89	22	32	86	(2)	(2)	(2)	34,166	82	244,393
1886.....	96	14	39	96	(2)	(2)	(2)	16,951	95	56,772
1887.....	69	9	29	68	(2)	(2)	(2)	25,027	66	218,612
1888.....	101	22	40	99	(2)	(2)	(2)	28,974	95	191,204
1889.....	126	12	63	125	(2)	(2)	(2)	23,322	123	215,880
1890.....	139	23	58	133	(2)	(2)	(2)	38,402	129	167,657
1891.....	132	15	51	128	(2)	(2)	(2)	34,733	123	258,059
1892.....	119	24	33	117	(2)	(2)	(2)	30,800	114	216,907
1893.....	131	34	46	127	(2)	(2)	(2)	32,109	122	234,323
1894.....	109	35	29	103	19,766	3,890	3,939	27,595	103	323,261
1895.....	126	41	39	120	11,788	5,192	2,327	19,307	126	125,968
1896.....	210	79	51	210	39,955	34,264	21,832	96,051	210	1,152,503
1897.....	217	70	60	217	21,809	38,435	16,326	76,570	217	1,113,535
1898.....	256	70	68	256	22,112	9,571	4,022	35,705	256	239,292
1899.....	259	80	69	259	28,228	11,280	3,686	43,194	259	231,590
1900.....	383	112	143	383	59,750	16,292	4,816	80,858	383	493,093
1901.....	1,042	294	428	1,042	137,389	40,683	18,468	196,540	1,042	2,146,184
1902.....	810	165	363	810	140,487	36,218	20,809	197,514	810	2,539,331
1903.....	549	106	194	549	80,138	18,759	10,430	109,327	549	1,539,298
Total...	5,267	1,268	1,944	5,220	561,422	214,584	106,655	1,208,049	5,184	12,203,266

¹ Including 143 strikes the results of which were not reported.

² Not reported from 1879-93.

NETHERLANDS

[Strikes due to two or more causes have been tabulated under each cause; hence the totals for this table do not agree with those for other tables.]

CAUSE OR OBJECT	Total strikes		Strikes for which number of establishments involved was reported		Strikes for which number of strikers was reported		Strikes for which aggregate days of duration was reported		Strikes	
	Number	Percent of total reporting cause	Strikes	Estab-lishments	Strikes	Strikers	Strikes	Aggre-gate days of duration	Suc-ceeded	Suc-ceeded partly
For increase of wages.....	65	32.83	64	256	65	2,647	62	1,262	6	33
Against reduction of wages.....	8	4.04	8	8	8	126	8	345	1	6
Other disputes concerning wages.....	25	12.63	24	35	25	953	23	339	4	11
Hours of labor.....	7	3.53	6	45	7	457	6	210	.....	4
Trade-unionism.....	6	3.03	6	17	6	244	4	210	.....	4
For reinstatement of employees.....	23	11.62	23	23	23	393	22	477	2	10
Regulations governing work.....	22	11.11	20	20	22	1,187	22	558	5	9
Other causes.....	40	20.20	40	52	40	1,096	37	838	7	22
Not reported.....	2	1.01	2	2	1	15	1	21	.....	.....
Total.....	198	100.00	193	458	197	7,118	185	4,176	25	99

SUMMARY OF LOCKOUTS, 1901 TO 1905

YEAR	Total lockouts	Lockouts for which number of establishments involved was reported		Lockouts for which number of persons locked out was reported		Lockouts for which aggregate days of duration was reported		Lockouts which—	
		Lock-outs	Estab-lishments involved	Lock-outs	Persons locked out	Lock-outs	Aggre-gate days of duration	Suc-ceeded	Suc-ceeded partly
1901.....	7	5	5	6	361	6	380	2	.....
1902.....	14	14	15	14	2,381	12	519	5	4
1903.....	14	13	24	14	1,021	11	293	7	5
1904.....	17	17	74	16	6,754	14	355	9	6
1905.....	6	5	5	6	2,707	6	163	2	1

GERMANY

(From "Streiks und Aussperrungen, 1905," Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt)

YEAR	STRIKES								LOCKOUTS							
	Total strikes	Strikes which—				Establishments affected	Total employees in establishments affected	Strikers	Total lockouts	Lockouts which—				Establishments affected	Total employees in establishments affected	Persons locked out
		Succeeded		Succeeded partly						Succeeded		Succeeded partly				
		Number	Per cent of total strikes	Number	Per cent of total strikes					Number	Per cent of total lockouts	Number	Per cent of total lockouts			
1899...	1,288	331	25.7	429	33.3	7,121	256,858	99,338	23	6	26.1	9	39.1	427	8,290	5,298
1900...	1,433	275	19.2	505	35.2	7,740	298,819	122,803	35	13	37.1	17	48.6	607	22,462	9,085
1901...	1,056	200	18.9	285	27.0	4,561	141,220	55,262	35	16	45.7	8	22.9	238	7,980	5,414
1902...	1,060	228	21.5	235	22.2	3,437	131,086	53,912	46	36	65.2	7	15.2	948	18,705	10,305
1903...	1,374	300	21.8	444	32.3	7,000	198,636	85,603	70	36	51.4	15	21.4	1,714	52,541	35,273
1904...	1,870	449	24.0	688	36.8	10,321	273,364	113,480	120	44	36.7	33	27.5	1,115	36,312	23,760
1905...	2,403	528	22.0	971	40.4	14,481	776,984	408,145	254	65	25.6	147	57.9	3,859	188,526	118,665

GREAT BRITAIN

INDUSTRY	Strikes and lockouts					Employees thrown out of work				
	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
Building trades.....	104	39	44	37	31	9,797	5,356	3,663	8,697	6,637
Mining and quarrying.....	210	168	125	113	106	112,981	208,526	63,578	46,287	44,791
Metal, engineering, and shipbuilding.....	103	71	87	75	70	22,489	19,514	32,380	12,130	12,753
Textile trades.....	96	82	55	52	67	16,609	16,706	9,458	13,048	15,786
Clothing trades.....	39	23	25	26	29	4,135	2,790	2,476	1,448	3,540
Transportation.....	20	14	15	10	11	2,682	1,590	2,172	1,759	2,112
Miscellaneous trades.....	65	41	32	41	39	10,489	3,679	2,463	3,794	7,159
Employees of public authorities.....	5	4	4	1	5	364	2,106	711	45	725
Total.....	642	442	387	355	358	179,546	256,667	116,901	87,208	93,503

BY PRINCIPAL CAUSES, 1901 TO 1905

PRINCIPAL CAUSES OR OBJECTS	Strikes and lockouts					Strikers and employees locked out				
	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
Wages.....	402	267	232	233	235	58,865	56,733	49,557	32,783	38,737
Hours of labor.....	29	20	17	13	14	4,198	3,044	4,108	1,970	3,145
Employment of particular classes or persons.....	84	58	54	46	47	10,524	11,436	7,822	6,081	6,408
Working arrangements, rules, and discipline.....	79	64	56	47	37	23,185	19,849	13,609	7,601	5,546
Trade-unionism.....	38	29	25	15	21	11,531	25,489	17,602	7,925	9,377
Sympathetic disputes.....	6	1	.....	1	2	1,890	14	.....	20	243
Other causes.....	4	3	3	.....	2	1,244	259	817	.....	4,197
Total.....	642	442	387	355	358	111,437	116,824	93,515	56,380	67,653

RESULTS, 1901 TO 1905

[The figures for years previous to 1905 have been revised to include the results of disputes terminated after the reports of those years were published.]

RESULT	Strikes and lockouts					Strikers and employees locked out				
	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
In favor of employees.....	163	108	90	62	70	30,591	37,187	29,167	15,413	16,702
In favor of employers.....	284	206	185	180	166	38,701	37,187	44,956	23,500	22,943
Compromised.....	193	125	111	112	118	41,575	42,141	19,370	17,441	27,404
Indefinite or unsettled.....	2	3	1	1	4	570	309	22	26	544
Total.....	642	442	387	355	358	111,437	116,824	93,515	56,380	67,653

BELGIUM
(From "Statistique des Grèves en Belgique, 1896-1900," published by the Belgian Labor Department)

GROUP OF TRADES	I. Number of disputes					II. Number of work-people directly affected by disputes				
	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Building trades.....	8	6	4	4	5	555	125	1,454	429	640
Mining and quarrying....	38	54	23	18	36	10,794	27,976	6,429	47,904	7,903
Metal trades.....	11	11	20	12	22	2,340	1,989	1,315	1,111	4,402
Textile trades.....	42	23	16	29	32	6,218	1,901	1,137	2,501	13,703
Transport trades.....	3	2	2	9	2	64	44	130	543	168
Printing and paper trades.....	3	3	3	3	4	97	46	588	550	1,376
Wood-working and furnishing trades.....	7	7	4	2	7	1,763	637	110	332	438
Chemical, glass- and pottery trades.....	7	9	11	9	15	525	1,595	1,607	2,592	1,893
Food and tobacco trades.....	3	7	3	7	6	77	405	241	421	187
Leather trades.....	10	3	1	5	8	456	127	4	280	316
Other trades.....	7	5	4	6	9	315	1,113	86	1,148	1,357
Total.....	139	130	91	104	146	23,204	35,958	13,101	57,931	32,443

FRANCE
(From Statistics of the Ministère du Commerce, de l'Industrie, et des Postes, Direction du Travail)

YEAR	Strikes	Estab-lish-ments	Strikers	Aggregate days of work lost by em-ployees thrown out of work	Strikes which—		Strikers in strikes which—	
					Suc-ceeded	Suc-ceeded partly	Succeeded	Succeeded partly
1894.....	391	1,731	54,576	1,062,480	84	129	12,897	24,784
1895.....	405	1,298	45,801	617,469	100	117	8,565	20,672
1896.....	476	2,178	49,851	644,168	117	122	11,579	17,057
1897.....	356	2,568	68,875	780,944	68	122	19,838	28,767
1898.....	368	1,967	82,065	1,216,306	75	123	10,594	32,546
1899.....	739	4,288	176,772	3,550,734	180	282	21,131	124,767
1900.....	902	10,253	222,714	3,760,577	205	360	24,216	140,358
1901.....	523	6,970	111,414	1,862,050	114	195	9,364	44,386
1902.....	512	1,820	212,704	4,675,081	111	184	23,533	160,820
1903.....	567	3,246	123,151	2,441,944	122	222	12,526	89,736
1904.....	1,026	17,250	271,097	3,934,884	297	394	53,555	168,034
1905.....	830	5,302	177,666	2,746,684	184	361	22,872	125,016

STRONG, REV. CHARLES: Founder of Australian Church (Liberal), Melbourne, in 1885; born The Manse, Dailly, Ayrshire, Scotland, Sept. 26, 1844. Formerly Presbyterian clergyman in Glasgow and (1875-84) in Melbourne. Resigned and founded a free church, 1885, and president of Collingwood Working Men's Club, a founder of Collingwood Crèche, and of Convalescent Home for Men. Vice-president of Anti-Sweating League and member of Royal Commissions on Non-employment and on Bible in State Schools. Member of State Commissions on Cause and Cure of Inebriety. President of Criminology Society. Chairman of Peace Society. Editor of *Australian Herald*. Author of various religious works. Address: Avoca Street, South Yarra, Australia.

STRONG, JOSIAH: President of the American Institute of Social Service; born Jan. 19, 1847, at Naperville, Ill. Attended public school at Hudson, Ohio; graduated Western Reserve University, 1869; studied at Lane Theological Seminary, 1869-71. Missionary in Cheyenne, Wyo., chaplain of Western Reserve University, 1873-1876; pastor Sandusky, Ohio, 1876-81; secretary Home Missionary Society of Ohio, 1881-84; pastor Vine Street Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, until 1886, when he published "Our Country," which

has had a remarkable influence with a circulation of over 175,000, and been translated in several European languages. Secretary of Evangelical Alliance for United States, 1886-98. Becoming, however, more deeply interested in social questions than his associates in the alliance, he founded with Dr. Tolman a league, which in 1902 became the American Institute of Social Service (*q. v.*), which has led to similar institutes in other countries (see SOCIAL INSTITUTES), and in 1907 organized with Dr. Tolman the American Museum of Safety Devices and Industrial Hygiene.

Dr. Strong has thus stated his social views:

The "kingdom of God," which was the great burden of Jesus's message to the world, was his *social ideal*. It was a vision of civilization perfected, of heaven come to earth. Just so far and so fast as God's will is done among men as it is among angels, so far and so fast will the "kingdom come." I believe that Jesus's teaching concerning the kingdom of God affords the true social ideal, lays down the fundamental laws and principles by the application of which alone can the great social problems be solved, supplies the needed enthusiasm, and inspires complete assurance that this social ideal will ultimately be fully realized. That is, the kingdom of God, as Jesus taught it, affords the aim, the method, the power, and the necessary confidence for the transformation of the world.

Author: "Our Country," 1886; "The New Era," 1893, (50,000 copies); "The Twentieth-Century City," 1898; "Expansion" and "Religious Move-

ments for Social Betterment," 1900; "The Times and Young Men," 1901; "The Next Great Awakening," 1902; "Social Progress," 1904-5, and 1906; "The Challenge of the City," 1907. *Address:* 231-241 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York.

SUBSIDIES: Aid granted to individuals or corporations chiefly to encourage manufacture and transportation, principally in the form of relief from taxation, of land grants, or of subvention in money. This last is the usual meaning in which the term is now used, and the only one considered in this article. (See also BOUNTIES; LAND; PUBLIC DOMAIN.)

The most important modern subsidies have been to railways and steamship companies.

England has granted no railway subsidies except in Ireland. France defrayed about half the original cost of her railways, and this system has been largely followed in Austria, Russia, southern Europe, and British India. In the United States railway subsidies, in the form of land grants mainly, have been very extensive. (See RAILWAYS.)

Great Britain.—Ship stores have been free since the time of the Armada; but George II. granted a direct bounty to aid shipping in 1730. Its purpose was to encourage herring fisheries and thus indirectly to train sailors and marines for the navy. Since that time Great Britain has almost continuously aided her shipping corporations, partly for the encouragement of British trade, but chiefly to maintain efficient communication with her colonies. The latter object has been of great value to the United Kingdom since in times of war, e. g., the Crimean and the Sepoy Rebellion. In the Boer War (1899-1900) England was able to transport a vast army within a short time to a distance of 6,000 miles, in addition to the necessary supplies. While vast sums have been spent in subsidies, English statesmen believe that they have been good investments. In 1901 the government paid £874,155 to twenty steamship lines; the Cunard Line alone receives since 1902 £150,000 annually.

Germany pays to three lines about 10,175,000 marks for carrying mails to America, Australia, East Asia, and East Africa, besides granting other benefits in the form of release from import duties and reduction in freight on railroads, etc., in all materials used in ship-building. *France* has been anxious to build up a mercantile marine, and is paying about 45,150,000 francs annually to shipping corporations, besides granting premiums to ship-builders. *Austria*, too, paid about \$1,600,000 and Hungary over \$400,000 in 1901. More recently Hungary has made an agreement with the Cunard line for a fortnightly service from Fiume. *Italy* has paid subsidies for navigation and construction since 1885, and paid for the former nearly \$395,000 and for the latter about \$20,250 in 1897; this sum has since been increased. She paid about 20,000,000 liras in 1906. *Japan* pays heavy bounties on navigation and construction since 1807. Since 1900 she pays over \$2,162,200 to the lines running to Europe, San Francisco, and Seattle. Denmark, Holland, Norway, and Sweden pay only a fair return for the carrying of mail.

Railroads are subsidized in nearly every European country by having the capital for construction advanced by the State. England has subsidized the Canadian Pacific line. The U. S.

have made grants of vast tracts of land to nearly every railroad in the West; the states and municipalities have offered additional inducements. The Central & Union Pacific alone received 30,000,000 acres of land, and a subsidy of \$25,000 per mile in the form of a loan, with the more or less tacit understanding that it would never be repaid. The subsidies to railroads have, however, served a very useful purpose in opening the vast lands of the West, and thus enriching the whole country; while the aid to shipping corporations has been of no value.

The U. S. have granted ship subsidies since 1845. From that time to 1858 they amounted to about \$15,000,000. From 1867-77 another sum of \$4,583,000 was granted to a single company; and another company received \$250,000 per annum. In 1891 a new arrangement was made; mail is now paid for by mileage at a fixed rate. On Feb. 15, 1906, the Senate passed the Ship Subsidy Bill, granting \$50,000,000 in aid of mercantile marine enterprises for twenty years. The grants to railroads have been much larger and have produced better results.

SUFFRAGE, THE, IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES: Every country has certain legal disabilities, e. g., for crime, military or civil service, receiving relief from poor funds, etc.; these are not stated here, but only the general requirements.

Argentine Republic.—Universal male suffrage for all native or naturalized citizens at least twenty-one years old.

Australia.—Laws made by the separate states. New South Wales and New Zealand have universal male and female suffrage for citizens over twenty-one years of age. Tasmania universal male and female suffrage for the House of Assembly, but a property qualification for the Legislative Council applicable to both sexes. Queensland has a property qualification for male suffrage. South Australia and Western Australia have a property qualification for both men and women. Victoria has a property qualification for men of little education; professional men are freed from that.

Austria.—Universal, equal, and direct male for citizens twenty-four years of age (by law of November, 1906.)

Belgium.—For *Chamber of Representatives:* every male citizen twenty-five years of age, one vote. Every citizen over twenty-five years of age owning real estate to the taxable value of 2,000 francs, or has a corresponding income from such property, or has for at least two years derived not less than 100 francs a year from Belgian funds either directly or through the savings-bank, has two votes; every citizen over thirty-five years of age, who has children—whether married or widowed—and pays at least 5 fr. in income tax, has also two votes. Every citizen at least twenty-five years of age, who has received a diploma of higher or a certificate of higher secondary instruction, or has filled an office or is engaged in private professional practise implying at least average higher instruction, has three votes. For the *senators* who are elected the same conditions are required with the additional specification that electors must be at least thirty years of age. No citizen has more than three votes.

Brazil.—Every male citizen over twenty-one years of age, duly enrolled, has one vote, except beggars, illiterates, and members of monastic orders under vows of obedience.

Canada.—The franchise is controlled by the different provinces; but it is practically universal on condition of certain property qualifications.

Cape Colony.—Property and educational qualifications for men.

Chile.—Universal male with educational qualification for citizens twenty-one years old.

Denmark.—Universal male for citizens thirty years old.

Finland.—Universal male and female for citizens twenty-four years old.

France.—Universal male for citizens twenty-one years old.

Germany.—Universal male for citizens twenty-five years old for the *Imperial Diet or Reichstag*. The individual states have separate election laws for their respective *Landtage* or state legislatures, altho most of the states in South Germany have or are following the example of Bavaria (law of April 6, 1906) in giving the franchise to every citizen twenty-five years of age.

Prussia has peculiar election laws. The members of the *Abgeordneten Haus* are elected indirectly, by electors or *Wahlmänner*, who are distributed according to property qualifications in such wise that one third is elected by the few rich people who pay one third of the total taxes; one third by the larger class that pays the second third; and one third by the smallest taxpayers. One *Wahlmann* is elected for every 250 souls. Every male citizen, qualified to vote in his municipality or village, is called *Urwähler*, and entitled to vote for the direct electors or *Wahlmänner*. Age requirement in each case twenty-five years. The election laws of *Saxony* are the same as those of *Prussia*.

Great Britain.—(See UNITED KINGDOM.)

Greece.—Universal manhood suffrage.

Hungary.—Citizens twenty years old and paying at least a low amount of taxes. Is agitating universal male suffrage.

Italy.—Has male suffrage; age requirement twenty-one years of all citizens; also educational or property qualifications.

Japan.—Male suffrage for citizens twenty-five years old; property qualifications, ten yen in land or direct taxes.

Mexico.—All respectable adult male citizens may vote.

Netherlands, The.—All male citizens twenty-five years of age, self-supporting, and paying at least one florin in taxes.

Norway.—Universal male suffrage for citizens twenty-five years old.

Portugal.—Male citizens twenty-one years old, with the necessary educational and property qualifications.

Rumania.—Educational and property qualifications for adult male citizens. Three classes of electors as in *Prussia*. (See GERMANY.)

Russia.—Educational and property requirements.

Servia.—Male citizens, twenty-one years old, and paying 15 francs in taxes or over.

Spain.—Universal male suffrage for citizens twenty-five years old.

Sweden.—Native male citizens, twenty-one years old, with fairly high property requirements.

Switzerland.—Universal male suffrage for citizens twenty-one years old.

United Kingdom.—Every adult male citizen may vote who pays at least £10 rent a year; or has a freehold to the value of 40s. per annum; or lands in life tenure or leasehold for sixty years

to the annual value of £5 or over. Residence within the district is required for six months in England and one year in Scotland.

United States.—Universal male suffrage for citizens twenty-one years old. The states have various additional requirements and rights. Residence required in the state is usually one year, in the county six months, in the district thirty days. Idaho, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, have female suffrage in state elections. Many other states allow women to vote in school elections. A few states, e. g., Kansas and Nebraska, give the franchise to aliens who have declared their intention to become citizens.

SUICIDES (for number of suicides in the United States, see CRIME, p. 336): Suicides seem on the increase.

United States.—Per 100,000 of population, estimated from statistics of the *Chicago Tribune*:

1885.....	1.73	1903.....	10.76
1890.....	4.19	1904.....	11.39
1895.....	8.27	1905.....	12.08
1900.....	8.85	1906.....	12.05

¹ Probably less fully reported.

Frederic Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Life-Insurance Company, gives the following rate per 100,000 of population in fifty cities of the U. S.:

1890.....	12.0	1897.....	17.3
1891.....	14.0	1898.....	17.3
1892.....	13.0	1899.....	16.0
1893.....	15.9	1900.....	15.8
1894.....	15.5	1901.....	16.6
1895.....	15.6	1902.....	17.0
1896.....	15.9		

Great Britain.—Coroners' returns per 100,000 of population:

1863.....	6.71	1893.....	8.62
1873.....	6.33	1903.....	10.43
1883.....	7.30	1904.....	9.85

German Empire.—The Statistical Year Book of the German Empire gives the annual averages per 100,000 of population for the following given periods in cities of over 15,000 (higher than the rate for the country):

1877-81.....	31.0	1897-1901.....	24.5
1882-86.....	29.0	1902.....	26.2
1887-91.....	25.4	1903.....	26.4
1892-96.....	26.1	1904.....	25.0

In France the growth of population since 1830 has been 100 per cent, but the number of suicides is said to have increased by 245 per cent. In Belgium the suicide rate has, in the same time, quintupled. In *Prussia*, while the population increased 0.98 per cent, suicides increased 1.07; of Italy the population rate was 0.7, the suicide 1.28; of France 0.07, and 2.06; of Sweden 0.81, and 1.5.

According to Hoffman (see above), based on the census of 1900, suicides in the U. S. were:

IN CITIES PER 100,000 POPULATION, 1905
(Estimated from the census)

San Francisco.....	50.44	Pittsburg.....	16.47
Denver.....	32.27	New Orleans.....	16.36
Newark, N. J.....	28.11	Kansas City.....	15.21
St. Louis.....	24.80	Baltimore.....	14.90
Chicago.....	22.20	Louisville.....	14.46
Milwaukee.....	22.46	Philadelphia.....	14.00
Cincinnati.....	21.97	Boston.....	13.86
Indianapolis.....	21.50	New York (Brooklyn).....	13.28
Jersey City.....	20.88	Detroit.....	9.21
Cleveland.....	20.74	Fall River.....	2.50
New York (Manhattan).....	20.56		

According to a table compiled by George M. Gould, M.D. ("Biographic Clinics," vol. v., p. 193), from data mainly supplied him by the U. S. Bureau of Statistics, the suicides per million in various countries are as follows:

COUNTRY	Date	Total per annum	Per 100,000
Ireland.....	1887-91	112	2.4
Russia.....	Approximately	2.7	
Scotland.....	1887-91	224	5.6
Italy.....	1902	2,010	6.1
Holland.....	1904	371	6.7
Norway.....	1903	354	6.7
United States.....	1900	5,498	7.2
England.....	1903	3,511	10.5
Belgium.....	1903	818	11.7
Bavaria.....	1887-91		11.8
Sweden.....	1902	804	15.5
Austria.....	1901	4,291	16.4
Japan.....	1902	9,194	18.9
Prussia.....	1904	7,290	20.0
Germany.....	1904	12,468	21.0
France.....	1902	8,716	22.3
Switzerland.....	1903	779	22.9
Denmark.....	1887-91		25.3
Saxony.....	1862-86		32.2
Saxony.....	1898		46.9

For the U. S. the annual report of the Census Bureau for 1905 gives the following statistics:

SUICIDES PER 100,000 OF POPULATION

YEAR	Registration area	Registration cities	REGISTRATION STATES			Registration cities in other states
			Total	Cities	Rural districts	
1901.....	12.2	13.7	10.4	11.7	8.7	15.7
1902.....	12.7	14.4	10.3	11.7	8.5	17.2
1903.....	13.6	15.6	11.3	12.8	9.4	18.6
1904.....	14.8	16.7	12.2	13.9	10.1	19.5
1905.....	16.1	17.9	13.5	15.0	11.6	20.7

REGISTRATION AREA PER 100,000 OF POPULATION

	Annual average: 1900 to 1904	1901	1905
Suicide.....	13.1	12.2	16.1
Poison.....	4.4	4.0	5.4
Asphyxia.....	0.9	0.8	1.5
Hanging or strangulation.....	2.0	1.9	2.4
Drownings.....	0.7	0.7	0.8
Firearms.....	3.1	2.9	4.3
Cutting instruments.....	0.7	0.7	0.9
Jumping from high places.....	0.2	0.1	0.2
Crushing.....	0.1		0.1
Other suicides.....	1.0	1.1	0.6

the classification of the suicides in respect to motive:

MOTIVE	Totals	Males	Females
Despondency.....	2,207	1,596	431
Business loss.....	1,398	1,300	98
Insanity.....	1,361	1,013	348
Ill health.....	1,300	959	340
Disappointment in love.....	900	627	273
Domestic trouble.....	773	544	229
Fear of disgrace.....	539	429	110
Grief.....	427	267	160
Alcoholism.....	413	390	23
Chagrin.....	294	225	69
Miscellaneous and unknown.....	559	421	138
Totals.....	10,000	7,781	2,219

The *Chicago Tribune's* report thus classifies the reports of the causes of suicide of the year:

MOTIVE	1905	1906
Business losses.....	32	58
Liquor.....	375	119
Ill health.....	411	388
Unknown.....	721	435
Disappointment in love.....	958	1,113
Domestic infelicity.....	1,525	2,125
Insane.....	1,826	1,326
Despondency.....	4,134	4,561
Totals.....	9,982	10,125

According to Dr. Gould (see above), if the larger portion of the "Despondency" cases is added to the "Ill health" class the results are not very dissimilar to his own independently made classification. He quotes De Greef as saying that the principal social conditions causing suicide, in the order of their importance, are: (1) poverty; (2) family difficulties; (3) physical suffering, of about equal power; (4) alcoholism; (5) fear of legal persecution; (6) love, jealousy, and debauchery.

Dr. Gould finds the following facts: (1) Suicide is on the increase. (2) Civilization increases the suicide rate more rapidly than the growth of population. (3) The urban suicide rate is higher than that of the country. (4) The influence of occupation upon the rate is most incongruous. (5) The rate in contiguous countries, departments, or "races" presents inexplicable variations. (6) With one exception the rate in males is several times higher than in females. (7) The rate is greater among the single than among the married, and is still higher among the divorced and widowed. (8) The age or time of life at which suicide is committed presents inexplicable peculiarities. (9) The rate rises in proportion to school pressure, education, etc.

SUMNER, WILLIAM GRAHAM: Economist; born in Paterson, N. J., 1840; graduated at Yale College in 1863, and then studied at Oxford, England, and at Göttingen in Germany; 1866-69 was a tutor at Yale College. In 1867 he took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was assistant at Calvary Church in New York. In 1872, however, he became professor of political and social science at Yale College, which position he has since held, one of the leading economists in America of the orthodox school, especially on the subjects free trade and gold currency. Author: "History of American Currency"; "Lectures on the History of Protection in the United States";

The leading cities in proportion of suicides to population are: St. Louis, Mo.; Hoboken, N. J.; Chicago, Ill.; Oakland, Cal.; New York City (Manhattan and Bronx); Milwaukee, Wis.; Cincinnati, Ohio. The lowest cities were New Bedford, Mass.; Camden, N. J., and Newton and Fall River, Mass. (lowest of all). According to the census of 1900 in the registration area, the suicide rate of native Americans is returned at 6.8 per 100,000 of population, against 6.1 for those of Irish origin, 19.3 for those of German origin, and 22.0 for those of French origin. According to Professor Bailey, in the *Yale Review*, May, 1903, the following is

"What Social Classes Owe to Each Other"; "Protectionism"; "Life of Andrew Jackson"; "Life of Alexander Hamilton"; "Life of Robert Morris"; "The Financier and Finances of the Revolution"; "A History of Banking in the United States"; "Folkways." Address: 240 Edwards Street, New Haven, Conn.

SUMMERBELL, THOMAS: Member British Parliament, of Independent Labor Party for Sunderland; born in 1861 at Seaham Harbor, Sunderland; educated at the national school of his native town; worked as a grocer, later as printer, in many towns of northern England, until he started in business for himself in Sunderland; joined the Typographical Society, and has been secretary of the Trades Council for seventeen years. He is member of many committees of his town, chairman of that on Tramways, and honorary secretary of the local branch of the League of the Blind. He is a member of the Housing Reform Council, Land Nationalization, Foresters, Labor Information Bureau, Independent Labor Party, etc. He was elected to Parliament in 1906. Address: 14 Vincent Street, Sunderland, England.

SUNDAY REST, THE: With the religious and theological arguments raised for the limitation of Sunday labor we are not in this Encyclopedia concerned, save as these affect the moral, physical, and industrial welfare of society. In the ever-increasing perplexity and stress of modern life, it is patent to all that men more and more need a rest, at least one day in seven, from their daily toil. It is to-day substantiated, beyond all question, that man in the long run can produce more and better work by resting one day in seven than by continuous work. And men and women who have such rest live longer and more happily, and stand higher on the scale of intellectual, moral, social, and spiritual being.

Dr. Chalmers, of Scotland, said: "I never knew the man who worked seven days in the week without becoming soon a wreck in health or in fortune, or in both."

Edmund Burke said: "A nation that neglects the Sabbath soon sinks into barbarism or ruin. Civilized man cannot bear the pressure of seven days' work and worry in a week."

As a matter of fact, leaving out England and America, where there has been less need of legislation on the subject because of the prevalence of the Sunday rest, the main and most efforts for legislation forbidding or limiting Sunday labor have come from the working men themselves, through their trade-unions and the Socialist and Labor parties. In most countries they have done far more for it than has the Church. On the

Continent the prevalence of Sunday labor has been a subject of general protest and bitter complaint. Even in the United States of late years Sunday labor has in many ways much increased. It has been estimated that two millions of persons in the U. S., or more, are compelled to do some form of Sunday labor.

On railroads, on street-railways, in livery-stables, in making repairs (often only done on Sunday, because employers are unwilling to forfeit week-day dividends), in bakeries, in hotels, in private houses, in barber shops, in drug stores, in printing-offices, in theaters and places of amusement, a constantly increasing amount of work is

done on Sunday. Working men bitterly complain of this, yet too often find even the Christian Church turning a deaf ear to their cry, and even clergymen unwilling to cooperate in limiting the hours of labor.

There has, however, been considerable agitation of the question in all countries, resulting in the legislation summarized below, and in Europe especially in a very general abandonment of Sunday labor in manufactures and to a less extent has led to the closing of stores on a portion if not the whole of Sunday. Sunday Rest Leagues (*associations or ligues pour le repos du dimanche*) have been organized in France, Belgium, and Italy, and elsewhere, and have been very active. There exists also a *Fédération Internationale pour l'observation du dimanche*, with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. In England there has seemed less need. In the U. S. labor organizations have largely agitated the question, and various societies like the New England Sabbath Protective League, the American Sabbath Union of New York, the International Reform Bureau of Washington, have circulated considerable literature and conducted other efforts on the question. In France and Belgium the main effort has been to close the stores on Sunday afternoons and prevent all unnecessary industrial labor. In England a joint committee of the Houses of Lords and Commons, under the chairmanship of Lord Avery, has recommended general legislation, leaving much discretion, however, to local authorities. There is a strong movement, too, to open the museums, galleries, and libraries. (See NATIONAL SUNDAY LEAGUE.) In the U. S. the effort on the part of the working men has been against all work, while the religious societies have worked for this and are against the running of trains on Sunday and the opening of places of amusement. In all countries, in cases where Sunday labor is necessary, it is contended that the laborer should be given a day of rest on some other day of the week, and that the work which must be done on Sunday be given on different Sundays to different workmen, so as to give each the Sunday rest as frequently as possible. The Sunday legislation may thus be summarized:

The United States.—All states and territories except Arizona, California, Idaho, Nevada, and the Philippine Islands have laws prohibiting the employment of labor on Sundays. In California, however, it is a misdemeanor for any employer to cause his employees to work more than six days in seven except in cases of emergency.

The Sunday labor laws usually make it a misdemeanor for persons either to labor themselves or to compel or permit their apprentices, servants, etc., to labor on the first day of the week. Exceptions are made in the case of household duties or works of necessity or charity. These exceptions are sometimes expressed in general

United States terms and sometimes specified in detail. The excepted labor is usually that required in the sale of drugs, medicines, surgical appliances, milk, ice, soda-water, newspapers, the letting of horses and carriages, undertakers' work, and railway transportation. In Colorado and Montana barbering only is prohibited on Sunday, while in Alaska barbering is included among the excepted occupations.

A number of states make special provisions for the running of railway cars on Sunday, such as specifying certain hours during which they may run, permitting the transportation of perishable goods, fruit, milk, etc., or leaving the regulation of the running of railway cars on Sunday to the discretion of the railroad commissioners.

Nearly all the Sunday labor laws make exceptions in the case of members of religious societies by whom any other than the first day of the week is observed as a Sabbath, provided they refrain from labor on that day.

Laws regulating the hours of labor of street-railway employees are in force in California, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Washington. In some cases the

Sunday
Labor

limitation of the hours of labor applies only to conductors, gripmen, motormen, and drivers, while in others it applies to all street-railway employees. In Louisiana, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, and Washington the hours are limited to ten per day, while in the other states the limitation is placed at twelve hours per day. The laws usually provide that extra time for extra compensation may be worked in times of extraordinary emergencies, Massachusetts and Rhode Island permitting exceptions to be made also on legal holidays. The law of Rhode Island, by an amendment to the original act, permits contracts to be made for longer hours. In South Carolina contracts for longer hours of labor may be made in the city of Columbia.

Germany.—Germany has the fullest code of Sunday laws. The regulation anew of Sunday labor was one of the most important features of the labor law of June 1, 1891. It set forth in detail the conditions under which work might be performed on Sunday, and made the infraction of any of its provisions punishable by a fine, which in some cases amounted to as much as 600 marks (\$142.80). The essential provisions of this law are reproduced in the following paragraphs:

The general principle of the act is that all labor on Sunday and holidays is prohibited in those cases specifically mentioned by the law. This prohibition applies to almost all categories of industrial and commercial work, except when a workman labors alone or is aided only by the members of his family. It does not, however, apply to agriculture, forestry, fishing, and the liberal arts and professions, nor to concerts, theaters, cafés, restaurants, hotels, and the like, nor to transportation, except when it is a part of the work of an industrial or commercial establishment.

The law further provides that the prohibition of Sunday and holiday work may be extended by an imperial decree approved by the Bundesrath to industries other than those specified in the law. Such decrees must be placed before the Reichstag at its next session.

The determination of the days to be considered as legal holidays is made by the State government in taking account of the religious customs of the people. The cessation from labor must be for twenty-four continuous hours on each Sunday and holiday, thirty-six hours when a Sunday and holiday or two holidays succeed each other, and forty-eight hours at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. When a Sunday and holiday or two holidays succeed each other the rest period must always last until 6 P.M. of the second day, and as it must begin at midnight in establishments working

only in daytime or in irregular shifts, in such cases it lasts forty-two instead of thirty-six hours. In establishments working continuously night and day by shifts, it may for a holiday or Sunday begin not earlier than 6 P.M. of the day preceding nor later than 6 A.M. of the day itself, and last for twenty-four hours, in which case the whole establishment shuts down for that length of time.

In commercial establishments (*Handelsgewerbe*) no labor must be performed on Christmas, Easter, or Pentecost. On other holidays and on Sunday employees may be allowed to work not more than five hours. Power, however, is given to the local authorities to limit still further or even to suppress this privilege.

To this general prohibition of commercial work on Sunday there are a number of exceptions. During those periods of the year when trade is unusually active, as the four weeks prior to Christmas and certain times when the people from the rural districts come to the cities to make their purchases, the police authorities can permit stores to remain open for as many as ten hours on Sunday and holidays. The exception made in the case of persons working alone or only aided by members of their families in industrial work does not apply to commercial establishments. The prosecution of business by shops conducted in this way or by peddlers on Sunday is equally prohibited with that of other commercial establishments.

The impracticability of attempting to restrict all Sunday work, no matter what its nature or circumstances under which it must be performed within the limits described above, has necessarily been recognized by the German Parliament. The law, therefore, provides in detail the cases in which these restrictions shall not apply. These exceptions are in part enumerated in the law itself and in part are left to the Bundesrath or other governmental authorities to determine.

The following classes of work are enumerated by the law as exempt from the prohibition of Sunday and holiday work: (1) Work which public convenience requires shall be promptly executed; (2) the making of inventories required by law; (3) the guarding of plants, and the cleaning, repairing, and other work necessary for the maintenance of the equipment or to insure that the work shall not be interrupted, and which cannot be performed on other days; (4) work indispensable in order to preserve materials employed or goods manufactured, as far as this work cannot be done on week-days.

In order to prevent an improper advantage being taken of these exceptions, it is provided that, whenever work of this kind is performed, the employer must keep a record showing for each Sunday or holiday the number of persons employed, the duration of their labor, and the nature of the work performed. This record must be always open to the inspection of the factory inspectors or local authorities,

In those cases where working men have been employed, as provided in the third and fourth cases, for more than three hours, or have been prevented from attending divine worship, the employer must give to them twelve hours' rest every other Sunday between the hours of 6 A.M. and 6 P.M., or thirty-six hours' uninterrupted rest, including Sunday, every third week. The local authorities, however, can abrogate this provision where the working men are not prevented from attending divine service and enjoy a twenty-four-hours' uninterrupted rest during the week.

By far the most important exceptions, however, are those which the law permits the Bundesrath or the superior or local authorities to accord. The Bundesrath can frame regulations permitting Sunday work in those industries which must be prosecuted without interruption, which can remain in operation only during certain seasons of the year, or which manufacture goods that are only in demand during certain months. Practically the only limitation to the power of the Bundesrath in this respect is that the regulations must be general and apply to all establishments in the same industry. All such orders must be published in the official journal and must be placed before the Reichstag at its next session.

The power of the superior administrative authorities to grant authorizations for Sunday work relates to those industries the operation of which is necessary to satisfy the daily needs of the public, or where the power used is irregular, as water-flow and wind.

The local authorities can grant similar authorizations to particular establishments where such work is necessary to prevent great loss on account of an accident or other unforeseen circumstance. In these cases the authorization must be in writing, and a copy must be posted in the place of work where it can be easily seen by the employees. The authorities must also prepare a statement showing all the cases where this permission has been granted, the number of persons whose employment was permitted, the length of time worked, the reasons for granting the permission, etc.

Finally, it is important to note that not only were the existing laws of the individual states regarding Sunday work not repealed, except in so far as they were in opposition to the imperial law, but full freedom was left to the states to further restrict through legislation Sunday labor within their boundaries.

France.—In 1906, mainly as the result of Socialist agitation, France enacted, with but a single dissenting vote, a law forbidding Sunday labor, with certain definite exceptions.

Government ministers fifteen times a year can allow in

France State or private establishments work to be done on Sunday, in the interests of the national defense. In hotels, bakeries, restaurants, hospitals, drug stores, newspaper and intelligence offices, etc., employees may labor on Sunday, provided they be given some other day in the week for rest.

Belgium.—In 1905 Belgium enacted a somewhat advanced Sunday Rest Law, tho the Socialists voted against it as delaying the enactment of a more radical law.

It does not apply to transportation by water, fisheries, or public entertainment. In all other industries, except as stated below, no one can employ on Sunday persons except members of his own family and domestic servants. Exceptions are made in cases of necessity, such as preserving perishable material, making repairs, etc. Persons can be employed thirteen days out of fourteen, or six and a half out of seven, in industries connected with food intended for immediate consumption, in hotels and restaurants, tobacco and floral shops, drug stores, public baths, places of amusement, newspaper and intelligence offices, book stores, ticket offices of any sort, works furnishing light, water, or power, employment bureaus, on all modes of land transport, in all work which must of necessity be run continuously. In retail stores persons can be employed Sundays from eight till noon. The law can also be extended or modified within certain limits by royal authority.

Other Countries.—Legislation on this subject is now so generally agitated that change of laws may be looked for at any time, but at present the general situation is as follows:

In Austria Sunday labor in industrial establishments is forbidden, tho with very numerous exceptions, and tho commercial establishments may open on Sunday for six hours. In Denmark Sunday labor in factories is forbidden (with exceptions); stores may be open from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. Holland has only legislation for children. Russia forbids Sunday labor in industry (with exceptions). In Spain, by an act of 1904, Sunday labor is forbidden in factories, with exceptions, in which case the worker must have some other

day in the week for rest. Canada has made the Sunday rest obligatory by parliamentary action. In Great Britain prosecutions for Sunday trading under ancient acts (of Charles II. and others) have risen in England and Wales from 2,925 in 1893 to 5,510 in 1903 and 5,411 in 1904.

SUNSHINE SOCIETY INTERNATIONAL, THE:

An organization formed in New York City for the purpose of caring for the welfare of blind babies. It was incorporated in 1900, and endeavors to receive every blind child into its home, located at Eighty-fourth Street and Thirteenth Avenue, Dyker Heights, Brooklyn, N. Y. *Secretary*: Mrs. Mary D. Beattie, 96 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

SUTHERLAND, LADY MILLICENT FANNY

ST. CLAIR-ERSKINE, DUCHESS OF: Born 1869, daughter of the fourth Earl of Rosslyn. Has for some years been deeply interested in social questions and in the economic and industrial conditions of the people. It was through the duchess's influence and instrumentality that Parliament appointed a commission to investigate the terrible lead-poisoning conditions among the pottery workers in Staffordshire; she is president of the Potteries Cripples' Guild; of the Scottish Home Industries Association; president for some time also of the Nicholson Institute at Leek. *Author*: "How I Spent My Twentieth Year"; "One Hour and the Next"; "The Winds of the World"; "Seven Love Stories"; and a play, "The Conqueror." *Address*: Stafford House, St. James's, S. W., London.

SUTTER, JULIE: *Author*; born in India of German parentage. Educated in Germany and French Switzerland, she has lived most of her life in England. Her earlier literary efforts were translations, among these "For the Right," by Francos, and the famous "Letters from Hell." She also translated into German the works of Professor Drummond. Miss Sutter had already written in German a "Life of General Gordon"; but it was while translating Drummond's "Tropical Africa" that she was imprinted with the horrors of the slave raids and set herself to rouse Germany with the question: "What are we Germans Doing Against the Slave-Trade?" This pamphlet was instrumental in the suppression of the slavers in East Africa and in forming an African Missionary Society with headquarters at Berlin. While in Germany she met Pastor von Bodelschwingh, and this led to her book "A Colony of Mercy," giving an account of Bodelschwingh's wonderful work in Westphalia; and this in turn resulted in the formation of the British Christian Social Service Union and the establishment of the colony at Lingfield, Surrey, a colony for both epileptics and the workless derelicts of society. Then came the pamphlet "The Homelessness of England" and the book "Britain's Next Campaign"—"a dynamo of a book," according to the *Review of Reviews*. Miss Sutter's views on political economy and social reform are summed up in what is at once the key-note and battle-cry of her book, "Homes for the disinherited ones, an own home, an own bit of land, for a recruiting of the national life-blood, for a saving of the people." Her latest book is "Britain's Hope," May, 1907. *Address*: Lingfield, Surrey, England.

SUTTNER, BERTHA, BARONESS VON:

Founder and president of the Austrian Society of Peace, vice-president of the Internationale Fried-

ensbureau (the International Peace Bureau) at Bern; born June 6, 1843; is the daughter of the Austrian Field Marshal and Count von Kinsky; married Baron von Suttner in 1876. She has traveled extensively, and lived in the Caucasus for nine years. In 1889 she wrote "Die Waffen Nieder" ("Lay Down Your Arms"), which met with instant success, and has been translated into every European language. She has been in the fore in the battle for peace since 1891; has lectured in Europe and America, attended all peace congresses, and written numerous articles on that topic. In 1905 she received the Nobel peace prize as reward for her labor in behalf of peace, particularly for the book "Lay Down Your Arms," and its continuation, "Martha's Children," 1902. *Author*: "Maschinenzeitalter," 1887; "Briefe an einen Toten," 6th ed. in 1904; "Baby's Seventh Love Affair," 1905; "A Bad Man," etc. *Address*: Wien I., Zedlitzgasse 7.

SWAMP-LANDS: The swamp-lands of the United States originally constituted a large proportion of the public domain. The swamp-land law, in brief, provided for the donation to the several states, by the general government, of the swamp-lands included within their borders, with the idea that the states should reclaim them where possible, and secure their settlement. Under this statute many million acres—and much of it in no sense swamp-land—have become the property of the states, and but very little has been done by any of the states to carry out the intent of the law; indeed, some of the states have made no effort whatever to reclaim their swamp-lands. At the present time there are estimated to be in the neighborhood of 100,000,000 acres of swamp-lands, the bulk of which could be drained and reclaimed. The success of the National Irrigation Law has suggested a similar enactment by Congress with reference to swamp-land, a bill having been introduced in the last Congress with provisions similar to those of the irrigation law.

There has been a more or less definite survey of most of our swamp areas which are situated mainly in the eastern half of the U. S., and it is believed that these lands could be drained and made habitable at a cost not to exceed one half of the average price of irrigation reclamation. The lands are in the main extremely fertile, and would provide homes for a multitude of small farmers. Such a law should not be difficult of passage since every eastern state has its swamp area and would benefit thereby.

GUY E. MITCHELL.

SWEAT-SHOPS: The terms "sweat-shops," "sweating system," "sweated industries," while often used more or less loosely of any industrial conditions involving overdriven wage-earners at low wages, is used specifically and more correctly for conditions (mainly in the clothing trades) involving four characteristic evils—long hours, stress of work, low wages, and crowded and unsanitary workshops. There has been, however, a change in the system. Formerly a vital part of the system was the subcontractor or middle-man, who would take a job of work from the manufacturer or contractor, and get it done by hiring workers at the lowest possible terms. Competition, however, of late years, in its efforts to lower cost has eliminated the middle man, or the former "sweater," properly speaking,

and made the contractor himself the sweater, hiring the workers himself at the lowest terms. This probably has meant in some respects somewhat improved conditions, as it has to some extent abolished the small sweat-shop in which the former middleman usually employed his workers, and has substituted for it generally larger rooms and somewhat more responsible management; but on the other hand it probably means more overcrowding of many workers in one room, and a more rigid development of an iron system with machine labor driven at the highest speed and wages systematically reduced to the lowest point. So true is this that average rates of wages in the clothing trade have fallen both for men and women from 1890 to 1900, tho earnings for women have slightly risen, owing to speed and greater quantity of work. (See below.) Coupled with this has also gone in most cities, through legislative action, the driving out of sweat-shops from the tenements, and, in some lines of production at least, the prohibition of labor in living-rooms. Agitation, too, and endeavors at organization on the part of workers, has also tended probably to somewhat ameliorate conditions. Yet the steady growth of industry, the growing congestion in cities like New York, through the pouring into them of a swelling tide of immigration (*q. v.*), has made the system a larger and more complex, and therefore, in that sense, a more difficult and serious problem, even tho some of its more apparent evils be diminished.

The steady persistency of the evil under changing forms is one of its most discouraging features. As long ago as 1849 a series of letters in the *London Morning Chronicle* showed the horrors of the sweating system in London, and called out Charles Kingsley's burning tract, "Cheap Clothes and Nasty." This tract tells of men working in sweating-dens, the longest hours for seven days in the week, and paying the sweater for the most meager board such rates that at the end of the week they would be in debt to the sweater and thus be in his power and be compelled to stay on.

Since then there has been in England a more or less steady protest against such evils, and in the United States since about 1890 legislation has been enacted and devoted efforts made to lessen the evil. Yet on both sides of the ocean, among the lower immigrant populations of London, New York, and other cities, the evil is still most serious. In New York City the tailor trade, the main sweated industry, was first in the hands of the English, then the Irish, and later the Germans. Conditions, however, do not seem to have been very bad till about 1880 with the growth of the city and the overcrowding of the East Side. German, Austrian, and Hungarian Jews entered the trade as early as 1873, and soon after the Russian and Polish Jews, who gradually captured the industry, till by 1890 it was almost wholly in Jewish hands, while a fierce and unrestricted competition had lowered wages, lengthened hours, and increased speed of work to the most inhuman degrees—the same conditions to a less extent developing in Boston, Baltimore, Rochester, Philadelphia, and Chicago. About 1890, too, the Italian immigration entered the trade and increased the competition still more.

Increase, too, of a poorly paid population increased the demand for cheap and for ready-made clothing, on which the sweating system thrives.

It is estimated that in 1870 less than 25 per cent of the clothing manufactured in the U. S. was ready-made, but that by 1890 60 per cent was ready-made. Miss Helen L. Sumner, to whose interesting chapter on "The Sweating System," in "Labor Problems," written by herself and Prof. P. S. Adams, we are indebted for many of our facts, traces four distinct stages in the clothing industry. First, production by the journeyman tailor, a fairly skilled mechanic who made up an entire garment. Second, production in home shops, where men or women take portions of garments home to sew on, they having been cut out at some shop. This method was largely produced by the development of ready-made clothing. Third, production by the "task" system, beginning about 1877, of which Miss Sumner says: "The task system has two characteristics. First, there is a 'team' or 'set' of men who work together, each one performing a special part of the labor. Second, a certain task is set, which is called a day's labor, regardless of whether it takes one day or two to perform it. By this means the fiction is maintained that standard wages are paid." Fourth, production in a factory, the present system, and which Miss Sumner thinks may solve the evil. About 1890 there was a general agitation on the system, and in 1892 Congress appointed a committee to report upon the matter. This committee reported that probably the manufacture of clothing was in total value the most important product of the country; that it was largely centered in cities; that over 60 per cent of the clothing sold was ready-made, and that about one half of this was made under the sweating system. Clothing made under this system they declared to be made in premises usually filthy, in the slums and crowded portions of the cities, from places liable to breed germs of disease which could be carried in the clothing, and producing evil in every way. The worst form of the system, the report says, is when the clothing is not made even in sweating-dens but is carried home to be made in the tenements under conditions sometimes defying description.

The main recommendation of the commission was legislation driving the industry out of the tenements. The report of the commission says:

We quote and adopt the reasoning of Dr. Daniels. The one method that can be employed by which we shall be certain that no article is manufactured in tenement-house living-rooms, and that no little children are employed in the manufacture of any goods, is the passage of a law prohibiting such manufacture in tenement-house apartments which are used for living and sleeping purposes. . . . Undoubtedly under such a law a few would suffer. The people who would suffer would probably be only a few women who, from old age or chronic illness, are unable to go to the shops to work. The widows would be forced to find work in the factories, and the orphans sent to school, kindergarten, or nursery. The result would be that women would work in better sanitary surroundings, that no children under fourteen years would be employed in manufacturing goods; the sick would receive proper care, if not at home, then transferred to a hospital, there to get well or die out of sight of the everlasting work.

Concerning legislation, see below.

No little has been done also to organize the trade and with good results. Some portions of the trade have been permanently organized, and even in those where the competition for cheap work has eventually broken up organizations much education and agitation has been produced. (See *TAILORING TRADE*.)

The main crusade against the evil, outside of the efforts of the workers themselves, has been the effectively conducted National Consumers'

League (see CONSUMERS' LEAGUE) with its "white lists" and its still more effective educational propaganda among the charitably inclined of the upper and middle classes.

Nevertheless, how much evil remains can be seen in the following statement of conditions as revealed largely in the report of the Industrial Commission. Miss Sumner gives the following table as derived from the Twelfth Census:

PRINCIPAL SWEATED INDUSTRIES IN THE UNITED STATES

INDUSTRIES	Average number of employees	Proportion of women	Proportion of children	Ratio of capital to value of product	Proportion of total wage-earners in 105 principal cities
Men's clothing..	191,043	47.04	2.05	41.67	90.0
Women's clothing, factory product.....	83,739	67.91	.91	30.39	91.7
Men's furnishing goods.....	30,210	83.67	2.06	45.93	83.7
Shirts.....	38,492	80.73	2.11	41.43	67.1
Cigars and cigarettes.....	103,462	36.50	3.41	42.25	67.1
All industries in U. S.	5,308,400	19.39	3.17	75.49	162.5

¹ Of forty-nine selected industries.

It is estimated that 39.7 per cent (in value) of men's clothing is manufactured in New York and of women's clothing (factory product) 64.4 per cent; Chicago comes next with 12.7 per cent of men's clothing and 5.8 per cent of women's. Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Rochester, St. Louis, Boston, Baltimore follow in about that order. Of the New York product, it was testified before the Industrial Commission that four fifths is made in sweat-shops.

In Chicago it is said that practically the whole product is made in sweat-shops.

Concerning sweat-shop wages, Mr. Henry White, the former secretary of the United Garment Workers, presented the following table:

	\$10 suit	\$15 suit	\$20 suit
Cutting and trimming.....	\$0.15	\$0.21	\$0.25
Making coat.....	.75	1.00	1.50
Making pants.....	.30	.40	.55
Making vest.....	.25	.35	.50
Total.....	\$1.45	\$1.96	\$2.80

According to the special census report on employees and wages, the average rate of pay per week in 1900, for cutters (men) was \$17 (1890, \$18); bushelers (men), \$10; sewing-machine operatives (men), \$7 (1890, \$8); general hands and helpers (men), \$5 (1890, \$7); all occupations (men), \$10 (1890, \$11.50); seamers (women), \$5.50; basters (women), \$5; finishers (women), \$4.50 (1890, \$4); sewing-machine operatives (women), \$4; all occupations (women), \$4 (1890, \$4.50). The facts that stand out here that the average rate for men had fallen from \$11.50 per week to \$10 and for women from \$4.50 to only \$4 per week, show how serious is the problem. This is perhaps only increased by the fact that while the *rate* for women had fallen, the actual

average *earnings* had risen from \$5 to \$5.50 per week, indicating either increased speed or increased quantity of women's work, and probably for a pittance of \$5.50 per week. What the sweating system really means in hundreds of thousands of cases can be seen in the following quotations compiled by Miss Sumner from reports:

In New York City, for instance, a woman was found "who earned \$70 by twenty weeks' work, which was the entire income for the support of herself, mother, aged fifty-seven years, and sister, aged thirty-two years."¹

The family consisted of a man, wife, and five children, who worked, cooked, ate, and slept in two small rooms. The people looked as tho they had not washed themselves for a year. The boys' coats that they were making were piled upon a dirty bed. The dirt could absolutely have been shoveled out of the rooms. Potato parings, garbage, and filth of all kinds were strewn about the floor, and the odor that prevailed was so foul that one of the agents was made sick.²

The testimony of physicians that have examined them is that, given a sweat-shop that is uninspected, where the members work in the boom season up to the limits of endurance, using foot-power for the machine, it is rare to find, after four or five years, any healthful person there.³

There is no other material that so invites use and deposit during manufacture as to involve to so great an extent as does cloth contact with the persons of the unclean and sick of the family, not merely during the day, but even as a rest for exhausted sleepers. There is probably no material which, once having harbored disease germs or filth, is so favorable to their preservation or propagation as is cloth, especially when made of wool; and, lastly, it would be hard to imagine any material, or use to which it could be put, that would be so repulsive to civilized instincts and so dangerous to life and health as clothing, steeped in contagion, to be worn on the person.⁴

A journeyman tailor of Chicago testified before the Industrial Commission that he knew many men who worked, during the busy season, six days and three nights in the same week, and that he had repeatedly seen men work thirty-six hours without any interruption or sleep or hardly any time to take their meals.

One important point is especially made by Miss Sumner. She says:

It is, moreover, an erroneous idea to suppose that sweat-shop clothing is necessarily poor in quality. On the contrary, overalls and working men's garments are usually manufactured in large factories under good conditions, while some of the worst conditions are found in the custom trade and in the manufacture of beautiful and expensive garments. It was again and again stated before the Industrial Commission that no man in buying a custom-made suit of the best and most fashionable tailor could have any assurance that it was not made in a sweat-shop. The same thing may be said of all classes of women's ready-made clothing.

Dr. Annie S. Daniel says:

It is absolutely impossible to know the number of hours per week which one person might devote to the work, in the busy season—a woman will frequently not have more than five hours' rest in the twenty-four. The hours are regulated solely by the amount of work on hand or by the physical strength of the worker—Sundays and holidays, in sickness and health, work they must. The amount received varies with the kind of work, from a cent and a half an hour to ten cents—very rarely more. (The little children, according to their ages, earn from 50 cents to \$2 per week.) During December the average monthly income of 49 new families was \$13.24; the average rent was \$8.57, leaving the sum of \$4.67 to buy food, fuel, and clothing for the average family of five.

Mr. George A. Weber has prefaced for us the following summary of the legislation of the U. S. as to sweat-shops:

Twelve states, namely, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, have enacted laws regulating sweat-shops.

These laws usually prohibit the manufacture, repair, alteration, or finishing of apparel for wear or adornment, and

¹ Twentieth Annual Report of the (New York) Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 68.

² Twenty-first Annual Report of the (Pennsylvania) Bureau of Industrial Statistics, B, pp. 4-5.

³ Industrial Commission, xiv., p. 130.

⁴ Committee Report, H. R., 52-2, v, 1, No. 2,309, p. 22.

the manufacture of purses, cigars, cigarettes, or umbrellas in rooms or apartments in tenement- or dwelling-houses except under certain prescribed conditions. In Massachusetts the law relates only to wearing apparel. The factory inspectors are required to visit and inspect the sanitary condition of rooms or apartments coming within the scope of the laws and to enforce the provisions of the laws, and in some cases to report insanitary conditions, infectious or contagious diseases, etc., to the health officers. In Illinois this class of work is prohibited in rooms or apartments in tenement- or dwelling-houses except by members of the family living therein, and in Missouri such work is prohibited for more than three persons outside the members of the family; but no further restrictions are made in these cases. In the

Legislation

remaining states enumerated, however, members of the family may engage in such work only under certain conditions. Provision is also made for the regulation of work in shops not connected with living- or eating-rooms, but located in tenement- or dwelling-houses, or in buildings in the rear of the same. In Maryland, Massachusetts, and New York families must procure a license from the factory inspector before being permitted to perform the above-mentioned work in their dwellings, and manufacturers may not give them work unless they have such licenses. In Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin the law prescribes that no person, partnership, or corporation may hire or employ persons to work in rooms or apartments in tenement- or dwelling-houses or in buildings in the rear of such houses without a written permit or license from the factory inspector. In Connecticut and Ohio the laws make no provision for the issuance of a license. In Massachusetts a license is not required for work done in rooms or apartments not connected with living- or sleeping-rooms and which have a separate entrance.

The written permit or license obtained from the factory inspector is not issued until after an inspection has been made of the premises and they have been found in a sanitary condition and fit to work in. Usually the license or permit must specify the maximum number of persons that may be employed in the room and it must be conspicuously posted. This number is one person for every 250 cubic feet of air space in the daytime and, usually, one person for every 400 cubic feet at night. The licenses may be revoked at any time when the public health requires it.

In all the states the factory inspectors have access to the rooms or apartments in tenement- or dwelling-houses where clothing, etc., are made, including in most cases rooms where only members of the family are engaged in such work. This is for the purpose of seeing that the regulations regarding cleanliness, light, heat, ventilation, overcrowding, etc., are enforced, and that the articles made are not exposed to infection or contagion and are free from vermin. In Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, and Wisconsin the factory inspectors or the boards of health may seize, condemn, or destroy articles containing infectious or contagious matter or vermin which are found either in workshops or exposed for sale. In Michigan health officers and physicians are required to report to the deputy factory inspectors of their respective districts all cases of contagious or infectious diseases coming officially to their knowledge. In Massachusetts garments made in tenement- or dwelling-houses in which families have not procured a license, and in Missouri and New York goods made in violation of the law must be conspicuously labeled "tenement-made." In Missouri, if made under unclean or unhealthy conditions, they must be labeled "made under unhealthy conditions." These provisions apply to articles made outside as well as within the state.

In addition to the requirement in most states that persons, firms, or corporations giving out work to be done in tenement- or dwelling-houses must procure licenses or see that the persons performing the work have procured licenses, the states of Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin require such persons, firms, or corporations to keep a register of the names and addresses of all persons to whom work is given or with whom they have contracted for the performance of work to be done in tenements or dwellings. Penalties of from \$20 to \$500 or imprisonment of from ten days to one year are prescribed for violation of the sweat-shop laws.

But the trouble is with the enforcement of laws. Says Dr. Daniel:

We have laws which if enforced would obliterate every sweat-room, great and small, in New York. To enforce these laws would require an army of inspectors working day and night. . . . I have a list of tenements licensed by the Labor Bureau in my neighborhood. I have been in thirty-eight of these houses; the license was posted in twelve. In one of these licensed houses I have attended a case of measles; there are two families in the apartment; the notice of the contagious disease was posted on the door; two women were finishing trousers within; one day I found the sick child lying on a bundle of the trousers; this is a common occurrence. There is also a clause forbidding the employment of any but members of the family; not only is this not obeyed, but

the work is carried to other apartments and even to other houses. The old law placed the responsibility of manufacturing on the worker and the manufacturers. The new law takes the responsibility off the worker and puts it on the landlord. On Jan. 9th, according to the daily papers, a raid was made by twenty-two inspectors in Elizabeth Street. The people were duly frightened, much of the work was hidden, and to my personal knowledge in the evening was being done in inside bedrooms, with doors locked. Fresh work I saw carried in and finished in about the same way that the people would have made counterfeit money. The next day and since, it is being done openly, outlooks being posted in different parts of the house who will give the alarm in their own language, and work will be again hidden should another inspection be made. Is there any remedy? I believe that a law absolutely forbidding any manufacturer to have any part of his work done in a tenement-house could be enforced.

GREAT BRITAIN

The following important statements are condensed from a Fabian tract (Jan., 1907), "Home-working and Sweating," by Miss B. L. Hutchins:

The phrase, the sweating system, is misleading. All experts agree that there is no one industrial system coexistent with or invariably precurrent in the sweated trades. Mr. Booth expresses this by saying that it is not with one, but many sweating systems we have to deal; Mr. Schloss says that no sweating system whatever is discoverable; and the House of Lords committee, while reporting that the evils complained of could "scarcely be exaggerated," said that they had been unable to find any precise meaning attached to the phrase. An inquiry into sweating resolves itself, therefore, into an inquiry into the conditions under which the "sweated industries" are worked. Here at least a painful and striking uniformity is met with, and accepting it as a starting point, the Lords committee defined sweating as:

1. Unduly low rates of wages.
2. Excessive hours of labor.
3. Insanitary state of the work places.

Mr. Schloss has added the important point, taxing of working power to an unreasonable extent, or getting sixpenny worth of work out of fourpenny worth of pay ("driving").

The unfair advantage enjoyed by the sweater is of two kinds: first, the evasion of factory legislation; second, the extreme lowness of the wages paid. Of the low wages so much has been heard that it is hardly necessary to labor the point further. We take a few instances at random from the *Daily News Exhibition Handbook*.

A. Trouser maker, widow with four children, works ten or twelve hours a day; her best earnings (exceptional) are 10s. 6d. a week; more often 3s. or 4s.; receives parochial relief.

B. Match-box maker, works twelve hours a day, earns on an average less than 5s. a week. Highest earnings 8s. 2d. for a full week including Sunday.

C. Button carder Two old people work together, earn 3s. 6d. per week.

Such instances could be multiplied *ad nauseam*. The Cradley Heath chain makers, after deducting cost of fuel, earn only 5s. to 6s. weekly for hard work, of a kind really skilled in its way, and not yet replaceable by machinery. The writer has personally visited home workers in London, Birmingham, and Cradley Heath, and has met with one, a skilled waistcoat maker, who was paid a living wage. The next most favorable instance was that of a remarkably quick, capable girl, making girls' frocks, lined throughout and trimmed, at 8d. each, deducting cost of cotton. She said she could make five or even six a day on occasion. In match-box making and similar wretched trades, about 1d. per hour seems to be what the piece rates yield. The lowest depths of all perhaps are reached by workers who sew hooks and eyes, buttons, etc., on cards. Carding hooks and eyes I have found paid at 14d. per gross cards in Birmingham. The employer was threatening to reduce the price to 10½d., for there were middlewomen who could farm the work out to "very poor people," and thus cut the recognized price of 14d. per gross. The average earnings of women in this work are only about 3s. 3d. weekly, even when they work long hours. In all these small home industries the wages appear to tend steadily downward, altho in factory work women's wages have been rising for a considerable period.

The pathetic part of the sweated industries is that it is often the very virtues of these people that are their ruin. Miss Clementina Black, in her introduction to the cases investigated and tabulated by the Women's Industrial Council, says "many of them are of the highest respectability and maintain a standard of conduct and cleanliness quite heroic. . . . The majority of these forty-four women are industrious, even painfully industrious; most are thoroughly respectable; scarcely one is paid a living wage." They will sit up all night, and work for what is given them, and submit.

Nothing comes home more forcibly to the investigator of home work than this fact that many of the women would not take work out at all if their husbands could obtain a decent remuneration. A great deal of sweated work by

women is simply an indirect result of the underpayment or irregular employment of men.

Successive inquiries and reports have brought these conditions before the public. The Commission on Children's Employment, 1863-67, advised the extension of the Factory Act to homes in which certain industries were carried on. But no government has had the courage to take such a step, each in turn having been daunted, partly no doubt by a vague dread of infringing "the sanctity of the home," but still more, probably, by the practical difficulties of administering such an act. The law in regard to home work consists of a few very mild provisions.

Private consumers' league cannot exert much influence by issuing "white lists," for the reason that trade is so complicated that it is practically impossible to trace production.

Remedies

Some good, perhaps, might be done by the requirement of a label on goods for sale, stating that the goods were tenement made, in unhealthy conditions, or the reverse. This plan has been tried in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, it is said, with some success; but the extreme ease with which a label can be forged or destroyed makes the provision of doubtful value.

Protection of home industries is sometimes urged as a possible remedy for sweating. The evidence collected for the Berlin exhibition of sweated industries showed that sweating is quite as rampant in protected Germany as in free-trade England; colonies of home workers in Chicago and New York where even the very high tariff does not make wages or conditions any better than in the worst parts of London. Regulation of sweating would do far more for trade than any import duty.

Restraint of immigration is often urged as a remedy for sweating, but the Aliens Act of 1905 achieved little or nothing, and it is unlikely that even a much more drastic act would really check the evil.

Short of regulating wages, we do not believe that any real or adequate control of the sweater can be maintained. Undoubtedly efficient sanitary inspection of homes used as workrooms may do some good indirectly, in that it protects the consumer from the very real danger of dirt and infection, and also in that it checks the giving out of work in some degree, and is likely to insure more work being done in factories and workshops, "to which the employer has the right of access and control." Two competing suggestions are now before the public; these are known respectively as the Tenant Bill and the Women's Industrial Council's Bill, the latter usually introduced jointly by some friends or members of the Women's Industrial Council and of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades. Mr. Tennant's Bill aims at placing the responsibility for the conditions under which work is done in home workrooms on the giver-out of work; and would place the administration in the hands of the local sanitary authority, who already receives the outworkers' lists. The Women's Industrial Council Bill involves more of an innovation; it would place inspection of outworkers under the factory inspectors, and all outworkers would have to produce a certificate showing that their workrooms had been inspected and found suitable for the work to be carried on, having regard to the health of the persons to be employed therein. This measure would involve a considerable increase in the inspecting staff, but as that is for other reasons highly necessary and desirable, it does not in itself constitute an objection.

To those who follow the argument that sweating, though apparently an inexpensive method of production, is ruinous to the community through the physical and moral deterioration induced in the sweated and their workers, it will be at once evident that the abolition of sweating is an important incidental advantage of direct public employment. The establishment of the Army Clothing Factory has saved thousands of workers from sweating-dens without any increase in the cost of production. The enlargement of that factory so as to produce in it not only some but all the clothing required for the army, militia, and volunteers would rescue thousands more from their present fate.

And if local authorities followed suit—if the London County Council were given power to set up its own clothing factory, and to supply other local governing bodies—if it became the practise to manufacture all asylum, hospital, police, and fire-brigade uniforms required by any town or county council or other public body, either in its own factory or in that of some other public body—if a similar course were pursued with regard to boots and shoes, saddlery, and general leather work, chains, furniture, and other commonly sweated wares, part, at least, of the evil would disappear.

But however rapidly we press on the establishment of public factories for the supply of public wants, many public bodies will, for a long time to come, have to buy goods which are at present usually the product of sweating.

There is no person in this—or in any of the states that are called civilized—who does not partake of the proceeds of underpaid labor; and the conditions of such labor are not growing better; they are, if anything, growing worse, and underpayment is rather spreading than decreasing.

The writer believes that New Zealand alone is working out a complete solution of the problem. In New Zealand and some other colonies any work-room where two or more

persons are employed, the employer counting as one, constitutes a factory within the meaning of the act. Those who have studied the history of factory legislation can see that this is by far the best method, and the only one that can check sweating in home work and prevent unfair competition with well-conducted industry. Yet this is not all and mainly important because of the New Zealand system of wages boards, minimum wages, and strict government control of wages and labor conditions.

SWEDEN: A monarchy of Europe. Area, 172,876 sq. m.; population in 1906, 5,337,455, or 30.43 per sq. m., in 1905. The principal cities with population (1906) are: Stockholm, 332,738; Göteborg, 156,927; Malmö, 75,691; Norrköping, 45,528; Sölle, 30,988; Hälsingborg, 31,404.

I. Statistics

The population of Sweden shows a slow but healthy growth; it was in 1890—4,784,981, an increase of 0.50 per cent per annum over 1880; 1900—5,136,441, an annual increase of 0.71 per cent. Of the population in 1905 there were 2,584,564 males and 2,710,321 females. In 1900 there were of males: single, 1,566,868; married, 838,999; widowers, 98,647; divorced, 1,922; females: 1,566,668 single; 847,252 married, 212,461 widows, 3,624 divorced. Births seem to have somewhat decreased. There were 139,370 in 1901 (of which 16,385 were illegitimate) and 135,400 in 1905. Marriages are also decreasing (31,278 in 1901 and 30,800 in 1905). Deaths (exclusive of still-born), 82,772 in 1901, and 82,400 in 1905.

The population of Sweden is almost entirely of the Scandinavian branch of Arians, with the exception of (1900) 22,138 Finns and 6,983 Lapps; there were also 35,627 foreigners, mostly Germans, Danes, and Norwegians. Sweden lost by emigration: 1900—20,661; 1904—22,384; 1906—24,705. Of these numbers 16,209; 18,533 and 21,442 came to the United States.

Religion and Education.—The vast majority of Swedes belongs to the State Church (Evangelical Lutheran). The Church numbered (1900) 5,072,792; extended to all religions, and no civil disabilities attach to those citizens not belonging to the State Church. The latter is supported from the income of the Church lands, and by contributions of the parishes.

Education is well advanced in Sweden; public elementary instruction is compulsory and gratuitous. In 1904 there were 12,778 elementary schools with 727,008 pupils and 18,274 teachers; the expenditure was 27,055,369 kroner. Sweden had (1905) 82 public high schools with 20,516 scholars; 31 people's high schools with 1,666 scholars; 14 normal schools with 1,412 students; 8 technical schools with 3,400 students; 10 navigation schools with 712 boys. There were, moreover, schools for defective and backward children. Sweden has two universities, Upsala with 1,729 and Lund with 817 students, in 1905.

Occupation is chiefly agricultural; since about 2,380,000 people depend on farming for their living. Manufactures support about 1,210,000 people; trades and servants about 462,000; transport and locomotion, 414,000.

Industrial Statistics

The land suitable for cultivation was (1904) divided among 350,851 owners or tenants; 86,925 of these had 2 hectares or less; 223,164 between 2 and 20; 33,432 between 20 and 100; 3,225 over 100. The area under cultivation constitutes only 8.8 per cent of the total area; 3.4 per cent consists of grass and meadow land; 51.5 is under forests; 36.3 per cent are mountains or snow-covered, and non-productive. The crops produced in 1905 were: wheat, 1,909,800 hectoliters; rye, 8,881,-

500; barley, 4,778,900; oats, 21,624,300; mixed grain, 3,761,000; pulse, 659,800; potatoes, 26,360,200. The total value of the crops in 1904 amounted to 243,100,000 kroner. Live stock in 1904 numbered: 546,943 horses; 2,545,583 cattle; 1,105,903 sheep; 796,572 swine.

Mining is an important industry in Sweden. The output in 1905 was 4,364,833 tons of iron ore, producing 530,776 tons of pig and 369,771 of bar iron; 8,397 tons of silver and lead ore; 39,255 tons of copper ore; 56,885 tons of zinc ore; 1,992 tons of manganese ore; and 20,762 tons of sulphur pyrites. Besides 55 kilograms of gold, 606 of silver, 575,527 of lead, 1,385,098 of copper, and 305,000 of zinc were produced in the smelters. Considerable coal has been found in southern Sweden, yielding (1905) 322,384 tons. Mining gave employment that year to 31,222 persons.

Forestry is managed by the State in a scientific manner. The public forests have an area of 6,642,909 hectares of timber land, including 1,100,000 hectares of crown forests. There were 1,370 saw- and planing-mills in 1904 with 41,849 employees. The output of lumber was valued at 153,196,688 kroner. Furniture factories numbered 441 with 10,949 workmen; output valued at 23,196,349 kr. The output of 135 wood-pulp factories with 8,333 employees amounted to 45,035,375 kr.; 67 paper and pasteboard factories with 7,031 work-people had an output valued at 432,477,477 kr.

Manufacturing is chiefly in iron and machinery; 19,509 people were employed in 636 iron- and steel-mills and produced an output valued at 61,727,900 kr.; 424 machinery shops employed 19,710 people with an output of 55,294,000 kr.; 1,670 flour-mills with only 4,517 employees produced an output to the value of 100,362,000 kr.

Commerce and Shipping.—The imports in 1900 and 1905 amounted to 534,935,110 kroner and 582,084,457; exports, 391,334,962 kr. and 450,211,733. The customs duties amounted to 57,731,764 kr. and 60,366,568 respectively. The imports consisted (1905) principally of metal goods, machinery, etc., 75,340,683 kr.; minerals, chiefly coal, 73,841,176; corn and flour, 62,587,043; raw textiles, 55,351,198. Exports were chiefly: timber (wrought and unwrought), 201,813,518 kr.; hair, hides, and other animal products, 51,466,500; metals, 49,962,098; minerals, 40,668,344; machinery and metal goods, 37,729,192. Imports were principally from Germany, 224,364,938 kr.; Great Britain, 144,035,143. Exports to: Great Britain, 159,398,772 kr.; Germany, 85,206,640.

The mercantile marine consisted (1905) of 1,950 sailing vessels with 265,748 tons, and 1,019 steam vessels with 408,124 tons. Göteborg was the largest port with 292 vessels and 147,707 tons; Stockholm second with 226 vessels and 95,817 tons.

II. Constitution and Government

Sweden is a constitutional monarchy. The present king is Oscar II. (born 1829, succeeded to the throne Sept. 18, 1872). The king has certain powers in political matters, but in others he (with his cabinet) exercises that power in conjunction with the Diet. Every new law must, however, have the assent of the crown. The right of imposing taxes is vested in the Diet.

The Diet consists of two chambers, both elected by the people. The First Chamber has 150 members who are elected by certain provinces, towns, and cities; they must be thirty-five years old; have taxable property worth 80,000 kroner, or an income of 4,000 kr.; they are elected for 9 years, and give their services free. The Second Chamber consists of 230 members; 80 elected by the towns and 150 by rural districts. Electors must be 21 years of age; possess real estate worth 1,000 kr. or farm land worth 6,000 kr., or pay an income tax on 800 kr. The number of electors in 1905 was 432,099, or 8.2 per cent of the population; but only 217,759, or 50.4 per cent of the electors, actually cast ballots. The members of the Second Chamber are elected for 3 years; receive 1,200 kr. plus expenses in the case of extra sessions.

The municipalities and provinces enjoy much freedom in their local affairs.

The revenue of the State comes chiefly from customs, 57,000,000 kr. (1906); imposts on sugar, spirits, etc., 32,000,000; income tax, 20,950,000. The total revenue for 1906 was 179,270,000 kr.; expenditure, 179,270,000. The principal

items of the expenditure were: Army, 51,293,600 kr.; navy, 22,455,700; Ministry of the Interior, 35,610,800; education and ecclesiastical affairs, 18,884,400.

The total length of railways was 7,677 miles in 1903; of which 2,612 belonged to the State.

The receipts of all railways were 100,-223,312 kr.; expenses, 66,575,691; surplus, 33,647,621. They carried 36,296,648 passengers and 24,490,-837 tons of freight. The total length

of telegraph and telephone lines was (1904) 19,487 miles with 127,170 miles of wire; of these 14,685 miles of line with 95,118 miles of wire belonged to the State. There were 2,383 telegraph offices.

The postal service had (1904) 3,419 offices; receipts, 16,563,956 kr.; expenses, 14,635,991; surplus, 1,927,965.

The *Army* is just being reorganized, and will be on its new status by 1914. The new scheme provides for a *modified militia* with conscripts being called out for an initial training of 150 days in the infantry and artillery and 281 days in the cavalry, and with 30 yearly for the next three years.

III. Social Reform

Sweden as an agricultural country has not developed far in industrial reform. Educational and temperance reforms began earlier (see *TEMPERANCE*; *NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM*; *GOOD TEMPLARS*), and poor relief is older still. Homes for the shelter of poor children still exist which were founded early in the sixteenth century. The present poor-law dates from 1843, revised in 1871, and lays the burden on the parishes. Various private charities, however, supplement this.

In Stockholm a society called *Föreningen för Vålgörenhetens Ordande* (Society for Organizing Charitable Relief) was founded in 1889 on the same leading principles as the English and American charity organization societies. In Stockholm alone there are 400 different charitable societies.

The oldest is the "*Skyddsforeningen*" (Society of Protection), started by Frederika Bremer and whose president is the queen; its members visit and help the poor, their first object being the children. "*Arbetsstugor*" (workshops for children), where children from seven to fourteen years of age are taught sewing, knitting, basket-making, and other kinds of hand-work, are spreading over the country. A considerable number of "so-called" model houses for workmen—after the Octavia-Hill system—have been erected.

"*Vandrande Sparkassor*" (moving savings-banks) are formed by visitors in needy neighborhoods to induce the saving of pennies.

Cooperation, tho slow in beginning, is now rapidly spreading in Sweden. There were, in 1906, besides unregistered societies, 382 retail societies, 410 agricultural, 373 dairy and poultry, 903 building societies, 155 productive, and 301 miscellaneous. A wholesale society has been established. The growth is very rapid.

Trade-unions began in Sweden in 1880. In 1898 the unions formed into a national organization, composed of twenty-four federations with about 60,000 workers. Various *Houses of the People* (similar to those in Belgium) have been started. The one at Stockholm is on an especially large scale. Industrial legislation, however, has been backward and the unions have had to struggle hard for their rights. A principal aim

has been universal suffrage, and in 1902 there was a general strike for this purpose, only very partially successful.

Socialism entered Sweden with a tailor from Denmark, Auguste Palm. A paper, *Tiden* (Times), was started and the movement spread fast. In 1885 the Swedish trade-unions became connected with the Socialist movement, as they are in all Scandinavian countries. Since 1898 this has been compulsory in Sweden. In 1893 a *folk-esdag* (congress of the people) was organized. In 1896 the Socialists elected a deputy, Branting. In 1905 they had fifteen deputies and cast some 30,000 votes. The Socialist Party numbers, however, 55,000 paying members, only a moiety of whom can vote, because of the high property qualification (taxed on an income of 800 kr.).

The trade-unions numbered 1,300 with a membership of 80,000, or 25 per cent of the industrial workers. Of these, 850 unions with 42,000 were in the National Union. The Swedish Socialist includes 3 dailies, 10 periodicals, and 20 trade-union papers.

Among the important Swedish social reform societies are the:

Central förbundet för Socialt arbete (Central Alliance for Social Work), 6 Lastmakaregatan, Stockholm.

Föreningen för Valgörenhetens Ordande (Charity Organization Society), Stockholm.

Cooperative Society, 6 Lastmakaregatan, Stockholm.

Temperance Society, 12 Tegnergatan, Stockholm.

Frederika Bremer Förbundet (Woman's Questions), 54 Drottninggatan, Stockholm.

Folkets Hus (Trade-Union House of the People), 14 Barnhusgatan, Stockholm.

REFERENCES: *Sverigis Statskalendar*, Upsala; *Sweden, Its People and Its Industry*, published by the Government, ed. B. Sundberg (1904); *Scandinavia, a Political History*, by R. N. Bain (1905); *Sweden and the Swedes*, by W. Thomas (1898); *Aperçus Statistiques Internationaux*, by G. Sundberg (1906).

SWINTON, JOHN: Journalist, labor leader; born 1830 in Illinois; learned the printer's trade. In 1850 removed to New York City; studied law and medicine, but returned to journalism and was made chief of the editorial staff of the *Times*, a position he held through all the Civil War and until 1869. After that was with Mr. Greeley on the *Tribune* till 1879, and then was chief writer on the *Sun* for several years. In 1883 he established *John Swinton's Paper*, a radical labor organ which acquired for a time a great influence, but unfortunately in 1886 the paper failed. Mr. Swinton then returned to ordinary journalism. In 1874, nominated for Mayor of New York on a workman's ticket, he received but 200 votes. He was, however, always a favorite speaker, and a popular leader in all New York labor meetings to the last. He died in 1901.

SWITZERLAND: A republic of Europe. The three cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, entered into a defensive league Aug. 1, 1291. Since then the republic has grown until it comprises twenty-five cantons with an area of 15,976 sq. m., and a population of 3,489,689 in 1906, or 218.4 per sq. m. The corresponding figures of the population for 1900 were 3,315,443 and 207.5.

The principal cities with population in 1905 are: Zurich, 180,843; Basel, 127,987; Geneva, 114,547; Bern, 71,748; Lausanne, 53,209; St. Gallen, 51,766.

I. Statistics

Births in 1905 were 98,057; marriages, 26,269; deaths, 65,208 (including still-births); surplus of births over deaths, 32,853, a surplus which has

been decreasing; in 1901 it was 37,010. Illegitimate births in 1905 were 4,469, or 4.6 per cent of the total; that of divorces, 1,206. Of the population over fifteen years of age there were in 1900: 1,112,111 males=503,770 single; 542,119 married; 61,065 widowers; 5,157 divorced; 1,174,893 females=481,499 single; 539,595 married; 144,532 widows; 9,267 divorced.

Switzerland has lost less heavily by emigration than other European countries, the figures for five years being: 1901—3,921; 1902—4,707; 1903—5,817; 1904—4,818; 1905—5,049. In 1905 over 85 per cent, or 4,349 of the total emigrants went to the United States; 554 to different parts of South America. There were 383,424 foreigners resident in 1900.

Switzerland is peculiar in recognizing three languages as official: German, French, and Italian being spoken in the *Bundes-Versammlung* (q. v. below). German is, however, the principal language, being spoken by 2,312,949, or nearly 70 per cent, in 1900. French was spoken by 730,917; Italian by 221,182; Romanish (in the Grisons), by 38,357.

Religion is not required for citizenship, the Constitution of 1874 permitting any or no religious affiliation. No State taxes are levied for any Church; no bishoprics, Roman or other, can be created on Swiss territory without the consent of the Confederate authorities. The Jesuits are debarred, and the foundation of new religious orders and convents is forbidden. The Protestants—chiefly Reformed or Calvinistic—numbered in 1900 about 59 per cent, or 1,916,157; the Roman Catholics about 40 per cent, or 1,379,664. There were 12,264 Jews.

Education is not supervised by any central authority, except that it is compulsory since 1874; it is, however, under the civil authorities. The expenses are borne entirely by the communes in some cases; in others the cantons share them. In Roman Catholic cantons the proportion of school-attending children to the whole population is 1 to 9; in Protestant, 1 to 5; in mixed, 1 to 7. Some Roman Catholic cantons have never enforced the school laws properly. The age for school attendance is, moreover, shorter in the Catholic cantons. In 1905 there were only 0.09 per cent of the contingent for military service who could not read, and 0.43 per cent who could not write. In 1904 there were 862 infant schools with 44,000 pupils and 822 teachers; 4,665 primary schools with 492,768 pupils and 10,977 teachers; 598 secondary schools with 43,842 pupils and 1,772 teachers;

Education 40 "middle" schools, or *Realschulen* and *Gymnasien* with 11,824 pupils and 841 teachers; 65 "normal" or *Lehrer-Seminarien* with 2,813 pupils; "pensions" or "boarding-schools" for girls, 2,076 pupils. The so-called *Fortbildungs Schulen* or evening schools number 54,289 pupils. There are besides commercial, technical, and agricultural schools. (See article, EDUCATION.) Six universities—Basel established in 1460, being the oldest—make provision for higher education.

Occupation.—Thirty-seven per cent are engaged in agriculture, 41 in industries, and 11 in trade. In 1907 1,067,905 were engaged in farming or allied and dependent occupations; the building trades and furniture manufacture employed 426,401; commerce, hotels, boarding-houses, etc., 285,486; metal works, 275,892; textile industries, 270,114; clothing and dressmaking,

208,757; transportation, 167,278; food supply, etc., 129,797. There were in 1901 6,080 factories with 242,534 employees.

Industries are chiefly agricultural. The soil is very evenly divided among the population. An estimate places the number of peasant proprietors at 300,000, with about 2,000,000 people. The estates are necessarily small, since 28.4 per cent of the total area is unproductive.

Industries and Commerce

Of the productive area 35.8 per cent are grass land and meadows; 29 per cent forest; 18.7 per cent under fruit; 16.4 per cent under crops and gardens. Notwithstanding the large agricultural population, the bulk of the food crops consumed is imported.

The peasant proprietors are engaged chiefly in the manufacture of cheese, condensed milk, cream, etc.; 278,432 quintals of cheese and 306,589 quintals of condensed milk were exported in 1905. In the southern cantons viniculture is a thriving industry, 1,267,45 hectoliters of wine being produced in 1904, on 28,831 hectares, to the value of 45,009,470 francs. Live stock in 1903 numbered 161,936 horses, 2,080,297 cattle, 219,438 sheep, 555,261 pigs, and 354,634 goats.

Forestry is under federal supervision. The law of 1876 placed about 1,119,270 acres, or 55 per cent, of forest land under federal regulations, according to which this area can never be reduced. Trees are carefully replanted—22,704,570 in 1905; timber is cut according to scientific principles—1,839,558 cubic meters in 1905. There are about 163 establishments for pisciculture, the fry going chiefly to hotels. There are 5 salt-mining districts, the output in 1905 being 554,507 quintals; 186 breweries produced 2,264,652 hectoliters of beer. Alcohol manufacture is a federal monopoly, 56,355 quintals of drinkable spirits and 74,264 quintals of methylated spirits for use in the arts being sold in 1905.

Commerce is principally special; the imports (1905), 1,458,321,700 francs; exports, 1,007,822,756. The principal items in the import figures for 1905 were: Foodstuffs, tobacco, spirits, etc., 371,397,433 fr.; silk, 154,339,265; useful metals, 114,432,251; cottons, 97,221,225; mineral substances, 90,933,377. Exports were: silk, 250,728,057 fr.; cottons, 185,840,814; clocks and watches, 132,743,514; foodstuffs, tobacco, spirits, etc., 129,126,944; machinery and carriages, 61,201,625. Imports (1905) were: From Germany, 440,798,593 frs.; France, 274,299,129; Italy, 176,901,230; Austria-Hungary, 91,524,476; Russia, 77,075,155; Great Britain, 68,803,389. Exports: To Germany, 232,028,577 fr.; Great Britain, 175,193,814; America, 170,439,166; France, 119,600,221; Italy, 56,981,041; Austria-Hungary, 54,369,866. The customs duties on imports and exports were, 1903: 53,361,590 fr.; 1906, 62,156,690.

Switzerland has largely gained in wealth in the last fifty years. Its wealth, excluding State property, is estimated at \$3,400,000,000.

II. Constitution and Government

In 1815 the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland and the inviolability of her territory were guaranteed by the Congress of Vienna. The Constitution then adopted has been changed in 1848, and lastly in 1874. It provides for the revision of the Constitution by the ordinary forms of federal legislation, with compulsory *referendum*; or by direct popular vote on the *initiative* of 50,000 citizens. The federal government has all the rights, prerogatives, duties, and obligations of a sovereign government, tho the enforcement of law, justice, public works, and education is left to the cantons. There are two federal chambers, the Senate or *Ständerat* consisting of one to two representatives from each can-

ton; and a Chamber of Deputies or *Nationalrat*, consisting of 167 representatives, chosen in direct election, at the rate of one member for every 20,000 of the population.

Legislature

The senators receive their honorarium from the cantons—on an average 20 francs per diem—the deputies from the federal funds at the rate of 20 fr. for each day on which they are actually present, plus traveling expenses. The life of the Chamber expires by limitation; a new election by ballot being required every three years. Citizens of twenty-one years of age may vote; and every voter may be elected a deputy, except clergymen. When the two chambers are in session the assembly is called *Bundes-Versammlung*, or Federal Assembly. The legislative power rests in either of the two chambers; but the principles of the referendum and initiative are in force. By the *initiative* (on the demand of 50,000 voters) a popular vote must be taken (the referendum). Legislation, too, by the Assembly may be vetoed by the *referendum* (on demand of 30,000 voters, or of eight cantons). (See REFERENDUM IN SWITZERLAND.) The principal parties are Right (Roman Catholic), Center (Liberal), Left (Radical), and Socialists. The chief executive power rests in the *Bundesrat*, or Federal Council—a committee of seven, elected for three years by the Federal Assembly. The members of this committee cannot hold any other federal or cantonal office, nor engage in any gainful occupation. They frequently introduce new measures in the Assembly, and take part in its deliberations, but are not allowed to vote. The president and vice-president of this council, elected annually, are the president and vice-president of the confederation. They represent the republic, but have no more power than their confrères. The members of the council form the cabinet of the government. Salaries: The president's salary is 13,500 fr.

The local government varies greatly in the different cantons, each being supreme in matters not delegated to the federal authorities.

Finances.—The federal government has no power to levy taxes directly. Its principal revenue comes from the customs, the alcohol monopoly, and the postal, telegraph, and railroad services. Even part of this revenue is paid back to the cantons. Of the revenue from the alcohol monopoly, each canton must use one tenth for combating alcoholism within its own territory. Several federal manufactories yield part of the revenue; also the tax for exemption from military service. This is levied by the cantons, and divided equally between them and the confederation. The Constitution provides, however, that the federal government may, in extraordinary cases, levy a rate upon the various cantons according to a settled scale. The total revenue in 1901 was: 101,924,682 francs; 1905, 129,303,264. Expenditure: 105,533,089 fr. and 116,716,180, respectively.

The principal item of expenditure without any returns was for military purposes; in 1907 it was estimated at 39,562,156 fr. Internal communication is good. There were (1905) 2,936 miles of railroads—1,470 belonging to main lines, 1,423 to secondary and tramways, 43 to foreign. The federal government owned 1,516 miles. The receipts on the latter amounted to 120,677,360 fr.; working expenses to 80,156,945; surplus, 40,520,424. There were in

Railways, Posts, and Telegraphs

all 5,620 miles of telegraph lines with 27,597 miles of wire. The State owned about half of them. The receipts on the latter were 11,033,151 fr.; expenses, 10,877,151; surplus, 426,000. There were in the same year 1,677 post-offices. Receipts, 44,549,955 fr.; expenditure, 40,053,837; surplus, 4,496,118.

The army of Switzerland is essentially a militia. Military service is compulsory, nominally from 17 to 50 years; practically from 20 to 32. About 143,000 men are eligible to a call to arms in case of need.

III. Social Reform

Switzerland, in many ways, tho by no means in all, leads the nations in social reform. In no country are democratic political institutions so fully developed; perhaps in no country is there so much industrial democracy.

The Swiss referendum comes down from the old *landsgemeinden* of ancient times and was used almost in its modern form in Bern and Zurich as early as the fifteenth century. The compulsory referendum and the initiative were adopted in some of the cantons in 1868. The federal referendum was established in 1874 and the federal initiative, 1891. Proportional representation was adopted at Ticino in 1892, and has been adopted now by most of the cantons (see DIRECT LEGISLATION; REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE; PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION).

Political Reforms

Another important and unique political institution in Switzerland is her political recognition of organized labor. In 1887 the office of Workman's Secretary was founded, its incumbent to be practically a member of the federal cabinet, and to be paid by the government, but to be elected by the Swiss labor-unions, thus to some extent making them a recognized part of political Swiss institutions. A Working Men's Federation has been formed, composed of one delegate from each labor organization which has 250 members. This Federation elects the Workman's Secretary (for many years Herman Greulich). It has also a congress (*Arbeitertag*), which meets triennially, a council (*Bundesvorstand*), and an executive (*Ausschuss*).

Swiss municipal institutions are, however, equally progressive with national institutions.

Cities like Zurich and Basel in German, and Geneva in French, Switzerland, are among the most progressive municipalities in the world.

They care minutely for the housing of the working classes; they strive to give work to the unemployed; they have municipalized most of the natural monopolies—they thus receive large municipal revenues with low rates of taxation; among other things they have developed industrial schools of the world. Geneva had an *École de dessin* as early as 1751 and Basel a public school for drawing in 1762. Other cities followed, Bern in 1766. In 1848 the confederation founded a university and polytechnic school (1905, 1,293 pupils) at Zurich (opened 1855). In 1884 the federal government commenced subsidizing local schools, with the result that Switzerland has, for her size, probably the best industrial schools in the world.

Switzerland has also done pioneer work in institutions for the insurance of the unemployed, tho thus far without large success. Bern estab-

lished a plan of voluntary insurance under municipal auspices in 1895, after some preliminary efforts by local labor organizations. The benefit granted, however, to the unemployed was very little and few workmen have availed themselves of it—only about 600 in recent years, mainly in the building trades. St. Gall, in 1895, tried a somewhat similar plan, but made insurance in it compulsory upon working men. It, however, was never popular and was given up in 1897. In 1901 Basel (having voted against a municipal plan) commenced subsidizing a workmen's unemployment fund which was started, and this has endured, but without large results, and losing in membership of late years.

Much more successful have been the Swiss municipal or cantonal employment bureaus,

Philanthropies

founded on the German method, St. Gall in 1887, Bern in 1888, Basel in 1889, and other cities later. (See PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.) In 1905 they placed 44,243 persons out of 59,355 who sought work. Connected with these are the relief stations for workmen traveling in search of work, also on the German plan (see RELIEF STATIONS). They cover many of the cantons with a network. There are besides numerous municipal or private philanthropic institutions, all largely subsidized by the State. Examples are the Old People's Refuge at Bern, the Municipal Orphanage at Zurich, the Municipal Workshop (*Armenanstalt*) at Bern, and labor colonies at Tannenhof and Herdern. The Tannenhof colony was founded in 1889; that at Herdern in 1895; neither have had large success. They attract but a low class of laborers, having from twenty to fifty inmates usually, and cannot show large results with these. For pauper children Swiss cities do better, mainly on the boarding-out plan. Peculiar to Switzerland are the societies for public utility. This is the name by which Mr. W. H. Dawson (see his "Social Switzerland") translates *Gemeinnützige Gesellschaften*. They are of long standing, in Bern since 1759 and Basel since 1777. They are in a way agencies for various measures, charitable and educational. They maintain gymnasiums, baths, schools, classes, etc., afford relief, and do not a little in developing model dwellings. In this line, however, the municipalities do more, notably Bern, at Wylerfeld (a municipal industrial colony). The Messrs. Suchard (chocolate manufacturers) have a private "model village" at Neuchâtel, as have Reiter & Co. at Töss. Courts of arbitration and boards of conciliation, with *conseils de prudhommes* at Geneva, are other measures developed in Switzerland between capital and labor.

Cooperation began early in Switzerland, and has had considerable development. Distributive societies were the first started. The *consumvereine* of Zurich date from 1858. There were, in 1903, some 1,800 cooperative agricultural societies and 1,200 productive societies.

Including the cooperative banks there were some 4,400 cooperative societies in all. The *Genossenschaftliche Volksblatt* has some 100,000 readers. Trade-unions have also reached considerable development. The *Schweizerische Gewerkschaftsbund* has about 50,000 members; 30,000 organized in the railroads and transportation are not affiliated with this. There are 24 trade-union journals and 26 workman's secretaries of various organizations. Nevertheless, it is said

Cooperation and Trade-Unions

that the unions still reach only 12 per cent of labor.

The fact is that Switzerland, where land is widely distributed and even factory workers have small allotments, on which they work a portion of the time, has not developed the class consciousness of many more purely industrial countries. Switzerland has few very wealthy or very poor and has therefore considerable middle-class conservatism and individualism even among her working classes. This, coupled with the fact that the federation, the cantons, and municipalities have largely worked on lines of public ownership and operation, is probably the reason why organized political socialism has not found large expression in Switzerland. The *Grütliverein* (organized in 1838 in Geneva) is by far the oldest distinctively labor organization in Switzerland; tho to-day mainly political and connected with the Socialist Party, it was long educational and general. By 1845 it had largely spread through the country. By 1848, however, it had become markedly radical and was supplant in many cantons, including Bern. It, however, did large preliminary work for socialism. In 1864 a branch of the International was founded in Geneva, and by 1869 thirty-two branches were said to exist in Geneva alone. But the movement did not endure. (See INTERNATIONAL.) It was largely a foreign importation.

Switzerland has long been the asylum of political refugees from other lands. Thus Geneva has been the shelter from which at one time

Socialism

Mazzini tried to rouse a Young Europe, which Bakounin sought to make the center of anarchism, and from whence Russian nihilists have tried to reach Russia. But these movements have little affected Switzerland. Driven from Germany by the anti-Socialist law, many German Socialists found refuge in Basel, and somewhat developed German socialism in Switzerland, yet after all not at all commensurably with the Swiss development of unconscious socialism.

Yet in 1873 a People's Association (*Volksverein*) was formed, and also a Worker's Federation (*Arbeiterbund*), both national and both affiliated with the *Grütliverein*, and in 1877 adopted the program of Marxist socialism. In 1888 the present Swiss Social Democratic Party was formed. In this the *Grütliverein* is now largely merged, its secretary, since 1904, being the secretary of the

party, tho the association still keeps up its organization and celebrates its seventieth anniversary in 1908. The party now claims 20,337 paying members, a number which of recent years has declined rather than grown; it cast some 70,000 votes, and it has at present only two representatives in the *Nationalsrath*, tho it claims to have elected six members, and that four were unjustly unseated through technicalities. In many of the municipal councils of the larger cities the party, however, has numerous representatives. Switzerland, however, has many socialistic features, nationalized telegraph, telephone, postal savings-banks, and railroads (voted in 1898 and now being rapidly accomplished). There is also a federal alcohol monopoly.

The Federation of Switzerland, 1886-87, undertook to restrict and control the distilled liquor traffic. It bought the distilleries and required a fee on importers. The minor distilleries were destroyed, 60 or 70 being left. One tenth of the value of the product is devoted to hospitals for inebriates and other institutions. This tenth in 1902 was 581,859 fr. Most of this was spent on prisons, asylums, and neglected children; only 100,000 on inebriate asylums and temperance work. Swiss authorities differ on the result. Some say a "beer plague" has been substituted for a "whisky plague." The strict abstinence movement is growing, there being 350 societies, with 8,500 members and 5,900 associates.

REFERENCES: *Annuaire Statistique de la Suisse*, Bern; *Handwörterbuch der Schweizerischen Volkswirtschaft*, Socialpolitik und Verwaltung; *Social Switzerland*, by W. S. Dawson, 1897; *Rise of the Swiss Republic*, by W. D. McCracken, 1892.

Addresses of important reform societies in Switzerland:

International Labor Office (International Association for Labor Legislation), 1907. Chief Secretary, Dr. Stephen Bauer, Rebgrasse 1 Clarahof, Basel, Switzerland.
Arbeiterbildungsverein, Zurich.
Arbeiterbund. (Schweizerischer.) Arbeitersekretär, Hermann Greulich, Zurich.
Arbeiterinnenvereine. Secretary, Verena Conzett, Zurich.
Eidgenössisches statistisches Bureau, Bern.
Katholische Männer und Arbeitervereine. Verbandssekretär, Dr. A. Hättenschwiller, Lucern.
Le Peuple. (Socialist.) 27 Coulouvreniere St., Geneva.
Verband Schweizerischer Konsumvereine, Basel.
Bundeskomitee des Schweizerischen Gewerkschaftsbundes, Zurich.
Zentralkomitee des Schweizerischen Grütlivereins, Zurich.
Bureau Internationale de la Paix, Kanonenweg 12 Bern.
Fédération Internationale pour l'observation du Dimanche. Sec., M. Deluz, Geneva.

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TAFF VALE RAILWAY CASE: A suit brought in England in which the Taff Vale Railway Company was given £23,000 damages against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants for persuading and intimidating workmen to break their contracts with the railway, and aiding and abetting acts of violence which together injured the railway company in the amount named. The corporation sued the members of the trade-union individually, and then, under a rule of the court, joined the organization itself. The decision went in favor of the corporation. On appeal it went against the corporation. It was then carried to the highest court in England, the House of Lords, and the latter held that the members of the association individually and the

association itself were liable. The decision created considerable discussion especially in labor circles, where it had been commonly held that trade-unions could not be sued. It has led to constant agitation since in England for a change of law, making the trade-unions not liable with their funds, and it was this decision (see TRADE-UNIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN) which largely led the British trade-unionists into independent political action in the parliamentary elections of 1906.

TAILORING TRADES: The tailoring trade is *par excellence* the trade of the sweat-shop. But for this, see SWEAT-SHOPS. Slowly, however, the trade is being driven from the sweat-shop and organization of the workers is being effected.

The census for 1900 shows a capital of \$169,298,434 invested in the manufacture of clothing, factory product, in the 8,581 establishments reporting for the United States. This does not include the capital stock in the industry. The value of products is returned at \$436,881,648, to produce which involved an outlay of \$16,983,635 for salaries of officials, clerks, etc.; \$78,424,066 for wages; \$49,279,187 for miscellaneous expenses, including rent, taxes, etc.; and \$230,098,018 for materials used, mill supplies, freight, and fuel. It is not to be assumed, however, that the difference between the aggregate of these sums and the value of the products is, in any sense, indicative of the profits in the manufacture of clothing during the census year. The census schedule takes no cognizance of the cost of selling manufactured articles, or of interest on capital invested, or of mercantile losses, or of depreciation.

Altho the manufacture of men's clothing as a factory product began in the U. S. prior to 1830, it was not until the census report of 1890 that the statistics for this branch of the clothing industry were given separately.

The number of establishments increased 864, or 17.7 per cent, between 1890 and 1900. In the same period the capital decreased \$7,633,196, or 6 per cent.

The average capital per establishment, which in 1890 was \$26,352, had decreased to \$21,047 in 1900, indicating that the increase in establishments had been in smaller shops. The total number of wage-earners reported in 1900 showed a decrease of 23,976, or 16.5 per cent, and their wages decreased \$5,570,059, or 10.9 per cent. The greatest decrease was in the number of men, with 19,709, with a decrease in their wages of \$5,968,327. This decrease can be explained partly by the substitution of women for men and partly by difficulties in correctly ascertaining the number of workers.

The average number of women wage-earners decreased 5,759, or 7.6 per cent, but the total wages paid to women increased \$131,649, or 7% of 1 per cent. The number of children under sixteen years of age increased 1,492, or 98.2 per cent, and the wages paid them increased \$266,619, or 179.3 per cent.

The census of 1860 was the first in which the manufacture of women's clothing was reported. With the exception of the abnormal increase in the number of establishments in 1870 and the consequent decrease in 1880, there was a very steady increase during every decade. With but few exceptions the figures for every item more than doubled each decade. In 1860 the number of establishments was 188, and in 1900, 2,701, an increase of more than thirteenfold; during the same period the capital increased \$47,009,894, or more than thirty-threefold; the number of wage-earners, 78,000, more than thirteenfold; the total wages paid, \$31,393,069, or more than twenty-sixfold; the cost of materials used, \$81,381,257, or more than twenty-fourfold; and the value of products, \$52,158,500, or more than twenty-onelfold.

As the manufacture of women's ready-made clothing is not distributed over as many places as is that of men's, and as a large part of it is manufactured in large factories and in shops, the collection of statistics could be more accurately done, and the figures may be taken as more approximately correct.

In contrast with the manufacture of men's clothing, this branch of the industry showed a large increase in the number of wage-earners and of the wages paid. The total number increased from 39,149 to 83,739, and the total wages from \$15,428,272 to \$32,586,101. The development of the industry during the decade was of such a nature that men were substituted for women in the manufacture of certain of the better grades of clothing, such as cloaks and ladies' suits, while the greatest number of women were added in the factories for shirt-waists and underwear.

Tailoring trades were among the first to organize labor-unions in the U. S. A tailors' organization existed in New York City in 1806. The Knights of Labor (*q. v.*) began among the Philadelphia tailors. Cutters' unions have existed in New York City since the forties. Nevertheless, the trade has, as a whole, because of the large proportions of people involved in the sweating system, been one of the most difficult to organize. Organizations innumerable, local and general, have come and gone. The United Garment Workers, organized in 1891, has been undoubtedly the most successful general organization, and has at times attained large proportions. It adopted a union label in 1891 which has had considerable success. (See UNION LABELS.) Some 2,000,000 labels were said to have been issued during 1898, and in 1900 ninety firms were using the label. The organization has at times been one of the most active of the unions affili-

ated to the American Federation of Labor, but has had several ups and downs on account of the difficulty of the conditions in the trade. A large number of its members are foreigners, working in the great cities and exposed to severe competition from different employers on the one hand and unorganized working people on the other. In 1903 they claimed 45,700 members. In 1905 the number was reduced to 31,900. (See article SWEAT-SHOPS.)

The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, organized in 1883, had in 1905 16,000 members composed of the more skilled members of the trade. In Great Britain conditions are virtually the same. Some of the earliest trade-unions of modern times existed among London tailors. The Amalgamated Society of Tailors dates from 1866, while national unions were formed earlier. Yet here, as in America, permanent and effective organization has been very difficult to reach. The Amalgamated Association had in 1904, 12,964 members, the Scottish Operative Tailors and Tailoresses, 3,551. (See SWEAT-SHOPS.)

TAMMANY HALL: This powerful, compact political organization, which, with rare intermissions, has ruled New York City from the year 1800 and which has exercised a great influence at times in state and national affairs, is an outgrowth of the Society of St. Tammany, a Columbian order. Founded on May 12, 1789, a fortnight later than the establishment of the national government, the society of St. Tammany was the creation of William Mooney, an upholsterer. Before the Revolution, societies variously known as the "Sons of Liberty" and the "Sons of St. Tammany" had been formed to aid the cause of independence. Tammany, or Tammanend, was an Indian chief noted for his wisdom, benevolence, and love of liberty. When societies sprang up bearing the names of St. George, St. Andrew, or St. David, and proclaiming their fealty to King George, the revolutionists dubbed Tammany a saint in ridicule of the imported saints. After the Revolution these patriotic societies dissolved.

The passionate controversy over the adoption of the Constitution caused Mooney to found anew a Tammany society. His object was to create a society, democratic in character and principle, which would resist centralizing power in the national government. At first non-partizan, the society by 1798 became a powerful and extremely partizan body, warmly supporting Jefferson and his doctrines. Aaron Burr realized the power that it could be made; the transition of the society from an effusive, speech-making body to an active political club was mainly through his instrumentality. Burr controlled Tammany until his downfall, after his duel with Alexander Hamilton in 1804.

In 1805 the Tammany Hall political organization as apparently distinct from the Tammany Society was created. In that year the society obtained from the legislature a charter incorporating it as a benevolent and charitable body for the purpose of affording relief to members and others. This change was made to meet the bitter criticisms that a private society was engaging in politics. As a matter of fact the sachems of the society were the leaders of the organization, or their henchmen, and this has been the case ever since. The secret of the power of the control of the society has been in the fact that the society has been the owner of Tammany Hall, and, in the

capacity of landlord of the building, has had, and still has, the power of dispossessing any faction hostile to the bosses of the political organization. Evicted from Tammany Hall, the contesting faction could not lay claim to being the Tammany organization or any part of it. This happened in 1828, when the sachems, as trustees, excluded a faction working for the nomination for president of John Quincy Adams from meeting in Tammany Hall, which was a fatal disadvantage in politics. It happened again in 1853 when a faction opposed to the leaders of the organization was prohibited by the sachems from meeting in the building. The same process was used by the sachems in 1857, and later during the Tweed régime.

Before 1806 Tammany was more of a political club without any systematic regimentation. In that year a disciplined organization was formed. A general committee was created which should have the power of convening all political meetings of the party and of making preparatory arrangements for approaching elections. This committee, then composed of thirty members, has gradually been expanded until now it numbers more than five thousand members. Nominating, corresponding, and ward committees were also created. In a few years Tammany had a powerful political machine, unequaled anywhere in the world. It moved with clock-work precision. Its intense opposition to government by aristocracy gave it increasing political strength. Soon its

History

influence in local, state, and national elections was very great. This influence and strength increased after 1821 when manhood suffrage was enacted in New York State, and was still more increased by Tammany's support and organization of immigrants who poured in heavily, especially from 1846 onward. While the Whigs antagonized the foreign influx, Tammany took it in hand, saw to its naturalization, and gave it material support by providing jobs and offices for the chief political workers among the foreign-born citizens.

Up to 1840 Tammany was led by bankers and merchants who generally used their political power for corrupt self-advancement or who became enriched by granting, for bribes, special privileges of various kinds. Nearly all the leaders from Mooney down had been guilty of some crime, ranging from embezzlement to corruption in passing laws for capitalistic interests, then in a nascent state. Law after law was passed granting bank charters, railroad franchises, and other privileges which, the evidence showed, were obtained by bribery. The most notorious of Tammany's clique of leaders was Samuel Swartwout, who was a great power in the organization about 1825-37 and who, as Collector of the Port of New York, embezzled \$1,222,705.69 from the government.

From 1840 Tammany began to be ruled from the bottom of the social stratum, instead of from the top. The rough element, backed by their stronger political and fistic power, came up from the slums and assumed control. Under the leadership of Fernando Wood, the criminal and boisterous element was marshaled systematically in the Tammany organization. Before that time there had been incessant frauds at the polls, but they were insignificant compared to those from 1840 on. Corruption was more brazen. When previously Tammany had been directly and

clandestinely used by capitalists to get special privileges worth incalculable sums for nothing, it now was used indirectly. With the enormous bribes that they received the leaders now assured themselves a large, mercenary following which packed primaries and repeated at the polls, as ordered.

Until 1867 the Tammany organization was held in the control of cliques of constantly changing leaders. Wood had been the nearest approach to a boss. With the control of Tammany by William M. Tweed the boss system was developed to its highest pitch. Tweed absolutely ruled the organization. He and his accomplices plundered the city of more than \$100,000,000 from 1867 to 1872. At the same time they made

Tweed

a regular traffic of selling special privileges to the highest bidder. Some of the richest families in America, the Vanderbilts and Goulds for instance, owe the greater part of their wealth to exploitative laws passed during the Tweed régime. Tweed not only controlled the whole municipal government, but the legislature, of which he was a member, as well. A political uprising of the people resulted. Tweed was indicted and imprisoned. After serving a year he was released, but was immediately rearrested on civil charges and held in \$3,000,000 bail. Not being able to get this he was remanded to jail, where he lingered until his death in 1878. In 1872 he was succeeded as boss by John Kelly. Tammany was a by-word the world over, but Kelly showed that sagacity which Tammany leaders had almost invariably shown in critical times. By persuading a number of prominent "reform" Democrats to enter the organization, and because of his plea that the corruptionists had been cast out, the organization was able to weather the storm. At basis, however, it was as corrupt as ever. Upon Kelly's death in 1886, Richard Croker became boss, and he, in turn, was succeeded by the present boss, Charles F. Murphy, in 1902.

GUSTAVUS MYERS.

(See also articles NEW YORK CITY, and CORRUPTION, p. 320.)

TARIFF (see FREE TRADE; PROTECTION): In this article, for convenience of reference, we merely trace the outline of the United States tariff, leaving its principles to be discussed under the above-mentioned heads.

The Congress of 1789 imposed a tariff duty of from 5 to 15 per cent, almost exclusively a tariff for revenue only. From 1802-12 the ad valorem duty on dutiable and free articles averaged 19.36 per cent, ranging from 23.40 per cent in 1804 to 17.88 in 1810. The War of 1812 doubled duties from 1813-15, the rates averaging 33.03 per cent. With the act of 1816 the protective principle first appears prominent, the rates averaging from 1816-20, 22.53 per cent. From this time on to 1832 the protective principle was more and more adopted in successive acts, as those of 1824 and 1828. From 1821-26 the rate averaged 33.07 per cent, and from 1827-1831, 40.21. In 1832 a reduction was made to remove the "abominations" of the act of 1828. In 1832 the rate averaged 30.86, and in 1833, 23.95 per cent. The growing influence of the South obtained still further reductions, and from 1834-43 the average was 17.18 per cent, ranging from 20.84 in 1838 to 15.45 in 1840. In 1842, however, protectionist measures slightly

prevailed, yet from 1844-57 there was a steady tendency to enact lower rates, and the average during this period was 23.85. In 1857 still further reductions obtained, and the average from 1857-61 was 16.35, falling in 1861 to 14.21 per cent. In 1861, however, the Morrell tariff act was passed, followed by still further enactment of "war tariffs," the average from 1862-65 being 31.21, rising from 26.09 to 38.46. After the war still higher protective rates prevailed, rising from 41.81 in 1866 to 46.49 in 1871, and averaging during this period 43.95. From 1871-91, under the dominance of the Republican Party in Congress, the rate averaged 29.70 per cent, ranging from 38.94 in 1871 to 25.25 in 1891. In 1882 a tariff commission was appointed, resulting in little change. In 1890 the celebrated McKinley Act was passed by the protectionists. In 1894, under a Democratic administration, the Wilson Act was passed, yet it so slightly reduced the tariff, that President Cleveland, weakly allowing it to become a law, tried to avoid responsibility for it by declining to sign it. The only important change from the McKinley Act was the admission of wool as free, while to please the Sugar Trust, a duty of 40 per cent was placed on sugar and an additional duty on refined sugar. The ratio from 1890-96 inclusive averaged for the respective years 29.12, 25.25, 21.26, 23.49, 20.25, 20.67. All these rates, however, it must be remembered, were the percentages on dutiable and free articles. On dutiable articles alone the corresponding rates for the last seven years have been 44.41, 46.28, 48.71, 49.58, 50.06, 41.75, 40.18.

In 1896 the Republican Party was returned to power with McKinley as president. His election was naturally construed as an indorsement of protection, altho the real issue in the campaign had been the free-silver question. A special session of Congress, March, 1897, passed, after a prolonged debate, the Dingley Act, which was closely modeled after the McKinley Act. The duties on a few articles, e. g., wool and woolen goods, cutlery, pottery, etc., were made even higher than in the McKinley Act of 1890. Some articles, e. g., lumber and hides, were restored to the dutiable list. The War Revenue Law of June 13, 1898, was more in the nature of an internal-revenue measure, and imposed no additional tariff duties except ten cents on a pound of tea. The law was repealed April 12, 1902.

Nearly all civilized countries have protective tariffs, e. g., France, Germany, Russia, and the other Continental countries; Japan, Canada, Australia, Cape Colony, etc. The example of England as a free-trading country has been followed only by a few of her dependencies, e. g., India. The tendency toward reciprocity and preferential tariffs is spreading. During the last few years Mr. Joseph Chamberlain has been advocating a protective duty for Great Britain, but without any tangible results.

TARIFF REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN:

The movement, now in progress in Great Britain, in favor of a reform of the fiscal policy introduced by Cobden sixty years ago, had long been foreseen as inevitable by attentive observers of economic and political developments both within and without the British Empire. The Fair Trade movement in the early "eighties," and successive resolutions passed by one colonial conference after another, clearly indicated the growing conviction that a fiscal policy inaugurated two generations

ago, under totally different circumstances from those now prevailing, and on the strength of hopes and prophecies every one of which had been falsified by events, was no longer suited either to the needs of the United Kingdom or those of her great and growing empire beyond the seas. At the last of these colonial conferences, held in London in the summer of 1902, a strongly worded resolution was unanimously passed by the imperial statesmen taking part in it, repeating the declarations of previous conferences in favor of a system of mutual preferential trading between the mother country and her daughter states, and binding the signatories "to submit to their respective governments at the earliest opportunity the principle of the resolution, and to request them to take such measures as may be necessary to give effect to it."

Upon Mr. Chamberlain, then colonial secretary, as representing the mother country on this occasion, thus devolved the duty of submitting, "at the earliest opportunity," this definite offer of preferential trading relations to the government, and therefore, ultimately, to the people of Great Britain. He lost no time in doing so. Immediately upon the publication of the proceedings at the conference, in November of the same year, he laid before the cabinet proposals for a policy of colonial preference in connection with the then existing 1s. duty on corn. Strong opposition was offered, however, to this proposal by Mr. Ritchie, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and after considerable discussion in the cabinet, the proposal was dropped.

In March, 1903, Mr. Ritchie introduced his budget providing for the repeal of the 1s. duty on corn. Nothing daunted, Mr. Chamberlain at once decided on his course of action, and in an epoch-making speech at Birmingham, on May 15, 1903, he for the first time put before the

Beginnings

country the policy of preferential tariffs as being, in his opinion, the most important means of promoting the unity and prosperity of the British Empire. A fortnight later, on May 28th, during a debate in the House of Commons on a motion for adjournment made by Sir Charles Dilke, in order to raise the subject of fiscal policy, Mr. Chamberlain dealt still more explicitly with the question, and received on that occasion the sympathetic support of the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour.

Meanwhile the keenest interest in the new policy had been aroused throughout Great Britain and the empire; and while it became more and more evident that the cabinet was divided in opinion on the matter, it was none the less clear that the future of the policy would have to be decided outside the walls of the House of Commons, by an appeal to the British electorate. In these circumstances the government decided that there should be an official inquiry, "a most careful examination of every side of the problem," as Mr. Balfour put it in the House of Commons (June 10, 1903), and that the results of this inquiry should be published by the Board of Trade as material upon which it might be possible to come to a decision on the merits of the new proposals. At the same time Mr. Balfour adhered to his declaration of May 28th, that the whole matter lay outside the province of the existing House of Commons, that the question could not be dealt with that session or the next, or the session after that, but would have to

be most carefully examined and exhaustively thought out. On these terms all further development of the situation in Parliament was checked for the time being.

The movement, however, proceeded apace in the country. Two powerful organizations had been formed during the summer for the propagation of Mr. Chamberlain's policy; one—the Imperial Tariff Committee—operating in Birmingham and district, the other—the Tariff Reform League—embracing in its scope the whole of the rest of the United Kingdom, with headquarters in London, and branches in all parts of the country. At the same time the political opponents of Mr. Chamberlain were not idle, and institutions of a similar nature were organized on behalf of so-called "free trade." The Cobden Club received a fresh lease of life, and its efforts were seconded by those of a new organization entitled the "Free Trade Union." More significant still as a sign of the disintegrating effect of the situation on old party distinctions, was the banding together of a small body of Unionist members of Parliament under the somewhat fantastic, not to say meaningless, title of the "Unionist Free Food League." All these organizations, together with various less important bodies, have since been busily engaged in flooding the country with propagandist literature in the shape of leaflets and pamphlets, and in organizing meetings upon one side or the other in the towns and villages of the United Kingdom.

The results of the official fiscal inquiry instituted by the government were published by the Board of Trade in Sept., 1903, in the shape of a bulky volume of statistical memoranda and charts. The facts and figures thus made public were claimed as proving their respective theories by partisans of both sides in the controversy, but the general result of this inquiry, while not conclusive, was nevertheless distinctly favorable to the views of tariff reformers, who did not fail to take all possible advantage of the fact.

The close of the Board of Trade inquiry brought with it the open rupture in the cabinet which had been, from the first, inevitable. On Sept. 18th the country was startled by the announcement of the resignations of Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Ritchie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India. The resignation of Lord Balfour, Secretary for Scotland, followed within a few days. But tho all these ministers resigned, their action was dictated by very different reasons. Mr. Ritchie, Lord George Hamilton, and Lord Balfour were pronounced Cobdenites of the strictest sect. They resigned as the strongest protest they could offer against any change, however small, in that free importing policy which they had come to regard as equivalent, if not superior, to the free trade preached by Cobden. Mr. Chamberlain, on the other hand, left the cabinet, as the only course which would at once set him free to devote himself unreservedly to the advocacy of the preferential policy he had at heart, while at the same time leaving Mr. Balfour unembarrassed in his leadership of the Unionist Party on the more popular part of the tariff-reform program, that officially known as the policy of "retaliation," or retaliatory duties on foreign manufactured goods.

On Oct. 1, 1903, Mr. Balfour spoke at Sheffield on the occasion of the annual meeting of the National Union of Conservative Associations.

He declared that while he was opposed to the taxation of food, it was not as a matter of principle but because it was not then practical politics. He did not think public opinion was ripe for it. But he was in favor of the policy known

Mr. Balfour as retaliation. "Tariff attacks," he said, "could only be met by tariff replies." He stated that he desired "to reverse the fiscal tradition which has prevailed during the last two generations" by asking the people of Great Britain "to reverse, to annul, and delete altogether from the maxims of public conduct the doctrine that you must never put on taxation except for revenue purposes. . . . This country should again have what every other country in the world possesses, and that of which no other country in the world would think of depriving itself, the liberty to negotiate and something to negotiate with." The policy enunciated in this speech is commonly referred to by fiscal controversialists as the "Sheffield program." It was unanimously indorsed by the National Union of Conservative Associations in a resolution passed to that effect.

On Oct. 6, 1903, Mr. Chamberlain opened his first fiscal campaign with a great speech at Glasgow, in which he laid before the country what he described as "a sketch plan" of his fiscal proposals. These may be succinctly stated as follows:

PROPOSED NEW TAXES

- 2s. a quarter on foreign (not colonial) corn.
- Corresponding tax on foreign flour.
- Five per cent on foreign meat.
- Five per cent on foreign dairy produce.
- An average 10 per cent on completely manufactured foreign goods.

TAXES TO BE RELIEVED

- Three quarters of the existing duty off tea.
- Half the existing sugar duty taken off.
- Corresponding reduction on coffee and cocoa.
- Preference to colonial wines and fruit.

DUTIES NOT CONTEMPLATED

- No tax on raw materials.
- No tax on maize.

In the same speech Mr. Chamberlain stated that he had worked out the probable effect of these proposals upon the cost of living in the United Kingdom and considered that they would result in a gain of about 2d. a week in the case of the agricultural laborer and 2½d. a week in the case of the town artisan. "Nothing I propose," he declared, "will add one farthing to the cost of living of the workingman or of any family in this country."

The Glasgow speech was quickly followed by others, delivered at Greenock, Newcastle, Birmingham, Cardiff, Newport, Leeds, Liverpool, London, and other towns and cities, speeches in which Mr. Chamberlain dwelt in detail on the various aspects of his policy, answering the objections raised by his opponents, and appealing both to the local experience of his auditors and their national and imperial patriotism.

But the energies of Mr. Chamberlain and his lieutenants were not confined to the making of speeches. The necessarily inadequate results of the inquiry undertaken by the Board of Trade into the condition of the trade of the country had shown the need of some wider and more searching investigation of the many difficult problems involved. On Dec. 16, 1903, Mr. Chamberlain stated in a speech at Leeds that a tariff commission, composed of trade experts and influential business men, had been formed to undertake this

task, and two days later the nature and scope of its work were announced together with the names of the commissioners and secretary. The commission, at time of writing, still carries on its work, the value of which is best attested by the series of elaborate reports already issued, dealing with the iron and steel, cotton, woolen, hosiery, lace, carpet, silk, flax, hemp, and jute industries.

The year 1904 was marked by little of importance in the way of parliamentary developments. But the war of leaflets and of platform discussion went on with, if possible, increased vigor, and public interest in the controversy showed no signs of flagging. On Jan. 11th came the publication of letters which had passed between

Campaign

the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain relative to the position of the Liberal Unionist Association, of which the duke was president, in regard to the fiscal question. This correspondence was quickly followed by a split in the organization, and ultimately by the reconstitution of the Liberal Unionist Council, on the basis of a fuller popular representation of the party, under the presidency of Mr. Chamberlain.

As the parliamentary session wore on efforts were made by the Liberal Opposition to embarrass both the government and Mr. Chamberlain by means of adroitly drawn resolutions on the subject of fiscal policy, all of which proved abortive. It became increasingly evident that the working agreement between the Prime Minister and Mr. Chamberlain was not to be shaken by any maneuvers on the part of their opponents. The reality of the sympathetic alliance between them received additional confirmation on Oct. 3, 1904, when Mr. Balfour, in a speech at Edinburgh, accepted Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion that the whole question of preferential tariffs should be submitted to the consideration of a colonial conference, specially called together for that purpose, and adopted it as the policy of the government. This fresh advance on the Prime Minister's part was warmly welcomed a few days later by Mr. Chamberlain in a speech at Luton.

Throughout the session of 1905 the parliamentary situation remained very much what it was in the previous year, and the same may be said of the progress of the movement in the constituencies. The chief event of importance during the year was, perhaps, Mr. Balfour's restatement of his position in a speech delivered at the Albert Hall on June 3d, and again, in the House of Commons, on June 7th. It did not, however, either add to or subtract from his previous pronouncements on the fiscal question. "Honorable gentlemen opposite," he said to the House of Commons, "talk as if it was in the Albert Hall that I for the first time said that this question of fiscal reform stood in the forefront of our constructive policy. It must be quite obvious that this is so, and I have said so on all occasions. It is equally obvious, and I have equally said so, that of all the branches of fiscal reform that which was connected with the problem of drawing closer the commercial bonds between us and our colonies was the most important part of our policy."

The manner in which this declaration was received by Mr. Balfour's followers was made clear at the annual meeting of the National Union of Conservative Associations at Newcastle on Nov. 14, 1905, when a resolution was carried by a practically unanimous vote strongly approving of

the program outlined by Mr. Chamberlain. When, late in 1905, Mr. Balfour's government resigned office, it was on the twofold policy of retaliation and preference that the Unionist Party went to the country.

The result of the general elections of 1906 is still fresh in the public mind, but it is safe to say that no one in Great Britain, on either side of politics, now regards the sweeping victory gained by the Liberal and Labor Party as representing the conclusive verdict of the British electorate on the fiscal issue. That issue was obscured by, and to a large extent subordinated to, a variety of other issues more or less completely alien to it, as, for example, the education question and that of Chinese labor in the Transvaal. An analysis of the electoral results and their causes would be instructive on this point, but demands more space than we can give to it. It must suffice to remark that the huge Liberal and Labor majority in the present House of Commons affords no indication of the real strength of the Liberal and Labor vote in the constituencies, since out of a total of 5,358,000 votes cast at the general election no less than 2,350,000, or 44 per cent, were given for Unionist candidates. In other words, if we leave out of consideration all the questions—home rule, education, Chinese labor, and other issues—which undoubtedly influenced the Liberal and Labor majority, the most that can possibly be claimed for Cobdenism is a poll of little more than one half the totalelectorate. And this within three years of the opening of the fiscal campaign, and at the first appeal to a people notorious for conservatism.

The present position of the Unionist Party in regard to the fiscal question is clearly defined in the following correspondence, which appeared in the press of Feb. 15, 1906:

4, CARLTON GARDENS, S. W.,

Feb. 14, 1906.

MY DEAR CHAMBERLAIN: The controversy aroused by the fiscal question has produced, not unnaturally, an impression, which I have constantly combated, that the practical differences between fiscal reformers are much deeper than is in fact the case. The exchange of views which has recently taken place between us leads me to hope that this misconception may be removed, and with it much friction which has proved injurious to the party. My own opinion, which, I believe, is shared by the great majority of the Unionist Party, may be briefly summarized as follows:

I hold that fiscal reform is, and must remain, the first constructive work of the Unionist Party.

That the objects of such reform are to secure more equal terms of competition for British trade and closer commercial union with the colonies.

That, while it is at present unnecessary to prescribe the exact methods by which those objects are to be attained, and inexpedient to permit differences of opinion as to these methods to divide the party, the other means may be possible, the establishment of a moderate general tariff on manufactured goods, not imposed for the purpose of raising prices or giving artificial protection against legitimate competition, and the imposition of a small duty on foreign corn, are not in principle objectionable, and should be adopted if shown to be necessary for the attainment of the ends in view or for purposes of revenue.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

40, PRINCE'S GARDENS, S. W.,

Feb. 14, 1906.

MY DEAR BALFOUR: I cordially welcome your letter of today, in which you have summarized the conclusions that we have reached during our recent discussion. I entirely agree with your description of the objects which we both have in view, and gladly accept the policy which you indicate as the wise and desirable one for the Unionist Party to adopt.

In endeavoring to give effect to this policy, and in defending all Unionist principles, any services that I can render will be entirely at your disposal.

I am, yours very truly,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

TAUSSIG, FRANK WILLIAM: Was born in St. Louis, Mo., in 1859. He received from Harvard University the degrees of A.B. in 1879, Ph.D. in 1883, LL.B. in 1886. He studied in Europe one year, and has since been professor of political economy in Harvard University. His main works are: "Tariff History of the United States" (1789-1898, 6th ed., 1899); "The Silver Situation in the United States" (1892); "Wages and Capital" (1896); and various contributions to the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. Address: Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

TAYLOR, JOHN WILKINSON: Member British Parliament of the Independent Labor Party for Chester Le Street, Durham; born 1855 in Durham; newspaper boy at nine; apprenticed to blacksmith at twelve, he worked at the trade for forty years; and is now in business with his brother as a printer. He is a justice of the peace, a county councilor, and member of the education committee; a staunch member of the Independent Labor Party, and chairman of the Annfield Plain Cooperative Society, which has a membership of 6,000. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament chiefly by the Durham Colliery Mechanics' Association, and other working men of his district. Address: Dipton, S. O., County Durham, England.

TAXATION: We cover in this article a definition of taxation: I. History of Taxation; II. Forms and Methods of Taxation; III. Taxation in the United States. IV. The Theory of Taxation; V. Tax Reform; VI. Separation of State from Local Taxation.

In the broadest sense an exercise of the taxing power of the State occurs whenever any compulsory contribution is taken from any person, private or corporate, under the authority of the public powers. But such a broad definition would include also a number of charges which are not taxes in the narrower or strict sense. It would include, for example, certain fees and other special charges for special services. In the narrower sense a tax is a compulsory contribution levied to defray the expenses incurred in conferring some common benefit, in which all persons subject to the tax have a right to participate and for which the government makes no specific counter-service. When a distinct or specific service is rendered by the government in return for the contribution by the individual the payment may be: a fee, if it does not equal or exceed the cost of the service rendered; or a price, if it exceeds or equals the cost of the service rendered.

I. History

Taxation in the sense above defined is of comparatively recent development. In the earliest stages of economic life, when a condition of savagery prevails, there are no taxes in the above sense, nor, in fact, any public revenues proper, inasmuch as there is no government and such authority as is exercised by chiefs or leaders has a distinctly private rather than a public purpose. In the stages of economic life immediately above savagery, where government authority is exercised by the head of the clan or family or by a council of such heads who are themselves in control of all the wealth of the family, there is still no recognition of public, as distinct from private, revenues, and there can be no taxes proper.

In early times and, to an extent, all through classic times, taxation was light. Ancient States received their main revenues from wars, the conduct of State colonies, and trading expeditions, the management of State mines, forests, lands, etc. Slaves did the most of the labor, and foreigners were compelled to pay for protection in money or heavy tribute. Officials were paid usually not by salaries but by fees, and hence were of small expense to the State. Boeckh (bk. iii., i.) divides the revenues of Athens into "duties arising partly from public domains, including the mines; partly from customs and excise, and some taxes upon industry and persons, which only extended to the aliens and slaves; fines, together with justice fees and the proceeds of confiscated property; tributes of the allied or subject States, and regular liturgies" (or payments for amusements for the people, etc., by the holders of the offices). Grote puts the annual expenditure of Athens in the age of Pericles at 1,000 talents, which Professor Ely ("Taxation in American States and Cities," p. 25) values at \$1,200,000.

Rome passed from a period of light taxes to a period of 120 years (163-43 B.C.), when successful wars relieved her from necessity for any taxes, and then to a period of heavy and increasing taxation. Cicero, in his "De Officiis" (45 B.C.), speaks of taxation as a thing to be avoided if possible, and adopted only in extreme necessity. In Japan and most Asiatic and despotic countries taxation consisted of a tax paid in service to the State and in tithes laid on the land, and in most countries farmed out, as in the later Roman Empire, to corrupt and merciless tithe collectors, as in Turkey to-day.

In the Middle Ages the concept of the State was that it belonged to the prince or sovereign. Public employees were private servants. Large domains were set apart for the support of the sovereign. The kings at first collected no taxes from the peasantry; the king, under the general feudal conception, was supposed to own all the land, and not to part from this ownership. But he subdivided it among his barons to rule over (not to own), and for that right they did homage—i. e., paid service to the king, usually by bringing to the king a contingent of troops in time of war. They in turn subdivided their lands among the lower gentry or knights, again only to rule over, not to own, and for this obtained homage or service from the knights. These finally gave to their serfs the land to live on and cultivate (not own), and for this received from the serfs a certain amount of service. In this way there were practically no taxes, but each paid to his feudal superior a certain amount of service; the other expenses of the king and greater barons being met out of conquest, or lands held directly as theirs to use. Such was the general feudal conception, modified, however, in a thousand ways by various local conditions, concessions, customs, and traditions. At a later period, however, especially when the countries grew more settled, the barons often preferred to stay and defend their own lands or carry on their own wars, and so, instead of giving contingents of troops to the king, gave a commutation or money substitute. The kings preferred this, as it enabled them to hire standing mercenaries, and be more independent of their barons. This money payment became a tax. The next step was, as the necessities of the king grew, to extend taxation to all classes. It was overlooked or ignored that the other classes were already paying their service to the barons, for him to pay to the king. The lower classes began to be compelled to pay their feudal superiors and the king also. Gradually then the barons began to claim the ownership of the land in fee simple, instead of in use for the king, and what they were paid in service, and later in money, they kept as rent, and what the king collected was tax. (See LAND.)

The first taxes to emerge from the darkness of this period were a number of contributions of the nature of commuted feudal services or such as arose directly from feudal rights. There were also certain market dues, customs duties, tolls for the use of roads, bridges, and ferries, and two forms of the property tax—land taxes and family taxes. The land taxes, as has been suggested above, are just emerging from the character of rent payments and are only by degrees acquiring the character of pure taxes, but the combination of those charges with the hearth or family tax led to the formation of the mixed property and personal tax.

Direct taxes in this period, as in classical times, are never paid by the freeman as they are considered derogatory and are the badge of a servile position. The freeman might give his services to the State, might risk his life for it, but would regard it as an insult to have to pay taxes. Hence when necessity came to ask even the freemen to contribute to some common cause, as the

Turkish wars, these contributions were given a name, such as "donation," "bedes" (from the German *beden*, to beg), and the like, which indicated their voluntary character, and only after these voluntary contributions had been so repeatedly called for that their payment became customary was it possible to introduce any element of compulsion. Indirectly, of course, freemen were taxed, as for example when they bought merchandise for permission to sell which the trader had been taxed. As soon, however, as industry began to develop, as soon as the crafts sprang up in the cities which clustered around the market-places, and a considerable body of the citizens came to live entirely from industry, there arose such differentiation of sources of wealth that the old forms of taxation were insufficient and new forms suited to the new conditions were devised. It was in the cities which retained a large degree of political independence that the highest development of taxation took place in the Middle Ages.

The history of modern taxation is the history of the recognition and control of taxation by legislation. The earliest parliaments were called to vote taxes. The recognition of the principle of "no taxation without representation" is the development of representative government. English constitutionalism has been built on the granting of taxes. According to the Magna Charta, "No scutage (land tax, or commutation

Modern Taxation

for feudal service) or aid shall be imposed on our realm save by the common council of our realm." John was allowed to reserve for himself only the three customary feudal "aids"—contributions in case of king's captivity, on the knighthood of the eldest son, and on the marriage of the eldest daughter. The financial needs of the sovereign compelled in 1294 the addition to the charter, called the statute, "*de tallagio non concedendo*," whereby it was agreed that no taxes should be levied by the king, save with the consent of knights, burgesses, and citizens in Parliament assembled. This, says Green, "completed the fabric of our representative constitution." Parliament has since then been necessary. The Declaration of Rights (1689) declared that "levying money for or to the use of the crown, by pretense of prerogative, without grant of Parliament for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal." This was followed by annual grants of supplies, instead of life grants as before, and annual renewals of the Mutiny Act, containing provisions for the pay and discipline of the army. Annual parliaments have since been necessary. Green calls this "the greatest constitutional change which our history has witnessed" ("Short History of the English People," chap. ix.). That it was the violation of the principle of no taxation without representation which led to the American Revolution is well known.

Taxation in Great Britain to-day is of many kinds. Tho known as a free-trade country (see FREE TRADE), millions of pounds of revenue are still raised from customs duties on wine, spirits, tobacco, and a few other articles. These are not protective duties, however, because a duty is also laid on the home produce, as of spirits. More income is raised from excise duties (see EXCISE), considerable income is raised from stamp and death duties, a growing

proportion from an income tax, while a comparatively small amount of national taxation comes from a land tax. Local expenditures are mainly met by rates on house values.

On the Continent, speaking generally, local expenses are largely met by indirect taxes, such as the *octroi* or duties on commodities brought into a city for sale, national taxation being either direct or from a protective tariff. (See PROTECTION.) In Europe generally various stamp duties are more common than in the U. S. See also the separate countries for their sources of revenue in more detail.

II. Forms and Methods of Taxation

Taxes are commonly grouped as direct or indirect according as it is the intention of those levying the tax that the burden shall be borne by him who pays it or shifted to some one else. While there is more or less difference of opinion among different writers as to where the line should be drawn between the two, yet this distinction is for the most part sufficiently clear. Among the taxes ordinarily considered direct taxes are poll taxes, income taxes, land taxes, taxes on general property, including realty and personalty and various modifications and combinations of these. Among those commonly regarded as indirect taxes are customs duties, excises or, as they are called in the U. S., internal revenue duties, tolls, and certain licenses. Not so definitely belonging to either class are certain taxes like inheritance taxes levied on certain property or wealth regardless of its ownership.

III. Taxation in the United States

In the earlier days of the American colonies there was small need for taxes. England asked no assistance. Quit-rents satisfied the proprietors or the companies, who in turn gave partial protection; there were few officials and few public expenses. Wars had not developed. Forfeitures, fees, fines, and payments for land met all expenses. Land was usually granted for the support of schools. From 1647-89 all the taxes of Rhode Island were about £600 sterling. Fines were collected on the violation of sumptuary laws. Mary Stebbins, in Springfield, Mass., was fined 10s. in 1667 for wearing silks contrary to law, and Nathaniel Ely, in 1674, for selling beer not made according to law. A poll tax was levied at various times by almost all the colonies. In Virginia it was long the only tax. Maryland

Colonial Period

had, before the Revolution, no other direct tax. Quit-rents were annual charges on land in the colonies under proprietary government. Lands in colonies not proprietary were divided among the members of the colonizing companies according to the amount of stock held or for services rendered. In later settlements the apportionment was according to one's ratable property. Public officials were mainly supported by fees—ministers by christening, churching, and burying fees; clerks by fees for issuing court papers and making records; sheriffs by fees for making arrests and inflicting punishments, etc. Licenses and fines, for sale of liquors, for marriages, for lawyers and pedlars, brought in considerable revenues. Lotteries (q. v.) were common in the later days when expenses grew. Fines were placed—e. g., in Virginia—on widows, in Maryland on bachelors over twenty-five, in New York on wigs. Excise duties were laid in almost all if not all the colonies on the manufacture of liquor. Duties on exports and imports were irregularly laid. Tonnage duties were levied payable in powder and shot. The methods of collection of the most of the taxes were the same as later on. Largesses were common, as in 1644 New Haven began annual contributions for the support of poor scholars at Harvard College. It consisted of a peck of wheat or value of the same from all "whose hart is willing." In Maryland in 1650 an "equal assessment" was made on all those who would not contribute for the maimed, lame, and blind. Private citizens gave often to the state. In Philadelphia, the charter of 1701 gave no power to levy taxes. The act of 1712 established the right of the citizens to control taxation. The State of Pennsylvania did not levy the first direct tax till 1785. It was an annual tax of £76,945. The annual expenditure of the state government was given by Mr. Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, at \$130,000. Taxation was a very grudgingly recognized right. The attempts

of England to tax caused the Revolution. What state taxes there were were very varied. In 1795 Mr. Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, in reporting to Congress a plan for laying and collecting federal revenues, declared that the systems of taxation in the various states were "utterly discordant and irreconcilable in their original principles." Seven states had a uniform capitation tax. All except Delaware taxed land, but in some according to quantity, in others quality. Responsibility in some states attached to the state; in others to the counties or townships. The average annual expenditure of each of the fifteen states was less than \$70,000, the total about \$1,000,000. The New England states taxed live stock and capital. The Southern states taxed slaves.

National taxation was attempted before the adoption of the Constitution of 1787, but Congress had no power. It could only assess the states. After much discussion this was finally changed, and the new Constitution conveyed to the national Congress "power to collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the U. S.," and to "borrow money on the credit of the U. S." But this large grant was accompanied by decided restrictions. The first is that "all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the U. S." The second, that "no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration" elsewhere provided for. The third, that "no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another." On the other hand, it is provided that "no state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any state on imports or exports shall be for the use of the treasury of the U. S.; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress." The interpretations of the Supreme Court have determined (1) that Congress has no power to levy duties on exports under any circumstances; (2) that no state may tax the "instrumentalities" which the federal government deems proper to create or employ for carrying out its purposes, such as property in the debt of the U. S.

This interpretation of the Constitution has led to the present condition of affairs, whereby the national government has raised its revenues almost exclusively by indirect taxation, and the states have levied almost all our direct taxes. This has meant that the national government has had the most remunerative taxes and the states the most unpopular. It has meant, too, that during large portions of our history the national revenue has been largely in excess of national expenditures. Only in our earliest history in war time and very recently has the revenue been insufficient and resort made to direct taxation by the national government. In 1796 Congress yielded to the pressure of financial necessities, and recommended a direct tax, and in 1798 one was laid on houses, slaves, and lands.

Again during the War of 1812 it was necessary to resort to direct taxation to carry on the government. Here a new feature was introduced, inasmuch as the several states were permitted to assume as states the payment of their quota of the tax. Many states availed themselves of this privilege. Thus was avoided a collection of the

taxes by the U. S. Government at different rates in all parts of the country, and with it the general unfavorable criticism of the system. When again in 1861 it became necessary to resort to direct taxation, the privilege of assuming the payment of the quota was embraced by all the loyal states.

The main national taxation, however, has been indirect taxation through the tariff and the excise duties. (For a history of the former, see *TARIFF*, and for statistics of revenue, see *FINANCE*; *INTERNAL REVENUE*.) For the first years of our national life, burdened with debt, the revenue was by no means excessive, in spite of the excise taxes enacted under Washington's administration; but in 1801 those excise taxes were repealed, and by 1806 President Jefferson announced to Congress that the tariff revenue would soon be more than sufficient to meet the constitutional wants of the government, and proposed that the powers of Congress be enlarged to enable it to undertake a great system of internal improvements. The outbreak of the war with Great Britain postponed the appearance of a surplus revenue and forced the reenactment of excise taxes. But in 1829 General Jackson announced the reapproach of a surplus revenue, and in 1836 a law was passed to deposit the surplus revenue with the states in quarterly instalments. These deposits were made and were used for education, etc., but the business depression of 1837 and the failure of the state banks compelled the treasurer to suspend the fourth payment, and he was supported in so doing by Congress. Owing to the Mexican War and bad financial management, there was no surplus before the war, but in 1860 a debt of \$61,140,496. The expenses of the war caused "the war tariff," excise taxes, and direct taxes, besides large loans, and for twenty years after there was no surplus. But by 1887 the policy of the funding of the debt, putting a large part of it out of reach for redemption at par, there came to be a large surplus, even tho most of the war taxes had been repealed. It had come to be a practical question in national taxation what to do with the surplus revenue. It did not remain so. The growth of the pension list, which has come to be among the heaviest expenses of the government (see *REVENUE*), with heavy appropriations for internal improvements, etc., for a time more than exhausted the revenue. This was remedied by the passage of the Dingley tariff and more recently by the increased revenues of the taxes levied at the time of the Spanish War, some of which still continue. (See *PROTECTION*. For present national taxes, see *FINANCE*; *INTERNAL REVENUE*. See also *INCOME TAX*.)

Coming to state taxation, we have seen that the systems of state taxation inherited from the colonies were most diverse and confusing. This diversity has largely continued.

State Taxes They are all, as has been said, direct taxes. "At first the general aim was to tax according to ability to pay.

In Connecticut, till 1814, taxation was first upon property according to its probable net revenue. In Ohio, till 1825, land was divided into three classes, according to quality, and there were three rates of taxation per 100 acres. In 1825 a clause was introduced providing that land should be taxed without taking into consideration the actual improvements thereon. In Maryland there was a direct tax for local purposes on the direct

value of all property. Other states followed in the main the systems of taxation inherited from the colonies. (See above.) Generally speaking, the effort to tax all property according to income proved a failure, and the tendency has prevailed to tax according to selling value, this change being made in most states in the "forties." Another change, too, was generally made about the same time. The old specifications of property failed to reach large masses of wealth. The attempt now is to tax all property according to selling value. The constitution of Ohio, adopted 1851, expressly provides that even state and local bonds shall be taxed. Nevertheless, this attempt to tax all property equitably according to its selling value has not succeeded. In many states the opulent pay taxes on little more than what property they choose to return. The widows, and the helpless, and the conscientious, whose property, being in the hands of the courts, is easily measured or fully returned, pay full taxes. The rich who will largely escape taxation on personal property. In Ohio, where the most strenuous efforts have been made to reach all property, the governor reported that "in 1883 the valuation for taxation of the personal property of the state, as shown by the grand duplicate, was \$542,207,121. In 1884 it shrunk to \$528,298,871, and for 1885 dwindled again to \$509,913,986. This loss has been made up largely by the steady growth of the valuation of real estate on account of new structures, etc., but the loss was greater than the increase last year" (Professor Ely's "Taxation in American States and Cities," p. 157). Says the preliminary report

In New York State the assessors, in their report for 1881, say:

Women, heirs, executors, administrators, guardians, and trustees of persons of unsound mind are assessed beyond all measure of justice. . . . The same assessor, however, if not forgetting his oath when inquiring of the wealthy neighbor as to his personal property, very likely accepts the negative answer as truthful, tho it is well known to the community that he possesses large means. The one has not yet learned how to cover the personal property by an assumed indebtedness, while the other is well versed in the many devices by which he may escape even the "diligent" assessor (idem, p. 174).

A careful study, however, of the present condition of city taxation in the U. S. is the Eighth Biennial Report (1894) of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, of which George A. Schilling was secretary. It is an exposé of the crookedness and inequalities of the present system of assessing and levying taxes, and of the extent to which wealthy individuals and corporations escape taxation. Applying to Chicago, it is notoriously representative to a greater or less degree of all our larger and some of our smaller cities. Its value may be seen in the fact that the original edition of 45,000 was exhausted in a few months, and a special edition called for. The report considers the whole subject at length. We can quote from it only some of its findings as to the assessment and taxation of personal and land property. It shows, in the first place, the extent to which personal property escapes taxation. The following table shows the amount of personal property assessed in Cook County (the city of Chicago) and outside of Chicago, and also the relative property of bankers which is assessed and that of other classes of citizens:

ASSESSED PERSONAL PROPERTY OF BANKERS, BROKERS, ETC., AND OF OTHER CLASSES¹

AREA	Population by United States Census, 1890	ASSESSED MONEY		AMOUNT PER CAPITA	
		Bankers, etc.	Other persons	Bankers, etc.	Other persons
Illinois.....	3,826,351	\$3,120,555	\$7,769,358	\$0.816	\$2.03
Cook County.....	1,191,922	43,925	434,244	0.037	0.364
Other counties.....	2,634,429	3,076,630	7,335,114	1.168	2.784

ASSESSED CREDITS¹

AREA	ASSESSED CREDITS		AMOUNT PER CAPITA	
	Bankers, etc.	Other persons	Bankers, etc.	Other persons
Illinois.....	\$1,563,583	\$11,343,365	\$0.409	\$2.968
Cook County.....	10,000	522,110	0.008	0.438
Other counties.....	1,553,583	10,821,255	0.590	0.108

¹ Tabulated from Eighth Biennial Report of Illinois Bureau of Labor.

of the West Virginia Tax Commission, made in 1884:

At present all the taxes from invisible property come from a few conspicuously conscientious citizens, from widows' executors, and from guardians of the insane and infants; in fact, it is a comparatively rare thing to find a shrewd trader who "gives in" any considerable amount of notes, stocks, or money; the truth is, things have come to such a condition in West Virginia that, as regards paying taxes on this class of property, it is almost as voluntary and is considered pretty much in the same light as donations to the neighborhood church or Sunday-school. . . . The statistics bearing on this point will scarcely be credited by persons who have not investigated the subject (idem, p. 174).

As further illustrative of the undervaluations in Cook County, tables are presented which show that, according to the report of the state auditor, the net taxable credits and moneys of twenty-seven state banks in Chicago, on June 5, 1893, amounted to \$1,058,105.25 and \$18,991,771.67 respectively, while the amounts of these items listed for taxation, May 1, 1894, by all the banks in the city (national banks excluded) amounted to \$10,000 and \$43,925 respectively.

Of the utterly unjust assessments of real estate, the report gives equally plain evidence.

The extent of the undervaluation for the purpose of taxation is first illustrated by a series of tables, that compare the cost of buildings erected during a number of years, as shown by the building permits, with the assessed value of all real estate. The following statement summarizes the general results of the comparison:

COST OF BUILDINGS AND ASSESSED VALUE OF ALL REAL ESTATE IN CHICAGO

Buildings erected 1876 to 1893.....	63,301
Cost.....	\$418,144,603
Average cost.....	\$6,605.66
Per cent of total cost.....	100.00
Assessors' valuation, all real estate, 1893.....	\$123,745,832
Per cent of cost of buildings.....	29.59
Cost of buildings erected 1890, 1891, and 1892.....	\$129,304,250
Per cent of assessed value of all real estate, 1893.....	104.54

Leaving out entirely the buildings erected prior to 1876 and still standing in 1893, and omitting land values altogether, the assessment valuation in 1893 of both land and improvements was less than one third of the cost of the buildings for which permits were granted after the close of 1875.

A description is given of seventy of the costliest commercial buildings of the city, with the true and the assessed value of the land and the buildings separately shown, and the percentages of the assessed to the true values; similar showings are also made for a number of costly and a number of cheap residences. The increase in the true value of some of the commercial and costly residence property is compared with the decrease in the assessment value. Comment is also made on the constantly increasing value of land and decreasing value of improvements, with almost stationary assessment values.

In comparing values for old and new style office buildings, it is found that while in both cases the site value exceeds the value of the buildings, the proportion is much greater in the case of the old buildings. For forty-four new buildings the site

riation between the percentage of true value at which buildings are assessed and that at which building sites are assessed appears to be about the same for all classes of property.

Apart from its obvious tendency to obstruct improvement, the report states that "a custom of assessment for taxation like that above described must therefore in its very nature discriminate against the owners of improved property according to the greater value of their improvements relatively to the value of their land. And this operates with special force against owners of cheaper properties." Comparing a business property valued at \$800,000 with a residence valued at \$8,875, it is shown that for the business property the ground was 87.50 per cent and the building 12.50 per cent of the total value, and for the residence the ground was 21.13 per cent and the building 78.87 per cent. The assessed value of the land in the case of the business property was 7.29 per cent, the building 27 per cent, and the total 9.75 per cent of the true value. For the residence property the percentages were, land 5.33 per cent, building 15.71 per cent, and total 13.52 per cent of the true value. In these two cases the assessment valuation is, in proportion to actual value, lower on the cheaper property, both as to site and improvement, than on the business property; and yet the total assessment valuation of the cheaper property is 3.77 per cent greater, as compared with the total real value, than the total assessment of the business property.

A number of tables are presented which show the quantity and assessed value of real and personal property, also of railroad and other corporate property throughout the entire State of Illinois, with appropriate comparisons with similar values for the State of Indiana. These statistics are shown in detail by county totals, comparisons being made between the totals of 1873 and 1893. The two final summary tables are in substance as follows:

ASSESSED VALUATION, ALL CLASSES OF PROPERTY, ILLINOIS

CLASS OF PROPERTY	ASSESSED VALUES IN—		Decrease	Per cent of decrease
	1873	1893		
Personal property.....	\$287,292,809	\$145,318,406	\$141,974,403	49.42
Lands.....	582,416,667	320,964,855	261,451,812	44.89
Town and city lots.....	317,199,285	293,274,185	23,925,100	7.54
Railroads (all property).....	133,807,823	82,270,090	51,537,733	38.52
Corporations other than railroads.....	20,896,402	5,303,979	15,532,423	74.33
The city of Quincy.....	13,788,271	1	13,788,271	.....
Total.....	\$1,355,401,317	\$847,191,515	\$508,209,802	37.50

¹ Assessment of the city of Quincy included in Adams County.

value was 50.84 per cent of the value of both land and buildings, while for sixteen old buildings it was 74.23 per cent. In the case of eight lots in a choice residence portion of the city the value of the ground is shown to have increased 556.59 per cent between 1882 and 1893, while the assessed valuation increased 76.55 per cent, and the per cent that the assessed is of the true value decreased from 21.72 in 1882 to 5.84 in 1893. The assessed value of the improvements on these lots in 1893 was 15.82 per cent of the true value. For ninety-eight unimproved lots the assessment for 1893 was 4.88 per cent of the true value, while for twenty buildings it was 13.54 per cent. The va-

The report gives many concrete examples of the way real estate is undervalued, and so escapes taxation. Of thirty residences ranging in value from \$20,000 to \$1,300,000, the report says:

The highest assessment shown is only 12.23 per cent of true value. That is the assessment valuation of the residence No. 112 Lake Shore Drive, worth \$130,000. The residence Nos. 87-102 Lake Shore Drive, worth \$1,300,000, is assessed at only 5.54 per cent of true value; its millionaire owner pays considerably less than half the tax for his home, in proportion to value, that is paid by the owner of the \$130,000 home. The owner of the least valuable home in all the list, the residence at No. 2829 Indiana Avenue, pays on a 9.5 per cent valuation—nearly double the proportion paid on the millionaire residence; and homes worth but little more than the minimum limit of the list—those at Nos. 2241 and 2243 Michigan

Avenue—are taxed upon 11.03 per cent of true value; or proportionately within a very small fraction of double the tax upon the millionaire home. Some of the comparatively modest places are taxed at a low valuation. One worth \$50,000 is taxed upon only 4.86 per cent of its value; one worth \$67,500 is not much worse off with a tax upon 6.30 per cent of its value; one worth \$60,000 is assessed at 4.08 per cent of its value, and one worth \$90,000 is assessed as low as at 4 per cent of its value. The average valuation of the thirty properties is but 7.78 per cent of real value.

How can the fraudulent character of these valuations be doubted? Make all possible allowance for differences of opinion, and still assessors cannot explain the valuation of \$50,000 property at \$2,430; of \$90,000 property at \$3,600; of \$175,000 property at \$7,980; of \$1,300,000 property at \$71,960, and so on. And what explanation can the owners make? They may say it is no part of their business to object to undervaluations of their property; but they would not try to satisfy a merchant with such an explanation of purchases from his clerks at prices so monstrously out of proportion to real value. Why is their standard of honor and honesty so radically different when the issue is with the people instead of a merchant? and over a question of shirking taxes instead of purloining goods? This question is the dilemma of those owners who passively acquiesce in undervaluations; those who actively promote them have a worse moral problem to deal with.

As an illustration of the way vacant land is undervalued, the report gives the following history of a bit of land formerly known as the Garfield Race-Track, owned by Judge Lambert Tree:

It is unimproved, held for a rise, an eyesore and obstruction to the growing neighborhood, and worth at the present time not less than \$1,000,000. This property was patented in 1835; in 1836 it was sold for \$580; in 1870 it was sold again, the price being now \$50,000. At the next sale, in 1875, the true price was veiled—\$1,000 and "other good and valuable property" being the consideration expressed. In 1870, the year the property sold for \$50,000, it was valued by the assessor at \$39,960, and by the Board of Equalization at \$37,562, and taxed \$8,245.50. Since that time the valuation has been slightly increased and the tax slightly reduced, as follows:

YEAR	Assessors' valuation	Board's valuation	Taxes
1870.....	\$39,960	\$37,562	\$8,245.50
1880.....	40,530	49,042	2,430.75
1890.....	101,200	119,416	7,737.05
1893.....	88,600	106,320	7,768.59

It will be observed that the highest valuation—that of 1890—is but little more than double the price paid in 1870, long before the thick population that now surrounds the property had begun to drift in that direction. The valuation for 1893 does not exceed 10 per cent of the true value.

For further facts as to city taxes, see CITIES.

A more recent report, that of the Commission on Revenue and Taxation of the State of California, 1906, has the following indictment of the present system which will apply with but slight modification to the conditions prevailing in most other states:

1. In general the present system of taxation does not meet the demands made upon it. It is antiquated, having been adopted fifty years ago, and has not been revised to keep pace with modern conditions.

2. It is full of inequalities, which impose a handicap on the growth of the state, a handicap which only the vigor and inexhaustible energy of our people can carry.

These inequalities twist and distort our industries and prohibit a symmetrical development of our resources. They place an undue burden upon agriculture especially; the foundation of our wealth, the one industry which most fully exploits the great natural resources of the state.

3. The taxes paid by farmers in California are equivalent to an income tax of 10 per cent. This is in contrast to many other industries; for example, the taxes paid by manufacturers which amount only to 2 per cent on income. The persons engaged in agriculture, with an average yearly income of about \$500, pay \$50 per capita per annum in taxes. The persons engaged in manufactures, with an average annual income of \$870, pay \$17.50 per capita per annum.

4. Our chief tax, called a general property tax, has in fact become a real estate tax. Only from 15 per cent to 18 per cent of the entire taxes are levied on personal property.

5. The amount of personal property on the tax rolls to-day is hardly larger than it was in 1872.

6. Money and credits escape taxation almost entirely. Our laws in regard to the taxation of this class of property are full of absurdities and utterly unenforceable. It is unwise to retain these provisions on the statute-books.

7. National banks pay no taxes at all, except on real estate, of which they are not permitted to hold much, by the provisions of the federal laws.

8. State commercial banks, subject to our tax laws, are badly handicapped by the competition of the untaxed national banks. Many of them have become national banks partly for the reason that they would not then be subject to taxation.

9. State commercial banks, to live at all, in face of this competition, are forced to evade taxation whenever possible and are hampered in their investments by unwise provisions of our tax laws.

10. Savings-banks, which harbor the savings of the workers and which are, in many states, granted special rebates in taxation on that account, are the only class of banks which pay their full quota of taxes.

11. "Equalization," so called, does not equalize, and in the nature of things, cannot equalize. After the officers have exhausted their best efforts in this direction there are inequalities—glaring ones—between real estate and personal property; between different classes of personal property; between county and county; between city and city; between city and country; between man and man. All of which are rarely removed and often intensified by so-called equalization.

12. The original inequalities in the assessment are intensified by the constant piling up of tax on tax on the same base. If a city has a rate of \$1, which may be "reasonable" enough, there often comes on top of that a county tax of another \$1, a few special school taxes, or a sewer tax, or a tax for bonds, or a levee tax, or a drainage tax, etc., etc., until the effects of any inequalities in the original assessment have been multiplied anywhere from two- to fivefold. Aggregate tax rates falling on city property range from \$1.65 per \$100 to \$5 per \$100 of assessed valuation.

13. Counties with relatively undeveloped resources often have very high tax rates on relatively high valuations, while some of the richest counties enjoy a low tax rate on low valuations.

14. The present system takes the revenue derivable by taxation from large general organizations, like the railroads, which revenue belongs by right to the people of the state at large, and distributes it most inequitably among the local divisions of the state which have no proper claim to it whatsoever.

15. Under the present system it is impossible to adjust the burden of taxation equitably between different classes of corporations.

16. Our present system is a "school for perjury," puts a penalty on honesty, and pays high premiums for dishonesty.

IV. The Theory of Taxation

The theory of taxation may be considered under three heads: (1) the canons of taxation; (2) its incidents; (3) particular taxes. The canons of taxation—i. e., the characteristics by which taxes are to be measured as wise or unwise—are usually based on the four classic canons laid down by Adam Smith. They are in Smith's words as follows:

1. The subjects of every State ought to contribute to the support of the government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. In the observation or neglect of this maxim consists what is called the equality or inequality of taxation.

2. The tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain, and not arbitrary. The time of payment, the manner of payment, the quantity to be paid, ought all to be clear and plain to the contributor and to every other person. Where it is otherwise, every person subject to the tax is put more or less in the power of the tax-gatherer, who can either aggravate the tax upon any obnoxious contributor, or extort, by the

terror of such aggravation, some present or perquisite to himself. The uncertainty of taxation encourages the insolence and favors the corruption of an order of men who are naturally unpopular, even when they are neither insolent nor corrupt. The certainty of what each individual ought to pay is, in taxation, a matter of so great importance, that a very considerable degree of inequality, it appears, I believe, from the experience of all nations, is not near so great an evil as a very small degree of uncertainty.

3. Every tax ought to be levied at the time or in the manner in which it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay it. A tax upon the rent of land or of houses, payable at the same term at which such rents are usually paid, is levied

Canons of Taxation

at a time when it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay, or when he is most likely to have wherewithal to pay. Taxes upon such consumable goods as are articles of luxury are all finally paid by the consumer, and generally in a manner that is very convenient to him. He pays them by little and little, as he has occasion to buy the goods. As he is at liberty, too, either to buy or not to buy, as he pleases, it must be his own fault if he ever suffers any considerable inconvenience from such taxes.

4. Every tax ought to be so contrived as both to take out and to keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible over and above what it brings into the public treasury of the State.

The subject of the incidence of taxation is one of the most involved and debated in economic science. Professor Seligman, in his "The Shifting and Incidence of Taxation,"

Theory of Incidence

traces the history of the doctrine of incidence, and finds nine different theories besides those which he calls early theories. The early theories he divides into those favoring a general excise tax (Hobbes, Cradock, Munn, Petty), those that favored a single tax on land (Locke, Davenant, Cantillon, and others), those that favored a more elastic system (Hume and Steuart). The first developed theory which he considers is that of the physiocrats (*q. v.*). They held that as land is the only original source of wealth, all taxes should be on land alone, and then cannot be shifted, while any other tax will be shifted. The absolute theory, he says, was outlined by Smith and perfected by Ricardo. According to this, a tax on pure rent will remain on land. Other land taxes and all special taxes on commodities not included in the laborer's standard of life will be shifted on to the consumer. All general taxes on agricultural produce, on wages, or on profits come from the capitalist. These conclusions are derived from the Ricardian doctrine of rents, wages, and the residuum of profits. The equal diffusion or optimistic theory, that all taxes are generally diffused on consumers, Professor Seligman criticizes severely, tho he finds it accepted widely, especially in America. The germs of it he finds in the Italian economist Verri, and especially in Canard. It is accepted by Thiers, Courcelle-Seneuil, Cherbuliez, Prittwitz, Stein. America, however, Professor Seligman says, is "the only country in the world where the doctrine is still upheld, and the chief representative of this easy-going, complacent doctrine is David A. Wells." The pessimistic theory, held by Proudhon, also believes that all taxes fall on the consumer, and that this cannot be helped in any form of taxation. The capitalization or amortization theory argues that the land tax falls exclusively on the landowner, and that hence the taxation of land is simply equivalent to depreciating the value of the land by the capitalized value of the tax. From this is deduced the conclusion that after the tax is once imposed it makes no difference how much the tax is, provided it be constant, since, whatever it is, its capitalization has been subtracted once for all from the value of the land. The germ of this theory Professor Seligman finds in John Craig. German writers like Sartorius, Hoffman, and Murhard, went so far as to say that a land tax was no tax at all; this has been to some extent accepted by modern economists like Garnier, Wolowski, Cherbuliez, Walras, Leroy Beaulieu. Rau discusses the theory, and shows that it is only true so far as the value of land depends on its net produce, and this only so far as the produce does not change, and this is true not only of land, but of any commodities of varying value capable of sale. Under

the head of the eclectic theory, Professor Seligman groups those who criticize all the above theories, among them J. B. Say, Sismondi, Garnier, Parieu, Von Thünen, Von Hock, Rau, Prince-Smith, Jones, Senior, Mill, McCulloch, Cliffe-Leslie. All these deny that any of the above theories work without exception. The negative or agnostic theory of Held goes further and denies the above theories. Held argues that all profits like land profits depend on the difference between the greatest cost and market price. The Socialist theory Professor Seligman calls Lassalle's teaching, that indirect taxes are all those not assessed on income or property, and fall on the laborer, who, even in Germany, has not been quite squeezed down to starvation. The last theory which Professor Seligman considers is the quantitative or mathematical theory, as developed by Cournot, Jenkin, and Pantaleoni. The treatise of the last named Professor Seligman considers the best existing treatment of incidence. This theory is, however, a method rather than a theory. It regards incidence as bound up with the theory of value (*q. v.*).

With such contradictory views as to the general theory of incidence, it is wiser to discuss concrete taxes than any general principles.

Taxes are usually divided into direct and indirect. Taxes are called direct taxes when the payment is made by the person taxed.

Indirect taxes are paid, in the first place, by merchants and tradesmen, but it is understood that they recover the amount paid from their customers. The principal taxes consist of the customs duties levied upon articles, when they are imported for use in this country, and excise duties, or duties levied upon goods produced within a country.

The form of direct tax most approved is undoubtedly land taxation. The subject of the incidence of land taxation is so important that we quote at length on the subject from Professor Seligman. He says:

Theoretically there may be five kinds of land taxes:

1. Tax on economic rent.
2. Tax on profits from agriculture.
3. Tax according to net produce.
4. Tax according to quantity.
5. Tax according to selling value.

A tax on economic rent can never be shifted. Here all writers are agreed. As regards the other taxes, Ricardo maintained that a tax on the value of land or on produce will raise prices and fall on the consumer. Ricardo's theory would hold good on two conditions: First, that there was an absolute mobility of capital and labor; and, secondly, that the community in question was an isolated one. It is assumed that the farmers will abandon the land rather than cultivate it at a loss, and that a decrease of supply will raise price. Now it may happen that an increase of price will often lead to a decrease of consumption, which again will react on the price, so that at best only a part and not the whole of the tax would be shifted to the consumer. But in actual life it is a difficult matter for producers to decrease the supply of agricultural products. The tax would often simply have the influence of reducing the farmer's profits.

In the case of cities we may have four cases:

1. When the tax is levied on the ground-owner the case is simple. The value of a lot is fixed by the law of monopoly value. Its price will be entirely unaffected by the imposition of a tax.

2. The tax may be levied on the house-owner apart from the question whether or not he is the landowner. Buildings represent the investment of capital and labor. A special tax imposed on the building-owner can therefore generally be shifted.

A distinction must, however, be drawn between houses already constructed and those built after the tax is imposed. In exceptional cases the tax imposed on old houses cannot be shifted.

3. The tax is levied on the ground-owner, who is at the same time the house-owner. We need here only combine the two preceding cases.

City Real Estate

4. The tax is assessed on the occupier according to rental value. It is generally supposed that the ground rent part of the tax will be shifted to the ground-owner. But this is not always true, for three reasons: 1. The ground rent may be so low and the rent so high that the builders cannot afford to erect any more houses. This means an increase of the rents. 2. In the course of long leases any intervening increase must rest on the occupier. He cannot improve his condition until the expiration of the lease. 3. But even in the case of short leases, it is not true that the tax can always be shifted. If the competition for lodgings be such that the rent is \$200, the occupier who has been paying \$10 as the ground tax proportion of the whole tax will not pay any less rent for the premises if his tax is increased to \$15. It might, indeed, cause the tenant to live in a less desirable locality—i. e., lower his standard of life. The occupier could evade the tax, but he could not shift it.

Taxes on other property than land obey still more complicated laws of incidence. Taxes on luxury cannot be shifted, but they are expensive in collection, depend mainly on the conscientious reporting by citizens of their own wealth, with the result that they fall only on a few conscientious citizens, and produce a great deal of dishonesty, with a very small profit for the State.

Taxes on income, on inheritance, are of very great importance, but of such importance that we consider them under special articles. It is generally held that taxes on capital, on investments, etc., can be shifted. If all capital were mobile, its taxation could undoubtedly be shifted; but for various reasons, such as the condition of the market, expense of the process, all capital cannot be moved, and then the tax cannot always be shifted. Taxes on railroads, street-car corporations, etc., so far as they are not taxes on land values, can theoretically be shifted on to the people who patronize the cars, etc.; but practically they often cannot, as the rates are sometimes fixed by law, more often by a custom, which the companies cannot break.

A few other taxes may be briefly considered. Poll taxes, once common, are now rare. They fall unjustly, because they tax the poor man and the wealthy man equally; they bring too little revenue at large expense. In England, they have not been levied since William III. Stamp duties are generally considered more cumbersome than effective, tho in England and Europe generally they are still common. They are usually indirect taxes. The question of taxation is more and more being limited to a discussion which is wiser of two or three great classes of taxes.

V. Tax Reform

(For the position and arguments of the advocates of particular tax reforms, see **INCOME TAX**; **INHERITANCE TAX**; **SINGLE TAX**. For the arguments for and against duties for protection, see **PROTECTION**; **FREE TRADE**.) Generally speaking, other propositions to reform taxation may be divided into the two great classes of those who would concentrate taxation upon land and those who, in various ways, would seek to tax all personal property. As representative of the former class, we quote a short paper read by Prof. S. M. Dick, before the American Economic Association, Aug. 24, 1892. He says:

All writers and teachers dealing with the subject of taxation, so far as I know, are agreed that the American taxing system is faulty and ought to be reformed.

Some of its worst defects are: It puts a premium on dishonesty; it is exceedingly complex; it tends to widen the breach already existing in society. There are two reasons why a reform is difficult to inaugurate: First, the rich men do not want it. Second, the farmers do not want it.

Our present system is a system of 100 years ago. At that time millionaires and monopolies were unknown to America.

Our system was more nearly just than it is possible for it to be now. Since new factors of wealth have been introduced, new methods of taxation are necessary.

Land Taxation

In 1826 the personal property in Ohio was nearly equal in value to the real estate. In 1889 the realty amounted to \$1,213,645,052, while the personal property is listed at only \$540,552,292. Assuming that the personal property is worth as much as the real, we have \$673,092,760 of taxable personal property bearing no portion of the public burden. In the city of Cincinnati in 1867 the personal property was valued at \$68,412,285, and the real at \$68,596,040, while in 1880 the real was valued at \$129,956,980, and the personal at only \$37,578,376. This apparent decrease of personal property is not limited to Cincinnati. The same is true in other large cities in Ohio. Personal property, therefore, escapes taxation. The most logical basis for a system of local taxation is real estate. The taxation of mortgages is a question of great interest to the people of the United States, since the census of 1890 shows that there are 12,690,152 families and 9,000,000 of mortgages in the U. S. Mortgages, so far, have not been successfully taxed.

If taxation were on real estate alone in Ohio, those counties most given to farming would save, per annum, from 15 to 20 per cent of all the tax now paid for state purposes.

Had real estate alone been taxed in 1891, and had the same amount of tax been required for state purposes that was demanded, the four counties containing the four largest cities in Ohio would have paid \$147,889.30 more than they did pay. The four cities would have paid much more than this, and the farm hands in those counties would have saved a large per cent of their tax.

It is very evident from the facts ascertained in the investigation that Ohio farmers would be largely the gainers if personal property were exempt from taxation.

The above paper is not, however, to be understood to commit Professor Dick or his fellow thinkers to a sole tax on real estate. It was shown in the debate that followed that the professor would not limit taxation to this. On this point Professor Seligman said (and Professor Dick agreed with him):

The thought is perhaps in harmony with that of a large number of tax reformers in this country, that the best basis, or at least a very good basis, for local taxation would be real property. Henry George goes one step farther, and maintains that the basis should be land exclusive of improvements. My objection is that while the plan has many advantages of ease and convenience of collection, and of non-inducement to fraud, it fails of equality and uniformity. There is no doubt that after all the contests over principles of taxation, modern science has settled down on a taxation according to ability and means rather than on a taxation according to benefits, tho it is true that in local taxation this principle must be modified somewhat by the principle of benefits to the individual and his property. As real property has a large share of the benefits of state and municipal protection, it ought to bear a large share of the taxation. It is hopeless to suppose that the farmers of this country will ever consent to abolish the tax on personal property unless we replace it by something which will reach the bondholders, and tax the holders of millions who did not get their wealth from real estate. No system of local taxation can be worked out without taking into account the general state and national taxation system, all three systems trying to get at the faculty of the individual.

This general proposition to concentrate taxation on land is the one supported by the report of the Illinois Bureau of Labor, quoted above. It says:

To adopt the site-value method of taxation is to invite general prosperity. With personal property exempt, its increased consumption would increase the demand for it, and consequently multiply business opportunities in connection with making, carrying, and selling it. With landed improvements also exempt, larger and better homes would be demanded, to the stimulation of all branches of the building industry. With vacant lots taxed the same as if improved, and so much that it would be unprofitable to hold them long out of use, speculative values would decline and business be no longer obstructed by exorbitant prices for location.

Working men would pay in taxes only what their ground rent privileges were worth. Farmers would pay in taxes not more than their farms would rent for if wholly denuded of buildings, fences, and drains, and turned back into raw prairie. Every one would be benefited through reduced taxes, or better incomes, or both—every one except the mere monopolizer of public benefits.

And the cry of fraudulent taxation, on any other account

than an occasional personal dereliction, like a post-office embezzlement or a bank robbery, would be heard no more.

Simple, practical, natural, scientific, and just as the site-value tax doubtless is as a method of raising public revenues, it is at the same time recommended by its supporters as the solution of the labor question, or, more correctly, as the natural way of reinvesting every laborer with power to settle his own labor question for himself. For it is not the power of employers, but the necessities of the unemployed or the inadequately employed, that makes employment precarious and wages low. It is not the clubs of policemen nor the weapons of soldiers that defeat strikes; it is the underbidding of men in worse plight than the strikers. The simple remedy is by freeing business from monopoly and tax burdens to open the way for unlimited opportunities for employment, so that none need take another's place in order to get remunerative work himself. This, it is claimed, the site-value tax would do.

As an example of those who strive to tax personal property more rigorously we quote the Hon. Mr. Winn, in an address made in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Oct. 7, 1891. He said:

When personal property is all taxed, the owner of a house cannot collect the tax on it from his tenant by making him pay more rent. He must bear his own taxes.

But, when personal property is permitted to escape, the landlord can make his tenant bear the tax on the house by charging that much more rent.

The reason is that, if capital in buildings escapes taxation by throwing the tax on the tenant, capital outside, if taxed, will flow into buildings to get the same advantage, till it can be got no more.

But if the outside capital is not taxed it will not flow into buildings, which always are taxed, until the tenants are willing by a higher rent to bear the new tax the capital has to assume.

Taxation of Capital

This is the very key to the situation. Here is the method by which the rich throw their taxes over on to the poor, who are not in the tax lists at all. They get chattels exempted, or take care that the laws are lax enough to permit their escape from taxation. And by this the poor men who have no property whatever, but who must have shelter, and who never dream they are paying taxes, are haled in to bear not only the taxes of the tax-dodging millionaire, but those of their landlords as well.

Data have been collected which show that the rent of the poor whose incomes are less than \$1,000 is four times as great according to their means as the rent borne by persons whose incomes exceed \$7,500. So a tax on rent, if borne by tenants, is grossly disproportionate.

Come at it from another direction. The report of the tax committee of the Boston Executive Business Association, written by one who desires to exempt this class of property, and who would naturally underestimate its amount, declares:

"The personal property of both city and state, which under the law is subject to taxation, cannot be less than twice the value of the real estate."

If this is so, more than \$2,000,000,000 escapes taxation, and the people are cheated out of about \$17,000,000 per annum. I understand that Mr. Robert Giffen estimates the wealth of England to be about one sixth in land. Applying this scale to Massachusetts, and somewhat less than \$1,700,000,000 escapes taxation, and the loss of taxes is \$14,000,000 to \$15,000,000.

I believe that the whole assessment of estates should be in the hands of the Tax Commissioner, who should appoint the local assessors, and that they should be paid by the state. I believe that the tax on private personal property should be an excise—a state tax at a uniform rate through the commonwealth—which should be the average tax rate as now laid on corporations. I believe that the personal property tax collected should be distributed to the cities and towns in proportion to the value of their real estate, with such concession as may be reasonable to places of taxpayers' residence. Or that the state should help the municipalities with the proceeds in the support of schools and roads and such other expenses as the state may wisely assume. I believe that every taxpayer should be compelled to give in a sworn list of his personal property under penalty of double doomsday at least. And if this is not enough we may adopt the Swiss system of examining the estates in probate.

VI. Separation of State from Local Taxation

Since the Conference on Taxation, held at Buffalo in 1901 in connection with the Buffalo Exposition, there has been a marked movement in the direction of tax reform starting with the separation of state from local taxation as to sources of revenue.

This has been most carefully and extensively

worked out by the California commission above referred to. We quote from them as follows:

The commission recommends:

1. Separation of state from local taxation as to sources of revenue.

This is the first step in reform.

Complete separation implies that the state shall collect its revenues from sources other than a direct levy on real and personal property of individuals, leaving to the counties and cities the exclusive right to tax such property for local purposes.

This will take the burden of direct state taxation off real estate, and save the owners of real estate about \$4,000,000 annually.

It establishes, at once, home rule in matters of local taxation.

It abolishes, at once, any necessity for equalization between counties, and cures the evils state equalization fails to reach. The property belonging to the subjects selected for state taxation shall, so far as it is reached by the state, whether through its earnings or directly, be exempt from local taxation.

Separation, while not a remedy in and of itself, except for the evils arising from the breakdown of so-called equalization, opens the way for a proper classification of the subjects of state taxation, and makes it possible to tax each class with a greater approximation to equality than is possible without it.

The exact boundary line, the line of "separation," between the state's power of taxation and the powers to be exercised by the counties and their subdivisions, will be defined in connection with each class of subjects selected for state taxation. (See 3b, "New Sources," below.)

2. That an absolute divorce between state and local taxation be the ultimate aim, and that as nearly complete separation as possible be attained at the very outset.

3. That the state derive its revenues from the following sources:

a. *Old sources continued.*

(1) The poll tax.

(2) The inheritance tax.

(3) The tax on insurance premiums (modified to remove existing discriminations).

(4) The annual franchise tax on corporations (modified and made proportional).

(5) All fees now collected.

(6) All collections by state institutions (some of which may be increased).

(7) All earnings of state property and investments.

(8) The revenue from sale of state lands.

N. B.—The right to levy on general property should not be surrendered, but should be resorted to only to make good a deficit.

b. *New sources.*

(1) A gross earnings tax on railroads; street-railroads; express companies; car companies; light, heat, and power companies; telegraph and telephone companies, at rates fixed for a period of six years by constitutional enactment, after which time they may be amended by the legislature, but not more frequently than once every six years.

This tax is to be in lieu of all other taxes except taxes on property not necessarily used in the operations conducted by the companies. The counties and cities would, therefore, be forbidden to tax this class of corporations.

(2) A tax on the shares of capital stock of all banks at 1 per cent of the book value of the stock. The book value is the sum of the paid-up capital and the accumulated surplus and undivided profits.

This tax, like the gross earnings tax, is to be in lieu of all other taxes on the banks, except taxes on real estate, the assessed value of which is, however, to be deducted from the capital before the 1 per cent rate is applied. Cities and counties would be deprived of the right to tax banks except on their real estate and mortgages.

(3) A tax at the rate of 1 per cent on the assessed value of all corporate franchises of every sort, not covered by the above-mentioned taxes, such franchises to be valued by the state Board of Equalization. This tax, also, would be in lieu of local taxes on such franchises.

The separation of state from local taxation as to sources of revenue has come to be generally recognized as the one feasible pathway for tax reform.

Many of the Eastern states have introduced the plan for separation of state from local taxation. Pennsylvania was the pioneer in this line, and has had such a system in force for many years. New York has, after twenty-five years of gradual evolution, attained a similar position. We have selected these two states, together with Connecticut, Ohio, and Minnesota, each with more or less com-

Separation in Other States

plete separation, to illustrate the way this plan works in other states.

REFERENCES: Plehn, *Introduction to Public Finance*; Seligman, *Essays on Taxation*; Adams, *Science of Finance*; Ely, *Taxation in American States and Cities*; Twelfth Census of the U. S., *Volume on Wealth, Debt, and Taxation*.

TCHAYKOVSKY, N. W.: Father of the Russian revolutionary movement, publicist, and propagandist; born 1851 in northeastern Russia. He prepared himself for the University of St. Petersburg, where he studied natural sciences, and was graduated in 1873, altho he was arrested during his final examinations and detained for several months. This, with a number of previous experiences, opened his eyes fully to the arbitrary ways of the bureaucracy, and the uselessness of trusting the czar. He openly espoused the cause of the people, and for thirty years has worked, spoken, and written in their behalf. He knows the people, since he has in turn been school-teacher, farmer, ship-carpenter, laborer in a sugar-refinery, newspaper correspondent, editor, traveling salesman, chemist, superintendent of factories. His extensive travels, including a stay of four years in the United States, and his studies abroad have also given him a full knowledge of free countries. He is the author of numerous pamphlets on the political and industrial situation in Russia.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND MANUAL TRAINING: We include under this general heading three subjects which are distinct, altho continually confounded in the public mind—trade education, technical education, and manual training. We consider them under one head, in order

Definitions

that, by placing the subjects side by side, the important differences between them may be clearly brought out. We commence with definitions. Trade education is the preparing of craftsmen for practical work in a particular trade. Technical education is the teaching of the sciences in their practical application to the material interests of man. A good trade-school may be a very poor technical school, while a good technical school is not of necessity a good trade-school. Manual training is different from either; it is instruction in the use of tools as a part of a complete educational discipline. Trade-schools seek to turn out craftsmen; technical schools seek to turn out scientific specialists and professional men, such as civil engineers, architects, etc.; manual training seeks to develop complete manhood and womanhood by developing dexterity of hand as well as head. We must consider the three in their modern chronological development.

I. Technical Schools

Science is modern; scientific schools are therefore modern. When Count Rumford, in 1799, founded the Royal Institution in London, he intended it to be a technical school, altho it was later diverted into a chemical laboratory in which Davy, Thomas Young, Faraday, Tyndall, Rayleigh, and others did their great work. This attempt at founding a technical school had, however, been preceded on the Continent by half a century. The Polytechnicum at Brunswick, Germany, was established 1745; that of *Ponts et Chaussées* at Paris in 1747. Mining schools were founded: Freiberg, Saxony, 1765; St. Petersburg,

Russia, 1773; Clausthal, Prussia, 1775; Paris, 1778. The Polytechnique at Paris dates from 1794; that at Stockholm, Sweden, from 1798. With the beginning of the nineteenth century these schools began to multiply rapidly.

Technical education has reached its highest development and its largest extent in Germany. A sharp distinction should be made between the *technische Hochschulen* and the *gewerbliche Mittelschulen* or *Industrieschulen*. The former require a thorough preparation and correspond really to the university faculties of law, medicine, theology, and philosophy. Graduation from a *Gymnasium* or *Realgymnasium* or *Oberrealschule* is necessary for admission to these schools. They require an attendance of six years for graduation, and grant the doctorate in engineering on the presentation of a satisfactory thesis and the passing of requisite examinations.

Germany

The *Industrieschulen* or *gewerbliche Mittelschulen* are satisfied with less preparation, e. g., that of a *Unterrealschule*, *Höhere Bürgerschule*, etc. They intend to furnish a more practical education, at less expense, and, as a rule, somewhat more specific.

Germany had nine technical colleges or *Hochschulen* in 1905. The largest—Berlin-Charlottenburg—has 402 instructors and about 4,200 students, and offered 281 courses. The total number of students in the nine colleges was (1903) 14,626, of whom 2,242 were foreigners; and that of instructors 1,745. The preeminence of Germany in certain industries, e. g., dyeing, is due to these schools. A dauntless, earnest, untiring pursuit of science is preeminently the mission of the German technical high schools of to-day.

The *Industrieschulen* are intended to furnish a general education in technology with the thorough mastery of some particular branch (both theoretically and practically) arising out of local needs and conditions. If one of these institutions has only one department it is called a *Fachschule*, e. g., that at Würzburg, Bavaria, for the construction of machinery. There are at present twenty-four schools belonging to this category; the best known is that at Chemnitz, Saxony, established 1836, with the departments of mechanics, chemistry, construction, requiring three years and a half, and electro-technics, four years.

The schools and museums of industrial art occupy the middle ground between the schools of fine arts and the trade-schools. Their object is to apply the principles of art to the trades, and thus raise the standard of taste. (See article *REVIVAL OF HANDICRAFTS*.) Germany has thirty schools of this kind, scattered pretty well over the whole empire. The applicants for admission must have had some practical experience and a theoretical knowledge of the branch in which they seek instruction. The *Industrie Halle* at Carlsruhe was founded 1865; those at Munich and Berlin, 1867.

The schools for foremen (*Werkmeister*) propose to train experts of medium grade in different branches. Germany has twenty-one schools of this kind; the one at Chemnitz, Saxony, was established 1855; the applicants must have at least two years' experience at their trade, and must be at least sixteen years old.

Germany has schools for almost every individual trade.

Various Trades

Women have not been neglected in this general educational scheme. Schools for trades which women may choose abound; cooking, embroidery, nursing, textile, commercial subjects, etc., are taught, and efficient workwomen are trained in them. Prussia had (1901) 603 schools with 24,313 students; Bavaria 39, with 3,462; Saxony 24, with 1,800; Württemberg 42, with nearly 6,300.

The lowest industrial schools of Germany are the so-called *Fortbildungsschulen* or continuation schools. They supplement the general continuation schools by giving all kinds of practical information for the earning of a livelihood, and are found in every community where industrial conditions make such instruction expedient. Attendance is generally compulsory. There are nearly 3,000 schools of this character, scattered over the whole German Empire.

Austria has eight technical colleges, or *technische Hochschulen*, supported by the State. They are modeled after those of Germany, with four to six departments. The total number of instructors was, in 1906, 545; that of students, 9,176. The best known is that of Vienna with 112 instructors and 2,774 students.

Belgium has no technical schools which take rank with those of Germany and Austria; but the demand along this line is met to a large extent by special courses in engineering, mining, and manufactures, given by or in connection with the four universities. The students of technology numbered 2,046 in 1904-5.

France has twelve technical high schools which have done excellent work; their combined registration was 1,992 in 1903. The *École Polytechnique*, established in 1794, is the best known; it has 370 students.

England has only two institutions which belong in this class, the Royal College of Science, with 34 instructors and 300 students; the City and Guilds Central Technical College with 33 instructors and 430 students, both connected with London University. The universities supply this need to a large extent by special courses. Other countries which have institutions of this kind are as follows: Hungary, Holland, Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Sweden, Finland, Canada, and Japan.

Russia deserves special mention, because she has twelve institutions of higher technical instruction with a total enrolment of 11,356, and because a very large number of Russian students go to Germany and Switzerland to study technology.

Switzerland, too, needs separate mention because of her excellent *Polytechnicum* at Zurich, with 178 instructors and 1,293 students in 1905. It has the six departments usual to a German school of this character and one in philosophical and political science.

The system of instruction in the United States has until recently been based on that of England; that is, the schools of technology were not *graduate* schools, but received students with widely differing preparation, altho graduation from a high school was usually required in the better class institutions. The requirements for admission have, however, been raised constantly until they are equal to those of the best colleges; permitting, of course, the substitution of scientific, mathematical, and modern language studies for Greek and Latin. The instruction is

of the same grade as in the colleges, altho along different lines. In 1903 there were forty institutions of this kind with instructors as follows: preparatory departments, 107 men, 34 women; collegiate departments, 1,506 men, 120 women; total number of men, 1,586; women, 161. The students numbered in the preparatory department, 3,288 men, 804 women; the collegiate, 13,997 men, 1,237 women; the graduate, 203 men, 32 women. Grand total, 19,765 men and 2,614 women. These institutions have 15 fellowships and 951 scholarships. Their equipment is: books, 565,795, and pamphlets, 159,187, to the value of \$1,176,424; scientific apparatus and machinery worth \$4,451,052; grounds and buildings valued at \$25,171,943; productive funds, \$13,748,820.

The dates of foundation of the more important institutions are: Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, N. Y., established in 1824, to train civil engineers; Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University (1847); Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard (1848); Chandler Scientific School of Dartmouth (1852). In 1862 Congress voted land grants to the several states to enable them to build institutions for teaching agriculture and mechanics. Most of the state universities established scientific schools. Cornell became prominent for its scientific teaching. Washington University, at St. Louis, organized its School of Engineering, and Columbia College its School of Mines. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology was chartered in 1861 and opened in 1865; the Worcester (Mass.) Polytechnic Institute, 1867; the Stevens Institute, Hoboken, N. J., 1871; the Rose Polytechnic Institute, Terra Haute, Ind., 1883; the Case School of Applied Science at Cleveland, in 1891.

In 1906 there were forty-four colleges of this kind with an income of \$6,235,314.

II. Trade-Schools

Trade-schools are attempts to develop craftsmen in place of the apprentice system, which is all but gone. (See APPRENTICESHIP.) Those of Germany have already been described.

Austria has an extensive system of trade-schools which dates back to 1751.

1. *The central industrial educational institutions.* These are all located in Vienna, with the exception of that at Prague.

2. *Schools for important groups of trades.* There are two grades in this class, the higher industrial schools requiring graduation from a *Realschule* or *Gymnasium*, and intending to train in one year specialists for either administrative officers in industrial establishments, or specialists in a particular line, e. g., master builders and contractors, or master mechanics in the railway service, etc., or finally superintendents of breweries, distilleries, etc. For the highest positions along all these lines the course requires four years for completion. The lower schools are those for foremen and are similar to those of Germany. There are eighteen schools of the latter kind.

3. *Schools for particular trades.* They require graduation from a common school, the passing of the fourteenth year, and prepare for special trades, e. g., lace-work and embroidery; weaving, knitting, etc.; wood, iron, and stone work; earthen- and glassware; metal working; house-smithing, machine construction, drawing and modeling, watch- and clock-making, etc. In 1900 Austria had ninety-six State schools of this kind with 8,815 pupils, and sixty-two private schools.

Belgium leaves industrial education to the initiative of the communes and to private enterprise, but subsidizes these schools. The trade-schools for girls antedate those for boys, originating in 1865 in Brussels.

Belgium

The industrial education of boys is given in the *Écoles industrielles*, which furnish general courses pertaining to industries; in trade-schools, which teach both the theory and practise of a particular trade; in superior trade and technical schools; in Saint Luke trade-schools; apprentice shops for males; and in trade courses for males. The different trades are covered in these various schools.

Canada has aside from its dairy and agricultural schools 7 industrial schools in the province of Quebec, and 6 in that of Ontario.

France finally abolished the guilds in 1791, and established a previously private trade-school as a national one in 1799. Since that time the system

France

has grown, partly through private and partly through public initiative, until in 1900 there were 292 schools receiving government aid. She has now a remarkably complete system of trade and technical schools, furnishing industrial education from simple operations to advanced training for engineers. The schools present no distinctive features that have not already been presented in connection with other countries. There are 6 national schools of arts and trades, 2 schools of horology, 33 practical schools of commerce and industry (7 of these for girls), 20 practical schools of industry, 35 schools of industries with 5,550 pupils, 13 municipal trade-schools in Paris with 1,385 pupils, and about 370 private industrial schools with 92,000 pupils. Numerous societies provide for courses in weaving, cutting, dress-making, millinery, etc., for girls.

Great Britain has no national system of industrial education, altho she has numerous and, in many cases, fine trade-schools, maintained by municipalities or private institutions.

Great Britain

The City and Guilds of London Institute was organized 1878, and established Finsbury College in 1883. There are over forty of these higher schools in Great Britain with an ever-growing number of students. The secondary schools are also numerous. They are generally divided into secondary day-schools, or schools of science, of which there are about 230 with 32,625 pupils; in the other class of secondary day-schools partly doing industrial work, there are 253 establishments; so-called science classes are given in 489 schools to nearly 46,000 pupils, earning a grant of £40,859. Science examinations are held in 1,325 centers, and over 18,600 passed first-class, over 31,000 second-class. Besides, there are numerous scholarships and exhibitions, e. g., the Whitworth and the National. The evening-schools, too, are doing considerable work in this line, both as centers of manual and industrial training. Those of them which earned a grant in 1904 numbered 5,579, with 25,517 instructors and 696,882 pupils—422,478 males and 274,404 females. Some took instruction in several subjects, but the majority only in one. There are several museums of industrial art; and the Royal College of Science gives instruction in chemistry, biology, metallurgy, and mining, in addition to other subjects. The total number of schools of art in Great Britain is said to be 230. Industrial education is, however, not as popular as on the Continent owing to a

conflict in laws, one of which holds that trades cannot be taught in a school, while another holds that trades cannot be taught without a school. The great enthusiasm for outdoor sports also militates against theoretical instruction concerning trades. Nevertheless, 34,189 pupils were entered in 1900 in 390 industrial schools, while the London County Council's schools alone had 1,246 pupils in 1901.

Hungary deserves more than passing mention in this connection. Since 1884 every city with at least fifty apprentices is compelled by law to

Hungary

maintain a school for apprentices, at which attendance is obligatory—masters failing in their duty in this respect being fined 100 kronen = \$20.30. They have three grades, the lowest intended for boys of twelve years. Instruction is usually given in the evening and comprises, besides cultural courses, nature study, penmanship, bookkeeping, drawing, and sketching. There are about 380 schools of this kind with nearly 80,000 pupils and 2,200 teachers. There are, moreover, twenty schools for journeymen with voluntary attendance and about 1,000 pupils.

School workshops for apprentices form the two links in industrial education.

The State industrial schools form the fourth and highest step in industrial education. They are intended for superintendents, directors, and factory owners, and have a four years' course. The excellent *polytechnikum* in Budapest forms the apex of industrial education in Hungary. Schools of design, needlework, embroidery, etc., for women, also exist in all cities and villages with decent primary schools. The four industrial museums exhibit masterpieces of all kinds, and maintain lectures to workmen, foremen, and owners of shops.

Italy has excelled in industrial arts for several centuries, and education along these lines dates back to the eighteenth century. In 1841 the

Austrian Government established in Venice and Milan two technical schools with an industrial character.

According to a law of 1859 technical schools of a lower grade were established, numbering 280. Nevertheless, industrial education dates from 1870, when Italy became united. They owe their origin chiefly to local and private initiative, and the central government has not unified the system as it has that of general education.

The schools are either industrial or schools of art applied to industry. The three polytechnical schools form the apex, and perform functions similar to the same institutions in other countries, as described under Germany. The industrial and trade-schools of medium grade are intended to train foremen of workshops; those of lower grade to perfect workmen. The former number 8, with about 1,000 students; the latter 68, with about 17,000 pupils. The character of these schools corresponds to that described elsewhere. There are, moreover, two mining-schools, with about 50 students.

Switzerland proposed a school for drawing in 1704, established one in Geneva, 1751, and has increased its industrial schools since to such an extent that the little republic stands at the head of all countries in proportion to its population. The system has been under the Federal Assembly since 1884, and is as perfect as that of Germany. There are (1906) 380 institutions receiving

subsidies from the government, cantons, and communes; and 275 schools for girls similarly subventioned.

Industrial education in the United States may be divided into *public*, *semipublic*, and *private*. The first comprises schools under the supervision of federal, state, or municipal authorities; the second, schools under the auspices of private universities, colleges, and schools of religious and semi-religious societies, of philanthropic and benevolent institutions, etc.; the third class includes all private institutions, associations, or individuals that make instruction in general industrial subjects or in special trades a business. Owing to these differences in control, origin, and motive, the schools vary greatly in method, clientele, and purpose. The government schools, e. g., for Indians, desire to civilize the red man; they have unlimited means at their disposal, and are intended for one class only; their methods must necessarily differ from those pursued, e. g., at Pratt Institute, where usually only grammar-school graduates are admitted, and from those of a small college with large purposes but small means. Again, the private school, e. g., for barbers, aims merely at turning out efficient men at this trade within the shortest time, with least expense, and largest profit to the owner. It is, consequently, impossible to give a general description of methods, as was done in connection with several European countries with their systems, carefully graded by a central authority, without going into lengthy details which are outside the realm of the Encyclopedia. Only this much may be said frankly, that the better-class institutions of the public and semipublic classes have taken the best institutions of Europe for their models, and are doing all that can be expected of them considering the shortness of time they have been in the field. The trouble is, however, that too much is left to the initiative of individuals, with the result that only a comparatively small number of boys and girls are reached. For instance, in 1904 the total number of industrial schools reporting to the Commissioner of Education was 195—i. e., 98 of high-school grade with 36,680 pupils, 52 of elementary grade with 27,793 pupils, 45 Indian schools with 9,260 elementary and 1,032 secondary pupils. To these numbers must be added 996 colored pupils receiving industrial training in public high schools, and 15,743 in secondary and elementary private schools. This makes, including a few other schools not reported, in round numbers 92,500 pupils, male and female, out of an approximate number of at least 1,000,000 who ought to receive such instruction.

The apprentices are, with few exceptions, left to their own devices. Small wonder that they grow up without any knowledge of anything outside of their trade, and no deep knowledge of that. In 1900 the returns for the twelfth census showed 81,482 apprentices and helpers in sixteen trades and miscellaneous industries. Only 2.45 per cent of this total were legally indentured, although in some unions the percentage was 7; that means that they were not even compelled to serve a sufficient time for learning their own trade. Two agencies are trying to ameliorate this woful condition. A number of large manufacturing firms have established apprenticeship schools, besides requiring a definite length of time for learning the trade. Such schools are found in

connection with the Baldwin Locomotive Works, the Midvale Steel Company, the Wanamaker store, all of Philadelphia; the Brown and Sharpe Manufacturing Company of Providence; the Lynn works of the General Electric Company; the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, East Pittsburg; the manufacturers of the Hoe printing-presses, New York. The other agencies for betterment in this line are the numerous schools carried on as private trade-schools, e. g., the New York Training School; the Baron de Hirsch Trade-School, the Hebrew Technical Institute, both of New York City; the Drexel Institute and the Williamson School of Philadelphia; the California School of Mechanical Arts and the Wilmerding School of Industrial Arts, San Francisco. Some of these schools are very large and highly organized. Furthermore, numerous and varied classes taught by Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, by the legions of college, church, and other settlements, give an increasing amount of technical education. (See HULL HOUSE.)

While the present condition of intermediate and elementary industrial education is lamentable, there are hopeful signs in the following facts: 1, that our higher technical schools (mentioned above) are fast gaining an excellent standing; and 2, that education along these lines has had a remarkable growth in the U. S. Manual-training schools numbered 15 in 1895 with 3,362 pupils—2,043 males and 959 females—all of high or secondary grade; in 1896 these schools had 4,892 students—3,621 males and 1,271 females; in 1897 the schools had increased to 40 with 13,890 students; 1898, to 58 with 18,977 students; 1899, to 66 with 20,701 students; 1900, to 69 with 24,716 students; 1901, to 78 with 28,981 students; 1902, to 85 with 29,507 students; 1903, to 95 with 33,062 students; 1904, to 98 with 36,680 students. The number of elementary industrial schools has had a similarly rapid, altho more recent, growth. The 195 schools for whites had (1904) a total expenditure of \$1,480,685—salaries, \$1,028,586; materials, \$127,529; new tools and repairs, \$82,060; incidentals, \$242,510. The cost of plants was \$10,197,524.

Perhaps the commercial and business schools should be mentioned here, owing to their rapid development. In 1904 about 4,600 institutions reported 250,231 students taking courses of this kind; 138,363 of them were in regular business colleges; the remainder took courses in departments attached to high and normal schools and colleges.

III. Manual Training

The idea of manual training as a part of education dates from the Reformation; that is, with the final fall of feudalism. The reformers laid stress on the practical side of life against that of asceticism and contemplation. That meant the ennobling of work, and, coincidentally, of manual dexterity. Luther, Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, advocated it in one form or another. It was due, perhaps, to these influences that kings, emperors, and princes are now adopting a trade which they are supposed to master. Froebel (*q. v.*) took the first step in his "Education of Man."

Uns Cygnæus, of the Helsingfors Seminary, Finland, actually introduced manual training beyond the kindergarten age. From there it spread over Finland and Sweden, later over Eu-

rope and the United States. (About manual training for little children, see article KINDERGARTEN.)

Sweden must be mentioned first, because manual training was introduced already in 1876, and has since spread over the whole country. This country has, moreover, a normal school at Nääs devoted to the education of teachers in this line. The Swedish system is called Slöjd (Sloyd), and includes carpentry, turning, and wood-carving; but requires in each case the completion of an article by the same pupil. This system has since been adopted elsewhere.

Sweden

Austria has manual training for girls in every primary school in the department of sewing, needlework, embroidery, etc. Her continuation schools, too, are in the majority of cases non-professional, and impart knowledge and, frequently, practise in one or another branch of manual training, particularly in drawing. For the perfection of the latter accomplishment there exist four general drawing-schools for both girls and boys, three in Vienna and one in Brünn; they are subsidized by the State. Boys receive less attention, because the gymnastic and military training is supposed to supply skill and agility in general, and trade-schools the particular dexterity required. Moreover, nearly every country school has a school garden (*q. v.*) and boys acquire considerable skill in the handling of farm implements. This is certainly manual training, since no less a man than Count Tolstoy depicts (in "Anna Karénina") the joy which filled his heart when he was able to handle a scythe as well as the best farm-hands. What has been said about Austria in regard to continuation schools, school gardens, and training of girls in sewing, etc., applies equally to other Continental countries, *e. g.*, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, France, Hungary, Italy, and the Scandinavian countries.

Austria

Germany has about 200 schools with workshops; Switzerland has them in more than half the cantons; France has them in every advanced primary school of Paris and of the larger provincial cities; England began in 1887 with the Drapers' Company's gift of £1,000 to the City and Guilds of London Institute for the promotion of manual training. The institute was so successful with its six centers that the government took them over in 1890 and introduced the system both in London and the provinces. Models, apparatus, tools, etc., are furnished by the board. The love of outdoor sports is, tho, a strong counter attraction.

Manual training has had its best and widest development in the United States, with the exception, perhaps, of Sweden. Training of girls and boys and adults in drawing was introduced in the Massachusetts schools in 1872; St. Louis established a manual training school in 1876, which aimed at an all-round education. Nearly all large cities have since followed that example, *e. g.*, Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Cleveland. The system has had a very rapid development. In 1890 only 37 cities included manual training, in addition to drawing, in their public schools; 1894 there were 95; 1896—121; 1898—146; 1900—169; 1901—232; 1902—270; 1903—322; 1904—411. That is, out of the 588 school systems in cities over 8,000 population, more than 80 per cent had adopted the system;

United States

and it has extended rapidly since. Manual training is given in the high schools and in the grades for from two to eight years. Some cities give it in both. Drawing, sewing, and other needlework for girls were generally the beginning in the public schools; later the manual training schools introduced joinery, wood-turning, and carving, pattern-making, modeling in clay, molding, casting, forging, machine-shop practise, etc., for boys, and proper branches for girls. From these schools, which taught the cultural branches, too, the system spread into the public schools. Private schools, *e. g.*, Pratt Institute, Brooklyn; the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, etc., adopted the system readily, and in several cases improved it.

IV. Economic Bearing

Everybody believes to-day in industrial education. The development of the body is recognized as a vital part of education (*q. v.*). Socialists, individualists, radicals, and conservatives, all are agreed at the present that industrial education should be extended as far as possible.

But there is a difference of opinion as to what form this industrial education should take. Working men and many other people favor technical schools and general manual training, but oppose trade-schools. Speaking of manual training, in an address before the Social Science Association in 1884, General Walker says: "It is not so much the creation and endowment of separate schools of this character which is in view, as the gradual conversion of all the existing schools of the land to this use through the grafting of certain studies and exercises upon the traditional curriculum."

This is what working men desire.

Says Mr. George E. McNeill ("Report of Massachusetts Commission on Manual Training," part iii.):

The manual training school is a necessary substitute for part of that which has been lost to the child of to-day. . . .

The "Puritan," sneered at by the dilettante liberals of to-day, was a hard man—hard to contend with, whether in the field of productive labor or destructive war, in religious argument or political debate. He was the best-equipped man of his time. As populations increased, and industries became more diversified, his adaptability was extended.

Every home had its Bible, its library, musket, and tool-chest. . . .

A boy of twelve years of age who could not use the tools required for the manual training school of to-day was held to be below par. . . .

In the crisis of the union, men were found in the ranks of the New England volunteers who could do any kind and all kinds of work, and do it well. . . .

The wage-worker of to-day, whether a hand-tool or a steam- or electric-tool worker, is less and less required to depend upon himself in his work; his opportunities of development in his work are limited, as compared to those of former times. . . .

Handicraft, as a means by which the masses of mankind can earn a living, is being replaced by machine-craft. . . .

Learning a trade is like learning a dead language, useful as an accomplishment, but useless as an investment, save as it interprets a past mystery and disciplines the learner. . . .

The plain men, labor reformers, who studied the industrial conditions and the evolutionary processes of development, foresaw that adaptability and availability were worth more than skilled ability. They were among the first to advocate and demand the kindergarten and the school of technology. They wrote, lectured, and petitioned that the school should be the place of resistance to the demoralizing influences of the rapidly decaying industrial and social system, and a source of persistence in the direction of the moralizing influences of enlightened civilization.

That some working men should oppose the extension of school work to primary preparation for manual pursuits was to be expected. Men whose occupations are their life must needs be jealous of everything that tends to increase competition. They know by instinct, if not by experience, that wages, under the pressure of competition with other laborers in the same craft, will, like water, seek its lowest outlet; and

they feel that resistance to lower wages, like resistance to tyranny, is obedience to God. . . .

Our public schools are for the training of citizens, not mechanics, merchants, lawyers, or the other professions; and the youth is not correctly trained who enters upon the duties of citizenship with contempt for manual pursuits.

This quotation, perhaps, indicates the position occupied by the more intelligent working men of the world. They honor labor, and believe that all men should labor. They would have manual training taught to everybody, but they fear trade-schools. Trade-schools which, in their opinion, turn out dilettante workmen, feeling themselves superior to "ordinary" workmen, and refusing to develop the necessary trade-unions (see TRADE-UNIONS), they fear and oppose. They do not oppose good workmen, but they do not believe that trade-schools are the place to produce real effective craftsmen. They argue that American and English mechanics who lead the world were not taught in trade-schools, but in the workshop.

They would have in place of trade-schools schools of technology, for the study and teaching of science and manual training for everybody, giving boys and girls that general adaptability to fit them to enter any trade workshop and become skilled craftsmen. On the other hand, many people regret the rule of machinery, and believe we need besides the teaching of the workshop, where money values alone rule, the teaching of trade-schools, as in Europe, to teach hand-carving, artistic weaving, pottery-making, and good work of every kind. (For the question whether industrial education should be in the hands of the State or private individuals, see EDUCATION; SOCIALISM; INDIVIDUALISM.)

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

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TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICES:

For history and discussion of public ownership of, see Section II. of this article for Telegraph, and Section III. for Telephone.

I. Commercial Statistics

TELEPHONE, UNITED STATES AND EUROPE, 1905

COUNTRY	Population	Tele-phones	Inhabitants per tele-phone	Tele-phones per 1,000 inhabitants
United States.....	76,000,000	3,400,000	22.2	44.8
All Europe.....		1,485,784		
Sweden.....	5,250,000	112,250	46.8	21.4
Denmark.....	2,500,000	41,650	60.0	16.7
Switzerland.....	3,300,000	52,509	62.7	15.9
Norway.....	3,000,000	41,500	72.2	13.8
German Empire.....	58,000,000	518,489	112.0	8.9
United Kingdom.....	42,000,000	365,198	115.0	8.7
Holland.....	5,300,000	29,500	180.0	5.6
Belgium.....	7,000,000	24,750	284.0	3.5
France.....	39,000,000	122,191	320.0	3.2
Austria-Hungary.....	48,000,000	74,600	644.0	1.6
Spain.....	18,600,000	16,000	1,160.0	0.9
Italy.....	32,000,000	27,147	1,180.0	0.8
Russia.....	135,000,000	60,000	2,250.0	0.4

(Compiled from Reports of the United States Census Bureau and Bureau of Statistics, 1906.)

Telegraph's

COUNTRY	Date	Length of line	Length of wire	Length of line per 10,000 inhabitants	Length of wire per 10,000 inhabitants
		Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles
Argentina.....	1905	32,387	75,204	57.0	132.4
Australia, States.....	1906	45,220		111.7	
New Zealand.....	1906	8,355	25,116	93.9	282.2
Austria.....	1904	25,714	116,915	9.0	42.9
Hungary.....	1904	14,572	77,133	7.2	38.4
Belgium.....	1905	4,117	23,079	5.7	32.2
Bolivia.....	1904	2,778		12.7	
Brazil.....	1904	15,502	30,686	10.8	21.4
Bulgaria.....	1904	3,522	6,918	8.1	17.2
Canada.....	1905	37,804	103,165	58.7	160.2
Central America:					
Costa Rica.....	1905	946		29.6	
Guatemala.....	1905	3,230		17.9	
Honduras.....	1906	3,811		51.2	
Nicaragua.....	1905	3,152		63.0	
Salvador.....	1905	1,872		18.5	
Chile.....	1904	9,312		28.7	
China.....	1905	22,183	33,989	5.5	8.8
Colombia.....	1903	6,475		16.2	
Cuba.....					
Denmark.....	1904	2,353	8,823	9.2	34.3
Ecuador.....	1904	2,566		18.3	
Egypt.....	1905	2,752	11,400	2.8	11.6
France.....	1904	97,941	369,851	24.9	94.1
Algeria.....	1904	7,416	21,638	14.2	41.4
Tunis.....	1904	2,143	6,385	11.8	35.1
French East Indies.....	1904	7,795	13,005	4.2	7.1
French colonies, n. e. s.....	1904	9,370		3.5	
German Empire.....	1905	89,348	331,547	14.8	54.8
German Colonies.....	1904	2,977	2,210		
Greece.....	1904	3,916	5,899	1.6	1.8
Haiti.....				16.1	24.3
India, British.....		61,684	227,749		
Italy.....	1904	30,094	117,216	2.1	7.7
Japan.....	1905	19,015	88,811	8.9	34.6
Formosa.....	1905	942	3,321	4.0	18.5
Kongo Free State.....				3.1	10.8
Korea.....	1905	2,170			
Luxemburg.....	1905	683	1,474	1.8	
Mexico.....	1906	34,996		27.3	56.6
Netherlands.....	1905	4,346	19,868	25.7	
Dutch East Indies.....	1904	8,420	11,321	7.8	35.5
Dutch possessions in America.....	1904			2.4	3.2
Norway.....	1905	6,104	12,073	26.4	52.2
Paraguay.....	1905	1,136		17.8	
Persia.....	1905	6,459	10,393	8.4	13.6
Peru.....	1906	3,741		8.3	
Portugal.....	1904	5,369	12,123	10.4	23.5
Portuguese colonies.....	1904	2,336	2,546	3.2	3.5
Rumania.....	1905	4,358	11,502	6.7	17.8
Russia.....	1904	112,244	380,196	8.0	27.0
Finland.....					
Santo Domingo.....	1897	429		7.0	
Servia.....	1905	2,039	4,799	7.6	17.8
Siam.....	1904	3,287		6.6	
Spain.....	1904	20,053	47,424	10.8	25.5
Sweden.....	1904	10,770	32,071	20.5	61.0
Switzerland.....	1905	3,892	14,012	11.3	40.5
Turkey.....	1904	26,488	42,358	10.6	17.0
United Kingdom.....	1905	52,115	588,164	12.1	136.1
British colonies, n. e. s.....		33,144		22.1	
United States.....	1906	202,959	1,256,147	24.1	149.3
Philippine Islands.....	1906	6,960		9.1	
Porto Rico.....	1905	517		5.2	
Uruguay.....	1905	4,919		47.4	
Venezuela.....	1903	4,033		15.6	
Total.....		1,144,090			

Practically all of the commercial telegraph lines of the U. S. are owned by the Western Union Telegraph Company, which sent in 1906 71,487,082 messages, besides railroad business. Expenses, \$23,605,072; receipts, \$30,675,655.

UNITED STATES TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH SYSTEMS, IN-
CLUDING SUBMARINE CABLE SYSTEMS, 1902

	Telephone systems	Telegraph systems
Number of systems.....	4,151	25
Miles of wire.....	4,850,486	11,318,350
Salaried officials, clerks, etc.: Number.....	14,124	829
Salaries.....	\$9,885,886	\$1,162,632
Wage-earners: Average number.....	64,628	26,798
Wages.....	\$26,369,735	\$13,877,041
Capital stock and bonds out- standing, par value.....	348,031,058	162,946,525
Common stock.....	269,180,076	115,853,525
Preferred stock.....	4,869,621	1,200,000
Bonds.....	73,981,361	45,893,000
Total revenue.....	86,825,536	40,930,038
Operating expenses and fixt charges, except interest on bonds.....	61,652,823	28,998,884
Interest on bonds.....	3,511,948	1,949,150
Dividends paid.....	14,082,719	6,256,693
Net surplus.....	6,678,046	3,725,311
Total assets.....	452,172,546	195,503,775
Construction and equipment (including telephones).....	366,561,694	156,911,448
Real estate.....	22,716,538	4,768,131
Stocks and bonds of other companies.....	9,938,342	25,939,944
Machinery, tools, and supplies Bills and accounts receivable..	9,689,691 30,629,677	945,795 3,084,739
Cash and deposits.....	12,291,840	3,287,384
Sundries.....	344,764	566,334
Total liabilities.....	452,172,546	195,503,775
Capital stock.....	274,049,697	117,053,525
Bonds.....	73,981,361	45,893,000
Cash investment, unincorpo- rated companies.....	6,161,299	7,310
Bills and accounts payable.....	44,302,999	6,244,585
Dividends unpaid.....	188,067	366,666
Reserves.....	31,029,628	7,859,648
Sundries.....	1,124,265	
Surplus.....	21,335,230	18,079,041

¹ Includes miles of wire operated by Western Union Tele-
graph Company outside of the U. S., but does not include
16,677 nautical miles of cable operated by submarine cable
systems.

WAGES IN THE U. S.

Telephone, 1902.—Of the total amount paid to
salaried officials, clerks, etc., \$230,250, or 19.8
per cent, was paid to corporation officers; \$255,-
740, or 22 per cent, to general officers; and \$676,-
642, or 58.2 per cent, to all other employees in
general offices.

In addition there were employed, on an average,
during the year 26,798 wage-earners, to whom
\$13,877,041 was paid in wages.

Managers and assistants: Average number.....	5,752
Wages.....	\$2,898,588
Operators: Average number.....	13,093
Wages.....	\$8,862,349
Male: Average number.....	10,179
Wages.....	\$7,494,909
Female: Average number.....	2,914
Wages.....	\$1,367,440
Inspectors: Average number.....	1,152
Wages.....	\$573,369
Linemen: Average number.....	1,208
Wages.....	\$573,088
Messengers: Average number.....	4,746
Wages.....	\$839,360
All other wage-earners: Average number.....	847
Wages.....	\$130,287

Telephones.—Of the operators no fewer than
37,333 were women and only 2,525 were men, the

former receiving \$10,035,432 in wages and the
latter \$729,666. Women operators in the ex-
changes constituted more than half the total
average number of wage-earners in the whole
industry. The moderate rate of their pay can be
inferred from the total sum credited to them as
wages. A slight difference as to income is shown
in favor of men operators, but this might well be
due to the fact that in many exchanges the night-
work, justifying a higher rate, is performed by the
men.

Many exchanges provide rest rooms, sell cheap
lunches, and introduce various benefit features
for the operatives.

THE AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY, 1906

Miles of exchange service wire.....	4,778,282
Total subscribers.....	2,241,367
Length of wire operated, miles.....	6,043,518
Instruments in hands of licensees.....	5,698,258
Daily exchange connections, number.....	13,543,468
Capital.....	\$158,661,800
Gross earnings.....	21,712,831
Net earnings.....	13,034,038

POSTAL TELEGRAPH CABLE COMPANY

CALENDAR YEAR	Miles of poles and cable operated but not owned	Miles of poles and cable owned	Miles of wires	Messages
1885.....				1,428,690
1890.....		2,811	23,587	7,380,000
1895.....		11,142	67,751	12,493,892
1900.....		19,477	117,344	16,528,444
1905.....	17,385	26,042	226,465	23,925,962
1906.....	27,307	27,936	306,187	25,500,064
	31,721	28,137	326,815	

TELEPHONES IN LARGE CITIES, 1905

CITY	Population	Tele- phones	Inhab- itants per tele- phone	Tele- phones per 100 in- habitants
Stockholm (two sys- tems).....	312,000	42,685	7.3	13.7
Stockholm (com- pany system only)	312,000	31,685	9.8	10.2
New York.....	2,100,000	144,353	14.5	6.9
Christiania.....	230,000	12,513	18.3	5.4
Copenhagen.....	476,000	23,000	20.6	4.8
Zurich.....	153,000	7,275	21.0	4.8
Berlin.....	1,931,000	66,744	29.0	3.4
London.....	4,614,000	93,598	49.5	2.0
Paris.....	2,660,000	49,444	54.0	1.8
Brussels.....	576,000	7,829	73.7	1.4
Vienna.....	1,762,000	21,723	83.0	1.2
Amsterdam.....	543,000	6,081	89.5	1.1
Rome.....	500,000	5,000	100.0	1.0
Budapest.....	800,000	7,500	106.5	0.9
Lisbon.....	370,000	1,740	212.0	0.5
St. Petersburg.....	1,334,000	6,000	223.0	0.4
Madrid.....	550,000	2,400	229.0	0.4

II. Telegraph

For a discussion of the principles of public
ownership pro and con, see PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

As early as 1727 Stephen Gray, a pensioner of the Charter
House in London, made an electric discharge pass over a circuit
of some 700 feet. In 1747 Professor Watson constructed a tele-
graph line for the Royal Society of London that passed over
the housetops and used the earth for the return circuit. In
1748 Benjamin Franklin sent crude electric signals across

the Schuylkill River at Philadelphia. In 1774 a working telegraph line was established in Geneva, Switzerland, by Le Sage. Various other experiments followed, but in 1837 Wheatstone and Cooke, in England, put a crude telegraph system into actual service in 1838 on the line of the London & Blackwall Railway, one of the first of England's steam-railroads.

Simultaneously Morse, in America, in 1837, made a public exhibition of apparatus whose conception dated back to 1835.

His fame rests, however, upon his electro-magnetic telegraph, and, while his share in this and even his originality has been bitterly contested, it seems impossible to deny that from Morse sprang the original conception

History

and that by him much of the original work was done. Morse attempted to secure aid from Congress for the construction of a line about forty miles in length between Washington and Baltimore, and finally a bill was passed by a small majority appropriating \$30,000 for this purpose. The line was duly constructed, and on May 24, 1844, Miss Ellsworth, daughter of the U. S. Commissioner of Patents, sent over it the memorable message, "What hath God wrought!"

It was not at once a financial success, and Congress yielded to the persuasions of those who wished to buy the telegraph for a private institution. Even at first, however, a few clear-sighted statesmen saw into the future far enough to discern the vast importance of the new idea and the greatness of the mistake that was being made. As early as 1844 Henry Clay was advocating government ownership of the telegraph. He wrote:

"It is quite manifest it is destined to exert great influence on the business affairs of society. In the hands of private individuals they will be able to monopolize intelligence and perform the greatest operations in commerce and other departments of business. I think such an engine should be exclusively under the control of the government."

The government declined, however, to purchase the Morse telegraph for \$100,000, and the telegraph reverted to private hands.

In 1856 the Western Union Telegraph Company consolidated a large part of the telegraphic systems of the country.

The attempts to transmit signals commercially through wires laid under water date back as far as 1839. In the summer of 1842 Morse laid an insulated wire in New York harbor. The first submarine cable of any length was laid in 1847 from Dover, England, to Calais, France.

Morse said with regard to data obtained from his own trials: "Telegraphic communication on the electro-magnetic plan may certainly be established across the Atlantic Ocean. Startling as this may now seem, I am confident the time will come when the project will be realized." The successful carrying out of the idea was in great measure due to the courage and indomitable perseverance of Cyrus W. Field. Capital was pledged, government support was enlisted, and in 1858 the first Atlantic cable was laid between Ireland and Newfoundland. Congratulatory messages were exchanged between Queen Victoria and the President of the U. S.

Since 1866 the history of submarine telegraphy has been one of continuous advance. The last definite figures with regard to cables give the number as 1,750, with an aggregate length of nearly 200,000 miles, their cost being estimated at \$275,000,000 and the number of messages transmitted annually over them at more than 6,000,000.

Wireless telegraphy, after numerous experiments and inventions by Edison and others, was finally worked out by G. Marconi in his system, patents for which were applied for in June, 1896. In 1899 he established wireless communication between England and France, and Dec. 12, 1901, across the ocean from Cornwall, England, to Newfoundland. By 1905 "Marconis" were sent to and from Atlantic steamers and elsewhere, and in 1907 a commercial transatlantic wireless telegraph service was announced.

The U. S. to-day is the only great country in the world not having a national ownership of the telegraph. France, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and many other nations early recognized this truth, and built public telegraph lines at the start. England, Belgium, New Zealand, and a few other States tried private control, but found it so objectionable that they changed to public ownership. In England the telegraph was in private hands for more than a quarter of a century;

Nationalization of

but complaints of high charges, inefficient service, unjust discrimination, etc., became so frequent and so urgent that at last the government appointed a committee to investigate the public systems of Europe. The report made an exhaustive comparison of the public system in use on the Continent with the private system of England, and

the result was so overwhelmingly in favor of the former, that the government, under the leadership of Gladstone, yielded to the demands of the reformers, headed by the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, and passed a law (1868) providing for the purchase of the lines, the rapid extension of the service into the rural districts, which had been neglected by the private companies, and the union of the telegraph with the postal department. The charges were at once reduced from one third to one half, and the business doubled in about two years. Complaints were no longer heard as before the transfer, and now, after more than a quarter of a century, the public system has unanimously pronounced a success. The government has raised the wages of employees from time to time, lowered rates, extended the lines, and improved the facilities. The system has paid all operating expenses and cost of extension and improvements, but the surplus beyond these items has not been quite sufficient to cover interest on the tremendous original outlay, which was about four times the real value of the lines. (See POSTAL SERVICE.)

On a thorough study of the history of private and public telegraphs in Great Britain we find that a few thoughtful men called attention to the existing abuses and advocated national ownership as the remedy; the immediate results of this were:

1. A reduction in rates of one third to one half.
2. A vast increase of business, the work done by the telegraph nearly doubling in the first year after the transfer.
3. A great extension of lines into the less populous districts, so as to give the whole people the benefit of telegraphic communication.
4. Large additional facilities by opening more offices, locating offices more conveniently, and making every post-office and post-box a place where a telegram may be deposited to be taken to the nearest telegraph office for transmission.
5. A considerable economy by uniting the telegraph service with the mail service under a single control, avoiding useless duplications, using the same offices, the same collecting and delivery agencies, and often the same operatives for both services.
6. A marked improvement in the service, throwing complaint out of the steady occupation she had had so long, the aim of the post-office being service, not dividends.
7. A decided gain to employees in pay, hours, tenure of office, etc.
8. Unprecedented advantages to the press for cheap and rapid transmission of news, at the same time freeing it from the pressure of a power that claimed the right to dictate the views and opinions it should express.
9. The development of business and strengthening of social ties, ties of kinship and friendship, through the growth of business and social correspondence.
10. The removal of a great antagonism and the cessation of the vexatious and costly conflict it had caused between the companies and the people.

Looking at the subsequent history of the English postal telegraph we find:

1. A further reduction of nearly one half in the average cost of a message.
2. More than a tenfold increase of business in twenty-five years, while population increased but one fourth, over 1,000 per cent telegraph growth to 25 per cent population increase.
3. A sixfold extension of lines and fiftyfold increase of facilities.
4. A steady policy of expanding and improving the service, adopting new inventions, putting under ground hundreds of miles of wire that formerly ran over houses and streets, etc.
5. A systematic effort to elevate labor, resulting in a progressive amelioration of the condition of employees in respect to wages, hours, tenure, promotion, privileges, and perquisites.
6. A good profit to the government (excluding interest on the waterlogged capital cost) in spite of low rates, large extensions into thinly populated areas, advancing wages, heavy losses through carrying press dispatches below cost, competition of telephone companies in the best-paying part of the traffic, etc.
7. Satisfaction with the telegraph service even on the part of conservatives who objected to the change before it was made.

Comparing the English situation with our own, we find:

IN ENGLAND

- Low rates.
- Good service.
- Extension of telegraph facilities to the masses.
- Rapid growth, forty times as rapid as the growth of population, and four times as fast as the growth of the letter mail.
- Progressive improvement of labor.
- Harmonious uninterrupted operation.
- Large popular use of the telegraph.
- A management aiming solely at serving the people.
- Moderate salaries for leading officials.
- No big tortunes from telegraph manipulation.
- Universal satisfaction with the telegraph situation.
- Public monopoly.

IN THE UNITED STATES

- High rates (twice as high).
- Poor service.
- Facilities only for the classes.
- Slow growth, less than one sixth of the growth of the English system.
- Progressive maltreatment of labor.
- Big strikes.
- The telegraph an adjunct of speculation.
- A management aiming solely at serving themselves.
- Exorbitant salaries for leading officials.
- The telegraph a millionaire machine.
- Universal discontent with the telegraph situation.
- Private monopoly.

In the U. S. petitions for a postal telegraph, signed by over 2,000,000 citizens, have been presented to Congress. Organized labor, the organized farmers, chambers of commerce, and other important business organizations, have passed resolutions in its favor. But thus far the interests of the telegraph companies and their owners appear to have more weight with Congress than the interests of the people.

The real reason why the U. S. Government has not adopted the postal telegraph is undoubtedly shown by the following quotations from Postmaster-General Wanamaker's argument before the Congressional Post-office and Post-roads Committee in 1890:

In the present discussion Mr. F. B. Thurber, of New York, has given a list of the directors of the Western Union Telegraph Company. I beg to append their names: Norvin Green, Thomas T. Eckert, John T. Terry, John Vanhorne, Jay Gould, Russell Sage, Alonzo B. Cornell, Sidney Dillon, Samuel Sloan, Robert C. Clowry, George J. Gould, Edwin Gould, John G. Moore, Cyrus W. Field, Henry Weaver, Percy R. Pyne, Charles Lanier, Austin Corbin, J. Pierpont Morgan, Frederick L. Ames, John Hay, William D. Bishop, Collis P. Huntington, George B. Roberts, Sydney Shepard, Erastus Wiman, William W. Astor, Chauncey M. Depew, James W. Clendenin, Henry M. Flagler.

Mr. Thurber used this list of names to answer the question why the public cannot have the great boon of a postal telegraph. "No such list of names," he added, "can be found in the directory of any other corporation in this country. Every name represents some great interest. They are the richest and the best in the financial world. They deservedly rank as our best citizens; their names are found scattered throughout the religious and charitable world, but in the matter of transmitting intelligence their interest diverges from that of the general public, and it remains to be seen whether 65,000,000 people or the comparatively few stockholders which these men represent will be able to control the great force of electricity as applied to the transmission of intelligence."

According to uncontroverted statements made before your honorable committee, the capital stock of the Western Union Telegraph Company in 1858 was \$358,700. The stock dividends declared between 1858 and 1866 amounted to \$17,810,146, and the stock issued for new lines was \$1,937,950; so that the capital stock on July 1, 1866, was \$20,133,800. In 1866 new stock was created to the amount of \$20,450,500; so that the total capital of the Western Union on July 1, 1867, was \$40,584,300. The largest dividend declared by the company up to 1874 was 414 per cent. The largest amount of stock ever divided at one time was \$10,000,000, and for a period of seven years the dividends were about 100 per cent a year on its average capital. It was by adding dividends to dividends and by piling the one up on top of the other that this tremendous amount of \$46,000,000 of capital and debt was created.

"A public telegraph will paternalize the government," say the defenders of monopoly. If so, it is pretty badly paternalized now, with the post-office, the fish commission, the treasury, customs, navy, army, agricultural, judiciary, signal service, and all the other departments; but the people do not seem to desire to give up such paternalization—they appear to enjoy it. In truth, however, public service is not paternalism, but fraternalism.

"It will cost too much." It need not cost the people \$1 of taxes to establish the postal telegraph. Plenty of capitalists are ready to build the lines for the government, introduce low rates, and agree to turn the plant over to the nation for actual value at the end of fifteen or twenty years, or allow the service to pay for the plant gradually.

The Western Union does not do and never has done one half the business its lines would carry. The total increase under public management would probably be from twenty to one hundred-fold the present business. The development of business consequent upon low rates and the extension of lines results from the use of the telegraph by a larger number of people. The wealthy people of the cities use it now all they wish to; they would use it little if any more with a five-cent rate than with a rate of twenty-five cents. But to the poor and to people in moderate circumstances, the difference between the telegraph and postal rates is practically prohibitive except under the stress of very special need. President Green of the Western Union said that 46 per cent of their business is speculative, 34 per cent legitimate trade (his own words), 12 per cent press, and 8 per cent social (Bingham Hearings, 1890, p. 56). In Sen. Rep. 577, part ii, p. 15, the then president of the Western Union said the company's social business was 5 or 6 per cent of the whole. In Belgium the social messages constitute 55 to 63 per cent of the whole.

The following table gives an idea of the difference in the charges under private ownership in the U. S. and under public ownership abroad:

	Ordinary rate per word	Ordinary minimum charge per message	Average receipt per message
	Cents	Cents	Cents
Great Britain.....	1	12	15½
France.....	1	10	15½
Germany.....	1½	12	15
Belgium.....	1	10	8½
Switzerland.....	1½	12	15
Austria.....	1	11	15
United States.....	2 to 7	25	31

Since this table was compiled there has been some slight lowering of average charges abroad, and a very considerable increase in Western Union rates on many routes.

The charges in the U. S. are more than double the rates of the public telegraphs, and more than double what they need to be here. Postmaster-General Wanamaker after a careful investigation concluded that a uniform ten-cent charge for a ten-word message would be sufficient. And if Delany's methods of automatic transmission were utilized it is probable that ten cents for fifty words, and perhaps even five cents for fifty words, would prove remunerative in spite of the competition of the wireless system and the telephone.

The service rendered by our telegraph system is inferior to that afforded by the public systems of Great Britain, Germany, and Switzerland.

LONG-DISTANCE RATES IN THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, AND EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	Distance in miles									
	20	40	80	120	160	200	240	280	400	600
United States ¹	\$0.12	\$0.24	\$0.48	\$0.72	\$0.96	\$1.20	\$1.44	\$1.68	\$2.40	.....
Canada ¹.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Great Britain ²	0.06	0.12	0.24	0.36	0.48	0.60	0.72	0.84	1.20	1.80
Austria.....	0.12	0.20	0.28	0.40	0.40	0.40	0.40	0.40	0.60	.....
Bavaria.....	0.10	0.10	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.48	.....	.....
Belgium.....	Free	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.58	.....	.....	.....	.....
Denmark.....	Free	Free	0.20½	0.40	.....	.....	.....	0.53	1.24½	.....
Finland.....	0.02½	0.02½	0.04½	0.06	0.09	0.11	0.13	0.15	.....	.....
France.....	0.10	0.10	0.20	0.20	0.29	0.38	0.38	0.48	0.60	0.96
Germany.....	0.06	0.12	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.36	0.36
Holland.....	0.20	0.20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Luxemburg ³.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Norway.....	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.44	.....
Rumania.....	0.26	0.26	0.48	0.48	0.66	0.86	0.86	1.04	.....	.....
Spain.....	0.13	0.13	0.24	0.24	0.34	0.43	0.43	0.53	0.72	1.00
Sweden.....	Free	Free	0.08	0.08	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.20	0.27
Switzerland.....	0.06	0.10	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.84	1.17	1.68
Württemberg.....	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Half rate at night, 6 P. M. to 6 A. M.³ Double period allowed for day rate at night.² Local rate covers free intercommunication between all points.

The treatment of labor by our telegraph system is one of the most objectionable features of the management. According to the testimony of telegraph employees in various investigations and congressional hearings, a systematic policy of reducing wages has been pursued by the telegraph monopoly. They have put boys to

work in the offices to learn the business, and then if the operator resigned or moved away or did not prove satisfactory, or if for any other reason his office became vacant, they would offer the place to this young student or apprentice at \$5 or \$10 less than the salary formerly paid; and in that way and in other ways they have reduced the wage so that, according to the testimony, it was reduced 40 per cent from 1870 to 1883.

The great strike of 1883 throughout our telegraph system was largely due to the low wages and long hours. They asked for an increase of pay of 15 per cent and for eight-hour work, and no salary lower than \$50. These requests, moderate as they were, were refused, and the great strike was fought out at a cost altogether of over \$1,000,000, and after the strike, according to Western Union testimony, the result was that the company was able to get about one third more work out of the men for the same pay. The hours of operators are in many cases very long, the work is very trying, and they are apt to be affected by consumption and other diseases—unable to continue many years under the strain.

They also blacklist their employees, I understand from the workers, so that the man who meets with their disapproval is practically unable to get employment in the country. They try to shut out the unions of the men, and they even deny them the privilege of petition. The men say that the leaders in presenting a joint request for amelioration of conditions, if found out, are almost sure to be discharged from employment.

As I write (Oct., 1907) the telegraph services are tied up and obstructed by another great strike from one end of the country to the other. The public systems treat their employees fairly and are not troubled with strikes.

The Western Union has sinned grievously in the line of overcapitalization; putting about a hundred millions of stocks in a plant that has been es-

timated to be worth only five or ten millions more than the bonds, and into which the stockholders, according to the reports of congressional investigations, did not probably put more than sixteen millions all told.

The Telegraph Trust goes into politics. It has distributed favors among various legislators and among congressmen, and Western Union testimony is explicit as to the benefits they have received. Long ago the president of the Western Union said:

"The franks issued to government officials constitute nearly a third of the total complimentary business. The wires of the Western Union Company extend into thirty-seven states and nine territories within the limits of the U. S., and into four of the British provinces. In all of them our property is more or less subject to the action of the national, state, and municipal authorities, and the judicious use of complimentary franks among them has been the means of saving to the company many times the money value of the free service performed." (Western Union Report of 1873. See also Wanamaker's argument, p. 164; Postmaster-General Creswell's Report, 1873, p. 49.)

The passage is constantly cited by writers and speakers dealing with the telegraph, because of its astonishing nature and implications. I have it on the authority of one of the most distinguished members of the U. S. Senate that "books of telegraph franks are tendered to every senator and member of Congress, and most of them accept the favor."

III. Telephone

For the principles of public ownership pro and con, see PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

The history of the telephone, like that of the telegraph, is full of conflicting claims as to priority of discovery. Page, Bourseul, Professor Clifton, and, above all, Reis in Germany, made important discoveries. But it is beyond dispute that March 7, 1876, when Alexander Graham Bell patented his invention of a speaking telephone, there was not a single operative telephone in the hands of the public anywhere in the world.

The first line ever built for telephone purposes was in Boston, 1877. The Bell Telephone Association was formed that year and the New England Telephone Company in Feb., 1878, and the Bell Telephone Company in July, 1878. In 1879 these combined into the National Bell Telephone Company, and the American Bell Telephone Company was formed in 1880, ab-

sorbed in 1899 in the American Telegraph and Telephone Company.

The telephone was immediately introduced into Europe after America, and more slowly in other parts of the world.

But while in the U. S. its development has remained exclusively in private hands, in Europe the telephone and telegraph lines have remained almost exclusively subject to government control. In only two foreign countries—Great Britain and Sweden—has there been any notable exception to this rule, and the British Government has completed with the National Telephone Company, which has controlled the Bell telephone system for many years, negotiations by which the Postal Telegraph service will take over the entire telephone lines of Great Britain.

ANNUAL TELEPHONE RATES—DIRECT UNLIMITED SERVICE

COUNTRY	Place and rate
Austria*.....	\$40 Vienna 20 smaller cities
Belgium*.....	48 Brussels 33 smaller cities
France*.....	80 Paris 40 smaller places
Great Britain.....	115 to \$100
Germany*.....	45 Berlin 15 smaller places, 1,000 telephones 18 1,000 to 5,000 telephones 22 5,000 to 20,000 telephones 24 in places having over 20,000 tele- phones
Holland*.....	14 to \$46
Italy.....	12 to 40
Norway*.....	8 to 21
Sweden*.....	6 to 26
Switzerland*.....	19.4 first year 13.6 second year } plus 1 cent 7.8 third year } per message
United States.....	15 to \$240

The countries marked with a star have public or cooperative systems wholly or in large part.

The best telephoned countries in the world, that is, the countries having the most telephones per 1,000 population, are Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland, where the telephones are most under public management. When the government entered the telephone field in Stockholm, it greatly reduced the rates and improved the service. The same thing was true when Amsterdam and Rotterdam adopted municipal ownership and operation of the telephone service.

When Glasgow put in a municipal telephone system, she cut the annual rate from \$50 to \$26.

The following table shows the Bell Telephone charges in a number of American cities and also the charges made by the independent companies which in many cities have cut the Bell rate in two:

	Business telephone		Residence telephone	
	Bell	Ind.	Bell	Ind.
Philadelphia.....	160	80	130	48
St. Louis.....	120	60	100	36
Indianapolis.....	72	40	48	24
Cleveland.....	82	48	60	36
Baltimore.....	125	48	100	36
Rochester.....	125	48	64	36

¹ Four-party line measured service, Bell, St. Louis.

Our excessive telephone rates constitute a tax on business and social intercourse, a limitation on the development of civilization, intelligence, friendship, affection, and industry.

FRANK PARSONS.

REFERENCES: *Municipal Monopolies*, Ed. W. Bemis, ed., (1899); chap. iv., *Report of U. S. Industrial Commission* vol. ix. See PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

TEMPERANCE (see also CENTRAL PUBLIC HOUSE TRUST ASSOCIATION; DISPENSARY SYSTEM; HIGH LICENSE; INTEMPERANCE; LIQUOR TRAFFIC; NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC; NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM; PROHIBITION; PROHIBITION PARTY; POVERTY; WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION): We give in this article a brief sketch of the temperance movement, referring the reader to the above articles for details.

The temperance movement is a modern movement the intemperance is as old as history. We find instances of intoxication in Genesis, the oldest Hebrew writing, and in Homer's pictures of early Greek social life. Intoxication is described or referred to in the ancient books of China, the "Vedas" of India, the "Avestas" of Persia, and in all early traditions. The fiery "rice wines" of India and China matched the drugged wines of Greece and Rome. Fermentation was usually the early source of intoxicating drinks; distillation has been known in Europe at least for only six centuries. Spirit drinking is said to have developed first in northern climes, and perhaps in England. There were, however, some early attempts at temperance reform. The Chinese claim that eleven centuries before Christ some of their emperors made strenuous temperance reforms, one going so far as to order all vines in the kingdom to be uprooted. In India and Persia the priesthood early made some attempts at reform, and the Buddhists taught total abstinence. Buddhist sects seem to have spread total abstinence ideas far and wide, and among the Hebrews there were various total abstinence orders and sects, such as the Nazarites and Rechabites in olden times, and the Essenes and Therapeutæ of the time of Christ. Draco is said to have punished drunkenness with death, and Lycurgus, King of Thrace, to have ordered all vines to be destroyed, as did later Terbalus, a Bulgarian prince. The Carthaginians forbade wine in the camps and among magistrates holding public office. In northern climes the use of intoxicating beverages was universal. The Saxons were mighty eaters and drinkers. The mead horn plays a large part in all Saxon literature. Mead or metheglin they made from honey, beer from barley. Weddings, christenings, and funerals were scenes of intoxication, sometimes of orgies. The burial clubs (see GILDS) were drinking-clubs. The Church strove somewhat for reform, perhaps because the clergy needed it. St. Gildas the Wise in 570 A.D. ordered the drunken clergy to be punished. St. David (569) punished also the publican. King Edgar, at the instance of Dunstan, limited by law the number of taverns and the size of the pots. By a law of 1285 taverns in London were to close at curfew. This was to prevent crime. Yet drinking increased. When George Neville was made Archbishop of York, in 1464, we are told that 300 tuns of ale and 100 of wine were consumed. Bacon saw that "all the crimes on earth do not destroy so many of the human race nor alienate so much property as drunkenness." Beginning with 1603, legislation against ale-houses and drunkenness is very frequent, but accomplished nothing. According to Bishop Earle, the public house was the rendezvous for all classes. All or almost all the clergy drank. Decker says that in 1632 a whole street was in some places but a continuous ale-house, not a shop to be seen between red lattice and red lattice. The Puritans were about as bad. Pepys says Monk's troops were most of them drunk all day. Even the women drank. Lecky says that in 1688, 12,400,000 barrels of beer were brewed for a population of a little over 5,000,000, or about ninety gallons a head, against about twenty-nine at present in England. In the eighteenth century, gin-drinking increased. Retailers hung out signs saying "Drunk for 1d. Dead drunk for 2d. Straw for nothing." Eleven million gallons of gin were consumed in England in 1733; nearly 20,000,000 in 1742. In 1749 there were 17,000 gin-shops within the bills of mortality. Crime and immorality rose. In 1736 Parliament tried to suppress gin-drinking by putting a prohibitory tax on it, but the illicit trade was so great that it soon went to the other extreme, and made the trade well-nigh free. But this did no good. In 1751 distillers were forbidden to sell to unlicensed publicans, and tipping debts could not be collected by law. According to Lecky, this did some good. Gin began to give way to beer, a vast improvement.

Early Ages

The temperance movement is a modern movement the intemperance is as old as history. We find instances of intoxication in Genesis, the oldest Hebrew writing, and in Homer's pictures of early Greek social life. Intoxication is described or referred to in the ancient books of China, the "Vedas" of India, the "Avestas" of Persia, and in all early traditions. The fiery "rice wines" of India and China matched the drugged wines of Greece and Rome. Fermentation was usually the early source of intoxicating drinks; distillation has been known in Europe at least for only six centuries. Spirit drinking is said to have developed first in northern climes, and perhaps in England. There were, however, some early attempts at temperance reform. The Chinese claim that eleven centuries before Christ some of their emperors made strenuous temperance reforms, one going so far as to order all vines in the kingdom to be uprooted. In India and Persia the priesthood early made some attempts at reform, and the Buddhists taught total abstinence. Buddhist sects seem to have spread total abstinence ideas far and wide, and among the Hebrews there were various total abstinence orders and sects, such as the Nazarites and Rechabites in olden times, and the Essenes and Therapeutæ of the time of Christ. Draco is said to have punished drunkenness with death, and Lycurgus, King of Thrace, to have ordered all vines to be destroyed, as did later Terbalus, a Bulgarian prince. The Carthaginians forbade wine in the camps and among magistrates holding public office. In northern climes the use of intoxicating beverages was universal. The Saxons were mighty eaters and drinkers. The mead horn plays a large part in all Saxon literature. Mead or metheglin they made from honey, beer from barley. Weddings, christenings, and funerals were scenes of intoxication, sometimes of orgies. The burial clubs (see GILDS) were drinking-clubs. The Church strove somewhat for reform, perhaps because the clergy needed it. St. Gildas the Wise in 570 A.D. ordered the drunken clergy to be punished. St. David (569) punished also the publican. King Edgar, at the instance of Dunstan, limited by law the number of taverns and the size of the pots. By a law of 1285 taverns in London were to close at curfew. This was to prevent crime. Yet drinking increased. When George Neville was made Archbishop of York, in 1464, we are told that 300 tuns of ale and 100 of wine were consumed. Bacon saw that "all the crimes on earth do not destroy so many of the human race nor alienate so much property as drunkenness." Beginning with 1603, legislation against ale-houses and drunkenness is very frequent, but accomplished nothing. According to Bishop Earle, the public house was the rendezvous for all classes. All or almost all the clergy drank. Decker says that in 1632 a whole street was in some places but a continuous ale-house, not a shop to be seen between red lattice and red lattice. The Puritans were about as bad. Pepys says Monk's troops were most of them drunk all day. Even the women drank. Lecky says that in 1688, 12,400,000 barrels of beer were brewed for a population of a little over 5,000,000, or about ninety gallons a head, against about twenty-nine at present in England. In the eighteenth century, gin-drinking increased. Retailers hung out signs saying "Drunk for 1d. Dead drunk for 2d. Straw for nothing." Eleven million gallons of gin were consumed in England in 1733; nearly 20,000,000 in 1742. In 1749 there were 17,000 gin-shops within the bills of mortality. Crime and immorality rose. In 1736 Parliament tried to suppress gin-drinking by putting a prohibitory tax on it, but the illicit trade was so great that it soon went to the other extreme, and made the trade well-nigh free. But this did no good. In 1751 distillers were forbidden to sell to unlicensed publicans, and tipping debts could not be collected by law. According to Lecky, this did some good. Gin began to give way to beer, a vast improvement.

Eighteenth Century

In the American colonies the evil was as bad. Dr. Dorchester ("Problems of Religious Progress") tells us that in 1790 two gallons and a half of distilled spirits and wine were consumed per capita; in 1810 four and a half; in 1823, seven and a half of spirits alone. At a later date there were 400,000 confirmed drunkards, while everybody drank a little, and often to excess. The rich drank French and Spanish brandy; the middle classes, Jamaica rum; the poor, New England rum. Drunkenness was not uncommon among the clergy, and an ordination was often little short of a debauch. Rum was a requisite of every gathering. All public men drank. (See also CRIME.)

The modern temperance movement began in the first quarter of this century, in England first, tho it first gained headway in the United States. In 1800 Micajah Pendleton, of Nelson County, Va., signed and circulated a total abstinence pledge. In 1804 Dr. Benjamin Rush (*q. v.*), of Philadelphia, wrote an important temperance paper, and in 1805 Dr. Ebenezer Porter, of Connecticut, preached an important sermon. In 1808 Dr. J. B. Clark founded, in Saratoga County, N. Y., the Temperance Society of Moreau and Northumberland. In 1813 the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance was formed. In 1826 the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance was founded in Boston, based upon total abstinence, the Rev. Mr. Hewitt being the first general agent.

The United States

By 1829 there were eleven state and about 1,000 local societies. The same year six sermons by Lyman Beecher, of Litchfield, Conn., produced a wide effect. In 1833 there were 6,000 local societies and over 1,000,000 members; 2,000 distilleries had been stopt. Most of this early temperance movement, however, was opposed simply to the use of distilled spirits, and the pledge in general use had reference to these alone. Cider, beer, and wine were generally considered harmless or indispensable. Total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors was embodied in Pendleton's pledge of 1800 and in the New York society of 1809 and in a few other local societies, but was voted down by the general society in 1833. In 1836, however, at the meeting in Saratoga it was finally adopted, and the American Temperance Society has since been committed to total abstinence. In 1840 began the great but brief Washingtonian movement, when six intemperate drinkers in Baltimore, Md., met one Friday evening, at their usual resort, and suddenly resolved to reform. They drew up a pledge, signed it on the spot, calling themselves the Washingtonian Society. They began to hold public meetings, and met with great success. Crowds attended, and thousands took the pledge. Many became speakers, and Washingtonian societies were organized everywhere. In four or five years it is estimated that 150,000 drunkards and 500,000 others signed the pledge. The movement, however, did not endure. The toper's motley became the sensational talk of speakers, and ignorant and sometimes evil men, caring only for notoriety or pay, ruined the movement. In 1842 the Order of the Sons of Temperance was founded in the city of New York, the first society modeled after Masonic ideas. In 1845 the Order of the Templars of Honor and Temperance and in 1851 the

Modern Movements

Order of Good Templars (*q. v.*) were formed. In 1845 a law in New York State prohibiting the public sale of alcoholic liquor was passed and referred to the people, and received a large majority, but in 1847 it was repealed. In 1851 the Maine law (*q. v.*) was passed. (For temperance legislation since that date, see PROHIBITION; HIGH LICENSE; LOCAL OPTION.)

In 1874 the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (*q. v.*) commenced its important and successful movement, and marks an epoch in the temperance movement of the world. Since that date its efforts for temperance education in the public schools, churches, and to a less extent in legislation, play a very large part in the temperance movement of this country and the world.

(But for this, see special article, WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.)

The temperance movement in America has moved largely along denominational and religious lines. Nearly all of the Protestant denominations have formed temperance societies within their own borders. The "Congregational Total Abstinence Association" dates from 1874; that of the Baptists from 1874; those of the various Methodist bodies from about the same time. Owing to the fact that most of these and other denominations, e. g., the Quakers, Dunkards, make total abstinence a test of membership, temperance has received a religious sanction. Among the lower classes this work has been done chiefly by the Salvation Army, whose aim seems to be to save people from drink; that is, from poverty and sin. The purpose of the Church Temperance Society (*q. v.*) is not so much abstinence as temperance; altho the former is distinctly encouraged. It was organized in 1881, and has a Woman's Auxiliary and a "Legion" for young men. It endeavors to have the Sunday before Advent observed as a "Temperance Sunday" in the local churches, and publishes a monthly, *Temperance*. The Roman Catholic Church, too, insists on moderation, and recommends abstinence where the former is difficult. The "Catholic Total Abstinence Union," formed in Baltimore in 1872, numbered about 80,000 members in 1902.

The Prohibition Party (*q. v.*), first organized in 1869, assumed great importance in the national campaign of 1884, and since then has energetically called attention to legislation on the liquor question, and particularly local prohibition, forcing a vote on the subject wherever possible, with the result of very numerous victories and an incalculable amount of educational discussion and consideration. (But see articles PROHIBITION; PROHIBITION PARTY; LOCAL PROHIBITION.)

In 1893, in Ohio, the Anti-Saloon League of that state was founded which has now grown into an important national movement, organized in forty-three states and territories, and doing in many states, e. g., Ohio and New York, a very active non-partizan work, rousing, however, the churches and religious bodies into organized influence upon legislatures, so at times, as in Ohio, to affect the politics of the whole state. (See ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE; see also the LINCOLN LEAGUE, organized in connection with it. See also BANDS OF HOPE.)

The World's Temperance Congress of Chicago in 1893 was attended by delegates from every civilized country, and discust the problem from every point of view, particularly the economic. At the International Congress against Alcoholism (Stockholm, July 28 to August 3, 1907) the statement was made by an American delegate to the effect that over "30,000,000 people in the U. S. were living under the operation of prohibitory laws, through local option." The actual number is about 33,000,000.

A remarkable movement toward prohibition and local option has commenced (1907) in the Southern states. The Georgia legislature passed a state prohibition law Aug. 2d, which was promptly signed by Governor Hoke Smith, and is to take effect Jan. 1, 1908. The measure has the backing of the people, because under the "local option clause" county after county had voted "no license," until the number had reached 125, and only 21 were left with licenses. Other states are moving in the same direction. Ten-

nessee has local option in all but a few counties. North Carolina has 60 out of 90 counties with "no license"; Alabama over 50 out of 66; Kentucky 87 out of 119; Texas 152 out of 230; South Carolina all over the state with the exception of a few counties. All these states are tending toward prohibition. The territory of Oklahoma, before accepting the constitution for statehood, had a plebiscite on Aug. 6th on the question of prohibition, and adopted (Sept. 17, 1907) the constitution, containing a prohibition clause by about 30,000 majority. In the Southern states 17,000,000 out of 27,000,000 people are already under local option. (See LOCAL PROHIBITION.)

The fight about the canteens in the U. S. army posts still continues. The advocates of the canteen claim that drunkenness has increased since 1901, when it was abolished. The Prohibitionists claim that arrests for drunkenness have largely decreased, and claim to base their contention on official figures, which the officials say do not show this because of a change in laws.

The Anti-Saloon League (*q. v.*) is a most progressive society, and has a large and efficient organization. Owing to the strenuous exertions of the larger temperance societies, instruction on the influence of alcohol on the mind and body is now given in nearly all public schools all over the U. S., in connection with physiology. This instruction is graded to suit the different ages and comprehension of the children.

The Prohibitionists are now trying to prevail upon the national government not to issue receipts to wholesale dealers or other persons who sell liquor in bottles and larger quantities, because, e. g., Maine with no state licenses had (1905) 640 of these U. S. Treasury receipts, and thus there is a possibility of the state law being circumvented.

The latest move of general importance is the creation of a new society, the "Youths' Temperance Alliance of America," by the National Temperance Society, in 1907. It is to be chiefly an educational agency for the young people of both sexes, preparing platform speakers and serving as a sort of clearing-house for the various temperance movements, particularly among the young people. That the liquor interests are alarmed is evidenced by a number of articles in their papers, urging unity and a strong fight all along the line; also calling attention to the fact that none of the older prohibition states have abolished the law and that in all of them the sale of intoxicants has decreased.

An interesting temperance feature is the exposure of quack and patent medicines by a prominent weekly during 1906, as containing from 40 to 80 per cent alcohol, and greatly reducing the sale of these nostrums among farmers and villagers.

Another feature tending toward abstinence is the demand of an increasing number of employers for teetotalism on the part of their employees, e. g., of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

GREAT BRITAIN

In Great Britain Dr. Trotter, of Edinburgh, published a book on the effects of intemperance in 1800. The first temperance society was organized in Skibbereen, in Ireland, in 1818. The first society based on total abstinence was formed at New Ross, Ireland, by the Rev. George Cane in 1829, tho the same year one was formed in Glasgow, Scotland. Within a year there were twenty-five societies in Ireland. The first society of England was formed in Yorkshire in 1830, teetotalism being still used as colloquial for total abstinence, and the

same year the London Temperance Society held its first public meeting. In 1831 the British and Foreign Temperance Society was formed, and in Dublin the Hibernia Temperance Society. In 1830 the Duke of Wellington Beer Act tried to encourage the use of beer instead of spirits. In 1834 a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to report on the subject. Mr. Muchmore in this report describes the evils of the

Great Britain

day. Fourteen public houses were patronized by 2,750 persons each per day. They had connected with them large halls invisible from the street, where girls of the town, sailors, etc., danced. According to the census there was then one public house for every twenty families in the United Kingdom. To-day there is not one for every fifty. The spirits distilled in England rose from 43,000,000 gallons in the four years 1791-1795, to 154,000,000 in 1826-31.

In 1838 the Rev. Theobald Mathew (Father Mathew), a Roman Catholic priest in Cork, Ireland, commenced a temperance movement and in the space of five months administered the pledge to 150,000 persons in Cork alone. In Galway 100,000 took the pledge in two days. He traveled in Ireland and England, and in 1850 came to America, everywhere finding great success, and becoming known till his death, in 1856, as the Apostle of Temperance. The Father Mathew societies of the Catholic Church still attest his memory, tho much of his early work died away. From 1840 to 1850 the temperance movement languished, and in 1850 the British and Foreign Temperance Society perished of inanition. In 1853 a United Kingdom Alliance was formed in Manchester to agitate for prohibitory laws. Various ideas were introduced from the United States, and in 1868 the Order of Good Templars. The Church of England Temperance Society was formed in 1862. Total abstinence became the cry. A Workingman's Teetotal League was formed and other similar societies. In 1872 was passed the Licensing Act, the most important act of the century, tho acts have been very numerous, most of them ineffective. In 1876 the House of Lords appointed a select committee on the subject.

A number of laws have been passed intended to discourage habitual drunkenness. Under the Act of 1879 an inebriate had to apply voluntarily for admission to a retreat; the Act of 1898 made retirement to a retreat compulsory for all those who by criminal actions or by becoming public nuisances had put themselves within reach of the law. The Licensing Act of 1902 gave power to a magistrate to commit a wife, if an habitual drunkard, to a retreat. These retreats are of three kinds: (1) Certified inebriate reformatories; (2) State inebriate reformatories—for the worst cases; (3) Licensed retreats, which, under the "Inebriates' Reformation and After-Care Association's" (32 Charing Cross, S. W.) supervision, have greatly improved in late years. The "Society for the Study of Inebriety" was established in 1884. Only qualified medical practitioners are admitted as full members; medical students and other interested persons as associates (120 Harley Street, W., London). At present the Church of England Temperance Society seems to be the largest society with 609,319 members, 384,289 of these being juveniles, and of the remainder 174,637 being of the total abstinence section. According to Mr. Nelius, one person in England out of eight is a teetotaler, but Mr. Arthur Shadwell, to whose articles in the *National Review* for Dec., 1895, and April, 1896, we are much indebted for our facts, very much questions whether this is not a great exaggeration.

During recent years notable advance has been made in Great Britain along the line of sentiment in favor of Sunday closing. Scotland has had all-day Sunday closing since 1853-54; Ireland, except in the five chief towns of Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, since 1878; and Wales, since 1881. Up to 1839 public houses were open throughout England the whole of Sunday except during the hours of morning and afternoon divine service. In that year, owing to the disorderly state of many of the London streets on Sunday morning, a clause was inserted in the metropolitan police act to

close public houses from midnight on Saturday to one o'clock on Sunday afternoon. Other cities followed suit, and in 1854 Patten's bill further closed the public houses on Sunday afternoon from 2.30 to 6 o'clock, and 10 at night to 4 on Monday morning. This has been the law with slight modifications since that time. There is strong public sentiment in England for entire Sunday closing. Such sentiment is also spreading in Canada.

Lately Great Britain has debated several propositions, e. g., the Norwegian Company System. But no special legislative act has been passed. Nevertheless, the temperance movement is gaining rapidly. The sentiment against women bartenders has resulted in their removal in most cities. Licenses are not as readily granted as formerly. Indeed, Miss Agnes E. Slack stated at the International Congress Against Alcoholism (Stockholm, 1907) that England had reduced the number of licenses by 1,000 per annum for several years. The case of Liverpool is, perhaps, typical of many other cities in Great Britain. Sir Thomas Hughes has been chairman of the Liverpool Licensing Bench since 1890. Under his wise management the number of fully licensed houses has been reduced by 200 between 1890 and 1907, altho the city's population has increased by 200,000 during that time. The beneficial effect of his management is so keenly appreciated by his fellow townsmen that they have elected him Lord Mayor (1907).

On March 31, 1901, England and Wales had 66,973 publican's licenses; on the same date, 1905, only 66,239—a reduction of 734, or 1.09 per cent. Beer licenses and reductions for the same dates: 29,286; 28,522; 764, or 2.6. Beer and wine licenses: 4,968; 4,845; 123, or 2.47. Total licenses: 101,227; 99,606; 1,621, or 1.6. This reduction was made notwithstanding an increase in population of 1,531,000. The total reductions between 1881 and 1905 were 4,942; a steady decrease distributed almost evenly over the 25 years. In addition it ought to be mentioned that a large number of applications were refused, 639 in 1903 alone. In the United Kingdom the decrease in the number of licenses in 1906-7 over 1905-6 was 3,007. On the initiation of the Prohibitionists and other temperance leaders several bills have been passed by Parliament, while others have failed. Among those passed in 1905 were the following: Closing of Licensed Premises on Christmas Days in Ireland; Expiring Laws Continuation Bill; Sale of Intoxicants to Children; the Registration of Clubs Bill for Ireland (1904). The Liquor Traffic Local Veto Bill for Scotland was defeated by a small majority; it showed, however, that the Scotch are ready for local option.

The fall in the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages may be estimated from the fact that the revenue from wine was £146,000 less in 1905 than 1904; the importation of foreign spirits showed a decline of £610,000, the excise for beer of £420,000. The total decrease in excise and customs of all alcoholic beverages fell from £39,206,781 in 1901 to £34,670,599 in 1906 in the United Kingdom. The consumption of spirits per capita in 1900 was 1.09 gallon, in 1904 only 0.95; that of beer 31.5 gallons and 29, respectively. Considerable controversy has arisen over the question of compensation to liquor dealers whose licenses are taken away.

The drink bill of England and Wales for 1904

was £140,366,542, or £4 3s. 2d. per head; Scotland, £14,804,305, or £3 4s.; Ireland, £13,816,318, or £3 2s. 10d.

The Temperance Hospital in London, established 1874, receives patients from all parts of the kingdom, and from beyond the seas: 23,393 persons were treated during the thirty-one years of its existence; its rate of mortality has been about 7.3 per cent on an average.

The "United Kingdom Alliance" has spread temperance literature broadcast wherever feasible. It is trying to raise a fund of 100,000 guineas for better carrying on its work. Its receipts in 1905 were £13,989.

There are two particularly encouraging features of the movement in Great Britain: the ever-increasing number of people both among working men and government circles who are interested in temperance. John Burns, for instance, has written a widely read pamphlet on "Labor and Drink," of which nearly 70,000 copies were distributed in 1904. The other feature is the growing tendency of the people to take their enjoyments in other forms than drinking. The habit of attending outdoor games is becoming firmly established, and means less drinking. The cheap railway fares enable people to go to the seaside and the country during their holidays; they take their own "nose-bags" along, have picnics, and spend but little money on drinks.

The growth of various temperance orders, e. g., the Sons of Temperance, the Rechabites, the British Medical Temperance Association (1872)—with a large similar association in the U. S. since 1891—are most encouraging signs; as is the enrolment of large numbers of children in Bands of Hope, etc. One of the most important modern movements, however, in England, is that of the Public House Trust. (For this, however, see CENTRAL PUBLIC HOUSE TRUST ASSOCIATION.) Many people in England are studying the Norwegian Company, and not a few favor State management of the trade.

The English colonies are moving forward steadily, partly under local option laws, partly by a closer supervision and stricter regulation of the

British Colonies
liquor traffic. This progress is a fact, notwithstanding occasional setbacks owing to prosperous times or other incalculable conditions. The liquor bill per head in New South Wales,

Australia, has, under local option since 1882, steadily gone down from £5 4s. 5d. in 1881 to £3 1s. 5d. in 1906—a reduction of £2 3s. in twenty-five years. In Victoria, under local option since 1876, the reduction has been from £5 3s. 5d. in 1885 to £3 9s. 10d. in 1906.

In the Dominion of New Zealand Sunday closing is in operation throughout the colony. Publicans are forbidden to serve young people, or drunkards proclaimed by the magistrates; Maori women may not be served; and the entire King Country of the Maoris is under prohibition by legislative act of the colony. In 1881 a local option law was passed by the legislature, amended several times since, e. g., 1893 by the Liquor Sale Act; 1895 by the Liquor Sale Act Amendment Act. All men and women over twenty-one years of age have the suffrage, and each electoral district can suppress the liquor traffic by a three fifths majority vote within its own borders. Clutha voted local option in 1893, and has maintained it ever since. In 1902 five other districts took the same step; a number of other districts

just fell short of the required three fifths majority, while thirteen districts carried the vote for the reduction of the number of saloons by 25 per cent. The prohibition sentiment is growing steadily, and it may be owing to this fact that New Zealand shows the second smallest per capita consumption of pure alcohol, 0.86 gallons, as compared with the United Kingdom, and 0.71 in Canada.

The Dominion of Canada is the most sober country in the English-speaking world according to statistics. The so-called Scott Act, a prohibition measure, was passed in 1878 and applies to the whole Dominion. It confers local veto power upon the various cities and counties. Separate local option laws have since been passed by nearly every province. In the more populous Eastern provinces, comprising 90 per cent of the population, sentiment is constantly growing in favor of prohibition. The Province of Quebec has had local option since 1899; New Brunswick in all but five counties and one city; Nova Scotia in sixteen out of eighteen counties; Prince Edward Island in all counties and cities; Manitoba in many towns and villages. Aside from the local option law several provinces make the obtaining of licenses difficult or impossible by requiring the indorsement of two thirds of the rate-payers. Ontario voted in favor of prohibition (1902) by a majority of 199,749 to 103,548; but fell short of the necessary three fifths vote. Nevertheless this province has progressed rapidly in temperance. Licenses in 1874 numbered 6,185; in 1902 only 2,947. The city of Toronto had 530 licenses in 1874 with 60,000 population; in 1907 with about 250,000 only 207.

On the Continent sentiment in favor of temperance and total abstinence is growing. In the Scandinavian countries, Norway and Sweden, the problem is being partially solved by the Gothenburg system, or State conduct of the liquor traffic. (For a discussion of the benefits claimed for this by its advocates and the faults charged by its opponents, see NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM.)

In France and Germany a number of medical and scientific bodies of the highest and most conservative authority have made utterances as to the evil effects of the use of intoxicating liquors. Influential periodicals in France, like the review *Science Française*, *Le Temps*, and bodies like the French Academy of Medicine and the Association for the Advancement of Science, have taken up the fight against the use of alcohol as a beverage. In Germany one of the most noteworthy utterances was the publication in the *Deutsche Versicherungs-Zeitung*, of Berlin, of a lecture by Dr. Brendel, delivered before the Anthropological Society of Munich (March 28, 1894), in which insurance companies are warned that their risks are dangerously increased by alcoholism—drink always shortening life. Similar statements have been made since with increasing frequency and authority, e. g.,

by Dr. Zacher, the director of the Imperial Statistical Department, in 1906. It must be borne in mind that this department had 11,418,446 people insured in the division for sickness, 18,376,000 in that of accidents, and 13,756,400 in that of old age. Statements of the director are, therefore, based both on wide observation and accurate information. Dr. Zacher says in "Social Progress" (1906), pp. 36 and 37:

The continued and detailed statistics of the working men's insurance have demonstrated that alcoholism, that is, the ex-

cessive consumption of alcoholic drinks, leads to increased exposure to sickness, accident and invalidity, consequently increasing mortality. Moreover, people addicted to alcohol readily contract diseases of all sorts, convalesce slower, and are prone to relapse, while, on the other hand, the members which abstain from such excesses are far less exposed, and their recoveries are surer and more rapid. It is certain that the abuse of alcohol tends not only to largely increase the liability to accidents and unfavorably influences their consequences, but also promotes and spreads the national disease of tuberculosis.

It is, perhaps, owing to this interest in temperance by governmental and scientific circles, that the old private temperance societies have taken on a new lease of life and new ones have been founded. Some of these societies began to agitate against brandy in 1842. Beer was considered harmless. Since the consumption of both increased, the *Verein gegen den Missbrauch geistiger Getränke* began a strong agitation in behalf of temperance in the eighties, and kept it up under the guidance and inspiration of Dr. J. Waldschmidt, its president. This society numbered 20,000 in 1906 and had an income of 45,492 marks in 1904. The Good Templars are doing splendid work in the north, particularly in Schleswig-Holstein, and the Blue Cross Society in the south. The *Centralverband zur Bekämpfung des Alkoholismus* is a total abstinence society with a small but growing membership. How badly work of this kind is needed may be inferred from the fact that in many rural districts a public house exists for less than 200 people.

Austria has a "Verein gegen Trunksucht" since 1884. Its activity has been directed chiefly along the line of instruction by means of pamphlets and lectures in different languages. Since 1893 it issues jointly with a similar society in Saxony a monthly, *Volksgesundheit*. The society has established branches in the different provinces, and aims at reaching the different nationalities.

The total abstinence society of the *Slovenes*, for instance, has 250 members. The Austrian Women Abstinence Society has succeeded in establishing a temperance library in Vienna and opening a temperance restaurant in 1905. A significant feature of the movement in Austria is the high scientific character of its leaders; some of the foremost physicians, e. g., Dr. Pösch, Dr. Müller, Dr. Fröhlich, and Dr. Wlassak, of Vienna, being among them. Hungary has a similar society. The delegation from Austria-Hungary at the congress in Stockholm (1907) numbered 75.

The first Belgian temperance society was organized about 1850 at Brussels. In 1879 the *Association belge contre l'abus des boissons alcooliques* was founded. It took the title of *Ligue patriotique contre l'alcoolisme* in 1884. The first

abstinence organization was formed in 1866 at Saint-Trond. In 1889 a society among small children and school children was formed. In 1890 the government voted an annual appropriation of 65,000 francs for controlling alcoholism. The *Ligue* had (1903) 27 branches with 3,000 members and 2,550 adherents. The branches are scattered over all parts of the kingdom among both the French and Flemish people; it has sections for women nearly in every branch. In 1905 the "Sociétés Scolaires de Tempérance" were represented in 2,318 communes, 3,208 schools, with 65,151 members in primary schools—out of a total 113,714 boys; 1,068 schools for older boys had a membership of 27,876. The total number of boys who have taken the pledge since the in-

auguration of the society is 333,657. The remarkable fact about the temperance societies among school children is their being subsidized by the communes to the extent of 3,333 francs. In a number of departments sections for girls have been formed. In 1905 they numbered 272 in primary schools, with 8,781 girls, and 37 in schools for older girls, with 1,286 members. There were, moreover, 164 sections for girls who had graduated, with 8,786 members. There are other organizations for minors—18 in all, with 672 branches and 54,967 abstinent members of fourteen years or under. They are subsidized by the government to the extent of nearly 72,000 francs.

This is certainly a creditable showing and has received much governmental support, with marked results.

TABLE SHOWING CONSUMPTION OF BEER, WINE, AND ALCOHOL PER INHABITANT

YEAR	Beer in liters	Alcohol (50 per cent) in liters	Wine in liters
1880.....	169	9.21	3.71
1885.....	162	9.25	3.30
1890.....	179	9.29	3.54
1895.....	192	10.56	4.12
1900.....	221	9.37	4.65
1904.....	219	5.84	4.32

A national congress was held in Paris (Sept., 1903) for the discussion of means and ways to obviate the danger arising to the nation from intemperance. The congress advocated temperance rather than abstinence.

France It favored the school as an agent in behalf of temperance by means of instruction on the effects of alcohol, and recommended that the government monopolize the sale of intoxicants in order to suppress the low taverns (*cabarets*), and in general regulate the traffic.

There was great need of such a congress, since France leads the list in the annual per-capita consumption of absolute alcohol with 3.72 gallons.

There are a number of temperance societies; the leader is, however, the *Ligue Nationale contre l'alcoolisme*, formerly called *Société Française de Tempérance*. It was founded in 1872. This society is tacitly acknowledged as a clearing-house on questions pertaining to the sale and consumption of liquor in France. It is a temperance organization, not a teetotal; but welcomes all the various means for restricting the sale and diminishing the consumption of liquor; its principal influence is on legislation. The *Ligue* holds conferences, prints and spreads literature, and issues an excellent monthly which keeps in touch with all questions and problems in its domain. The *Union Française antialcoolique* has about 1,500 local societies, chiefly in primary schools, with the motto: "Prohibition of distilled liquors." The *Association de la Jeunesse tempérante* has inscribed the salvation of children from the effects of alcohol on its banner, and has grown from 200 "adherents" in 1896—the year of its foundation—to 2,000 in 1904. It holds conferences in schools, establishes local societies, and issues a monthly, *La Jeunesse*. The *Ligue antialcoolique* dates since 1896, and is chiefly concerned with the establishment of asylums for inebriates, and with the diffusion of knowledge on the effects of alcohol. Its paper, *La Prospérité*, stands for teetotalism. By its efforts a total abstinence soci-

ety was organized among railway employees in 1901.

The *Croix Bleue* draws its members chiefly from the Protestants of France, while the *Croix Blanche* endeavors to interest the Roman clergy in the cause of temperance. Through the co-operation of these various societies the government has been induced to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in French military canteens.

In both chambers groups have been formed with a view to secure the enactment of existing, and the promotion of new, legislation.

In the meanwhile the private temperance societies are doing what they can in the way of creating diversions and preventing temptation by the establishment of restaurants free from alcohol, e. g., in Versailles, Bordeaux, Paris (the latter since 1898). The interest in the temperance movement is also shown by the fact that France had eighteen representatives at Stockholm in 1907.

Finland is ripe for prohibition; the Diet has passed a law, but the czar has refused to give his consent.

Italy has a per-capita consumption of 2.40 gallons of absolute alcohol. Drinking is, however, on the decrease.

Table showing consumption of alcohol per head in gallons:

YEAR	Wine	Spirits	YEAR	Wine	Spirits
1886.....	27.06	0.317	1894.....	16.94	0.271
1890.....	20.90	0.315	1897.....	16.72	0.264

There is a temperance society which sent four delegates to Stockholm.

The drinking of vodka or brandy is a national evil in Russia, which forced the government to take action in 1894. A committee was appointed

Russia by the czar to investigate the drink evil and propose remedies. When the report was received an ukase was published to the effect that, beginning Jan. 1, 1895, the manufacture and sale of vodka and beer would be under the supervision of an imperial committee. There was thus a government monopoly created at one stroke. The distillers and brewers are watched very closely as to the amount and quality of their product. A rigid examination is made, and the output turned over to the government, which dispenses it through its own salaried agents who are not supposed to have any interest in the quantity sold.

The general committee, consisting of men from the best families and high officials, was, furthermore, authorized to create subcommittees in every province of Russia; these again had the power to enlist *cooperators* who are voluntary workers and do most of the active work. There were 25,000 *cooperators* in 1900, working in conjunction with forty-five departmental committees. Each of the latter receives about 50,000 rubles per annum for the purpose of establishing hospitals for inebriates, assisting voluntary temperance societies, spreading knowledge, and creating diversions. In 1898 the forty-five committees had established 1,713 tea-houses and restaurants, 744 lecture halls and libraries, 501 concert halls, 91 popular theaters; arranged 4,658 conferences; staged 602 plays; and managed 445 grand popular fêtes in the open air. The government further assists the temperance cause by making the saloons as unattractive as possible.

The contributions of the government to the departmental committees have increased from about 200,000 rubles in 1895 to 1,797,200 in 1899 and 2,711,000, or \$1,500,000, in 1900.

The effect of these measures is said to be wholesome; drunkenness in Warsaw, for instance, having decreased 20 per cent from 1895 to 1900. The government sold in 1898 about \$125,000,000 worth of vodka and beer at a profit of \$15,000,000. The gain in sobriety, fewer arrests, safety of life and property, is estimated by hundreds of millions.

There is, however, another side to the picture. *The Defender*, New York, reports Aug. 1, 1907, that a member of the Octobrist Party of the late Duma, M. D. Chelysheff, has stated that the dispensary system was demoralizing the Russian peasantry by giving 40 per cent alcohol instead of the weaker stuff of the former tavern-keeper; that the government at first put every obstacle in the way of the voluntary temperance movements, and forbade the clergy to join them; that it took over the sale of liquor only because of the revenue, and has placed dispensaries where the peasants objected to them. This contention seems to be supported by the revenue from the sale of liquor: 117,919,678 rubles in 1900; 169,143,000 in 1901; 462,808,000 in 1902; 609,364,980 in 1905; 568,436,000 in 1906. This increase in revenue has, however, two other explanations: The gradual replacing of private saloons by dispensaries, and the higher price charged for liquor as a war tax during that period. The revenue for 1906 is nearly 41,000,000 rubles lower than for 1905, showing that the government intends to assist temperance. If it is alleged, moreover, that "the Russian peasant drinks only to get drunk" and that the government has helped this unholy desire by its very honesty in giving 40 per cent alcohol compared with the weak stuff of the saloon-keepers, one should remember that it takes more drinks of weak stuff and, consequently, more money to get drunk than on a better quality at the same price. The case of Warsaw with its decrease of 20 per cent drunkenness in five years speaks well for the system, altho no one claims perfection for it, or can refuse to decry the drink evil in Russia.

Spain was up to 1860 a sober country; but has since been drinking more spirits, owing to the adulteration of wines. Its per-capita consumption of absolute alcohol is 2.42 gallons annually. Lately the widespread intemperance has caused alarm, and serious notice is being taken of its deleterious effects. The new queen, herself an abstainer, is said to be interested in a reformatory movement.

Switzerland has both temperance and abstinence organizations. The Blue Cross Society was introduced in 1877, and is a strong organization with an increasing membership. Dr. Farel is the most prominent temperance worker, particularly among the French Swiss.

Sweden and Norway are still satisfied with the *Company* or *Gothenburg* system. It is favored by the temperance people and abhorred by the total abstainers. The former point to the fact that the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages is decreasing all over the kingdom, and that Gothenburg, for instance, had, in 1907, the same number of saloons with 150,000 population as in 1870 with 50,000; they also refer to the small number of arrests for drunkenness in the rural districts, 1.5 per 1,000 population. The teetotalers point to the 37 arrests per 1,000 for drunkenness in the urban boroughs, and claim that the growth of their societies with a professed membership of over 400,000 in 1907—besides the numerous unenrolled abstainers—is responsible for the reduction of the per-capita and total consumption, while the law has not stopt or even reduced drinking among the non-abstainers. (See NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM.) The per-capita consumption of absolute alcohol in Sweden is 1.08 gallons and in Norway only 0.54, the lowest of any civilized country, being smaller by 0.17 than that of Canada.

Smaller countries, e. g., Denmark, Holland, are also beginning to be interested in temperance; the

former having an active society. Denmark, for instance, has a number of local temperance societies; and the Danish branch of the Good Templars has over 100,000 members. The government grants financial assistance for the carrying on of temperance propaganda; and private enterprise provides coffee-houses, etc., to promote the cause.

An item of importance in the temperance movement is the attitude of the secular press. Time was not so very long ago when the abstainers

The Press

and Prohibitionists served as a butt of ridicule to daily and comic papers. This attitude has changed materially to one of sympathy in the better class of secular dailies, weeklies, and monthlies, altho the large revenue derived from the advertisements of liquor interests still holds many of them in bondage. Many papers, however, refuse these advertisements. Sweden, for instance, has forty prohibition papers out of 250; and seventy other journals refused advertisements of intoxicants. In the United States five of the best magazines notified the brewers and distillers in 1907 that their contracts would not be renewed for liquor advertising in any form. "All of the 700 papers in the State of Kansas are said to have taken the same action some years ago. The religious press stands, of course, for temperance, and many papers favor abstinence. The number of prohibition papers is ever increasing in all English-speaking countries.

How completely the attitude toward alcohol has changed may be inferred from the fact that in the spring of 1907 a manifesto, signed by fifteen leading physicians of Great Britain, was published in the *Lancet*, defending themselves for the prescription of alcohol under certain con-

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ditions, and claiming that the moderate use of alcohol was beneficial to adults while maintaining that its abuse was injurious. The manifesto was severely criticized in several secular papers, and a counter manifesto published by the "British Medical Temperance Association," signed by J. J. Ridge, its honorary secretary. In America an answer was prepared by the secretary of the National Temperance Society, and given out for publication to a newspaper syndicate, said to represent several hundred secular dailies and weeklies with 5,000,000 readers—apart from the prohibition and religious journals which published it entire or in part.

The life-insurance companies, too, have become interested in the question of temperance, and some American and British companies give favorable terms to total abstainers, while several companies with lower terms have been established for teetotalers both in England and the U. S.

How wide the movement against alcohol has spread became evident at the "International Congress against Alcoholism" in Stockholm, July 28 to Aug. 3, 1907. Among its delegates were: 2 Rumanians, 2 Servians, 4 Italians, 7 Belgians, 14 Norwegians, 16 Americans, 18 Frenchmen, 19 Russians, 21 Dutchmen, 25 Britons, 31 Swiss, 75 Austrians and Hungarians, 150 Germans.

The enormity of the problem may be gleaned from the fact that in the U. S. a capital of \$260,270,249 was invested in 1896 in the liquor traffic with about 41,500 people employed. This had increased to the enormous sum of \$415,000,000 in 1907. Legal regulation and prohibition have done much; religious and moral influences are

doing more; scientific and medical teaching are just beginning to exert a powerful influence. The most effective aid to temperance, if not to abstinence, is, however, the constant refinement of feeling and the creation of a public opinion through education. Where customs, physical grossness, low tone of morality, demand and favor drinking—no law will prevail. Even the religious convert will frequently backslide, unless his social atmosphere is changed. The only permanent and constantly growing force against intemperance is the refinement of our personal feelings, of our social judgments, and of our moral and esthetic ideas.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

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TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION BOARD, THE SCOTISH: Organized 1901 with the object of uniting all sections of the country in an endeavor to obtain further legislation on the lines of Lord Peel's Report (it being understood that support of the board by societies and individuals does not necessarily involve unqualified approval and indorsement of every statement and recommendation contained in that report), and also to strive to secure the effective administration of the licensing laws.

The board has avoided identifying itself with any political party; its aim is to be non-sectional and representative of all who have the welfare of Scotland at heart. And to all such, of whatever party, it appeals for support. The Rt. Hon. Viscount Peel is the president. The secretaries are G. F. Barbour and T. Nicol, 41, Melville Street, Edinburgh.

TEMPLE, WILLIAM: English economist; born London, 1628. Entering the diplomatic service, he represented England at the court of Brussels and in Holland. He sat in Parliament one year, but in 1680 retired from public life. Died in 1699. He wrote, among other books, "Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands" and an "Essay on the Trade of Ireland," in which, says Ingram, he mingled just views and mercantilist prejudices.

TENEMENTS (for statistics, see HOMES, OWNERSHIP OF; also OVERCROWDING. For methods of relief, see HOUSING; MUNICIPAL HOUSING; GARDEN CITIES, etc.): In this article we consider only tenements proper, in the sense of large buildings occupied mainly by families of the working or poorer classes. We consider New York City mainly because here the tenement presents the distinctive housing problem. In most other American cities, like Chicago and Philadelphia, while there is overcrowding with its attendant evils, the working classes and even the very poor occupy small houses rather than tenements. Boston has some of the worst tenements in the United States, but they are few in number compared with those in New York. Cincinnati, after New York and Boston, has the third worst tenements. (See OVERCROWDING.)

In Great Britain the housing question generally is also one of small houses rather than of tenements.

On the Continent most of the larger cities and Berlin especially have large barracks or tenements, but, generally speaking, they are neither so crowded nor so ill kept as in New York. In New York City the problem is undoubtedly at its worst. (See OVERCROWDING.)

The tenements are generally of five or even six and seven stories, built usually on lots of 25 x 100 feet, and with three or four families on each floor. Many of them are double-deckers, with 100 to 150 persons to a house. Rents are from \$12 to \$18 per month for four rooms, too often mere bed closets, opening on a narrow shaft and generally almost totally dark. In the public hallway opposite the stairs two water-closets often serve fifteen or twenty families.

Conditions, however, are improving. In 1895 a Tenement-House Commission was appointed, and as a result of their report and of further agitation an important Tenement-House Act has been passed, and repeatedly improved and amended, and enforced by a Tenement-House Department. The law now requires each apartment in the new tenements to have a toilet room, determines the proportion of the lot which can be built upon, the minimum amount of cubic and floor space per family, the position of fire-escapes, forbidding the keeping of animals on the premises, etc. Much has been accomplished. In two years, according to the report of the department (1906), 14,000 houses have been supplied with fire-escapes, and 9,000 wood floors of old fire-escapes replaced with iron; 28,000 accumulations of filth and rubbish have been removed from halls, cellars, or yards; 26,000 defective plumbing pipes repaired or replaced; 4,000 dark interiors have been given light and ventilation; 2,000 school sinks and privies have been removed. Yet vast evils remain. In 1904 362,000 dark interior rooms were reported. Jan. 1, 1906, there were still 357,000 such rooms. In the first quarter of 1906 1,031 rooms were provided with windows, at which rate it would take eighty-six years to change all the dark rooms. The department has to supervise 85,000 completed tenements, while in 1905 nearly 6,000 plans were filed for new tenements.

REFERENCE: See HOUSING.

TEXTILE INDUSTRIES AND WORKERS:

Textile industries in the United States employ a larger number of workers than any other branch of manufacturing, and in capital invested they are only exceeded by the iron and steel industries. In 1860 the capital invested in them was \$150,080,852; in 1890, \$739,973,661; in 1905 it was \$1,744,169,234. (For statistics, see MANUFACTURING). In value of product these industries stand third, food products being first and iron and steel products second. The conditions of the operatives in the industries are, however, relatively low, owing to the presence among them of a large population of unskilled female labor. There were employed in these industries in 1905 492,161 men sixteen years or over, and 582,630 women sixteen years and over, with 81,514 children under sixteen, a proportion and number of women and children not approached in any other branch of manufacturing.

On this account largely wages are low, especially in the South. (See WAGES.) In 1905 the Southern cotton-mills produced 2,346,652 bales, the Northern 2,203,406. Organizations in the textile trade began early and have played an impor-

tant part in the labor movement of the U. S., yet developed strong local bodies rather than national organizations. The Spinners' Union at Fall River, at times, at least, has been among the strongest unions in the country. A general International Union of Textile Workers, to include all except the spinners, was formed in 1881, but did not develop except in the South, the New England operatives mainly having unions of their own. In 1905 it had 10,000 members (15,000 in 1903). The National Spinners' Association of America, formed in 1885, was reorganized in 1889, since when it has been steadily successful.

In Great Britain the textile industries are if anything still more important. (See COTTON.) In 1905 the exports of cotton yarn were £10,317,000 (Germany, £1,703,000; France, £750,000); of cotton piece goods, £70,817,000 (Germany, £13,208,000; U. S., £6,000,000; France, £10,562,000); woolen and worsted yarn, £4,244,000 (Germany, £3,176,000; France, £1,490,000); woolen and worsted manufactures, £19,619,000 (Germany, £14,076,000; France, £7,361,000; U. S., £419,000); jute yarn and manufactures, £2,680,000 (France, £562,000); linen yarn and manufactures, £6,340,000 (France, 1904, £1,681,000). (See WAGES.) The main English textile labor organizations are the Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners, organized in 1870, with (1904) 18,534 members, and several federations, the United Textile Factory Workers' Association (1883), representing 103,181 members; the Amalgamated Association of Card and Blowing-room Operatives (1886), with 22,420 members, and the North Counties Amalgamated Association of Weavers (1884), with 80,920 members. An International Textile Congress has been formed, the congress of 1905, representing 349,165 members, of which 220,515 were English and 60,000 German.

THÉATE, CH., L. J.: Chief of the Bureau of Labor in Belgium, and publicist; born in Liège, 1866. He was educated in his native city, and visited the university there, receiving the degree of Doctor Juris in 1887. He practised law for a while at the court of appeals. In 1897 he was called to his present position. He is in favor of State interference, but with as little infringement of individual liberty as possible. He is author of commentaries on several Belgian laws; "Lois sur les Règlements d'Atelier"; "Lois sur les Unions Professionnelles"; "Lois sur les Accidents du Travail"; also a number of others along similar lines. Address: Boulevard Militaire, 166, Brussels, Belgium.

THOMAS, JOHN LLOYD: Publicist and manager of the "Mills Hotels and Model Dwellings"; born at Witton Park, England, April 22, 1857; educated at Darlington, England, and Utica, N. Y. Entered journalism and has written much for New York journals and the American Press Association; was editor *The Constitution*, New York, 1890-96; has lectured on social questions in United States, Canada, and Great Britain. He was secretary National Prohibition Party and National Constitutional League for several years, and has traveled in Europe, studying the subject of model dwellings and similar movements for the benefit of working men. He is the author of many pamphlets and magazine articles on municipal and school questions. Address: 161 West Thirty-sixth Street, New York.

THOMPSON, ROBERT ELLIS: Economist; born near Lurgan, in the north of Ireland, in 1844; emigrated to America with his parents in 1857. Graduating at the University of Pennsylvania in 1865, he received the degree of M.A. in 1868, and was chosen instructor in the university in that year, and professor of social science in 1871, and transferred to the professorship of history and English literature in 1881. In 1892 he was elected professor of history and literature in the Wagner Institute of Science. He has lectured on protective tariffs in various universities. Professor Thompson edited the *American Presbyterian* (1866-70); the *Penn Monthly* (1870-81); the *American* (1880-91); the *Sunday School Times* (1891); also the first two volumes of the *Encyclopedia Americana*. He belongs to the economic school of Henry C. Carey. In 1894 was appointed to the position he still holds—the presidency of the great Central High School of Philadelphia. Author: "Social Science and Natural Economy" (1875); "Elements of Political Economy" (1882); "Protection to Home Industry" (1886); "The Divine Order of Human Society" (1892). "History of the Presbyterian Church" (1895); "The Hand of God in American History" (1902); "Nature, the Minor of Grace" (1907). Address: West Rex Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.

THOREAU, HENRY DAVID: Transcendentalist; born Concord, Mass., 1817. In 1837 he graduated at Harvard College and returned to Concord as a private tutor and a school-teacher. He became intimate with Emerson, at times an inmate of his home; he was soon a characteristic member of the new transcendental school. He supported himself by teaching school, by pencil-making, surveying, carpentering, and painting, making every year pedestrian excursions through the woods of New Hampshire. Eccentric in his dress, manners, and mode of life; it is said (tho it is also denied) he never went to church, never voted, and never paid a tax to the state. In 1845 he built for himself a wooden hut in the woods by Walden Pond, and continued to live there—a cultured hermit—for two and a half years. After 1849 he lived at home with his parents and sister in Concord. In 1859 he became acquainted with John Brown, and was so influenced by him as to devote his life to the anti-slavery movement. He combined high culture with the quick instincts, discernment, and love of nature of an Indian; a scornful enemy of every custom not based upon nature, reason, and morality. Died in 1862. He kept a voluminous journal and wrote many essays, from which large selections have since been published. Author: "A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers" (1849); "Walden" (1854); "Cape Cod" (1865), etc.

THORNE, WILLIAM JAMES: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for West Ham, South; born in 1857 at Birmingham; he lost his father at seven and had to go to work with a roper; a year later he worked in a brick-field, and tried different trades, but finally became an efficient stoker in the retort house on the drawing and charging machine. As a consequence of a strike he lost his work, and tramped to London, where he worked for a gas company. In 1889 he founded the National Union of Gas Workers and General Laborers, and has been its secretary ever since. He has been on the Trade-Union Parlia-

mentary Committee for eleven years, and attended three international congresses. At West Ham he is a member of the town council, and was deputy-mayor in 1898. His constituency consists of various societies of working men, chiefly Social Democratic Federation men. Elected to Parliament in 1906. *Address*: 1 Lawrence Road, Upton Park, E. London, England.

THORNTON, WILLIAM THOMAS: Writer; born Burnham, England, 1813; educated at the Moravian settlement at Ockbrook, near Derby. Secretary to the British Consul-General at Constantinople, 1830-35; clerk in the India House, London, 1835-58; secretary for public works in the India Office till his death in 1880. Author: "Over-Population and its Remedy" (1845); "On Labor: its Rightful Dues and Wrongful Claims, its Actual Present and Possible Future."

THRIFT has been recently called "an eclipsed virtue." It is, perhaps, by many to-day too much condemned, as it was once by most too much praised. In the period when an unbalanced and doctrinaire individualism prevailed in economic thought, the only true help was thought to be self-help. The only abiding way to help the poor was to teach them to help themselves. Under this belief the virtue of thrift was continually exalted by those anxious to remedy poverty. It was shown how, on exactly the same incomes, thrifty persons could manage to get along in comparative comfort, while those without thrift could not get along at all. The inference was that the only way to enable the poor to prosper was to teach them to be thrifty. "A penny saved is a penny earned"; "Frugality is a vast revenue"—these were the lessons taught. It was shown how wise and prudent it was to save and stint, and then invest one's small savings, and so gradually acquire a competence, or at least provision for old age or a rainy day. Penny savings-banks, post-office savings-banks, various provident institutions were founded to encourage thrift.

On the other hand, extreme Socialists and trade-unionists have been wont to condemn thrift. Many Socialists argue that the laborer under competition can only get a living, and that if by thrift he is enabled to live cheaper, he will simply be enabled to work for lower wages. Trade-unionists put the same view usually thus: "Wages depend on the standard of living. The laborer gets, as in all cases of value, just what it costs to produce him. Cheap laborers make low wages. As thrift means cheap living, it is an evil to the laborers as a class, tho it may enable one who practises it to get the advantage of his fellows."

Mr. Hyndman, before the British Labor Commission, argued that to accumulate money in any way is to accumulate orders on other men's labors, and not to benefit the class who so save. All thrift on the part of the working classes, he held, by making them small capitalists, and intensifying competition, increases the evil ("Minutes of Evidence Digest," p. 23). According to Mr. Bax: "To the Socialist labor is an evil to be minimized to the utmost. The man who works at his trade or avocation more than necessity compels him, or who accumulates more than he can enjoy, is not a hero, but a fool" ("The Religion of Socialism," p. 94). According to John Burns, before the Trade-Union Congress at

Norwich, "Thrift was invented by capitalistic rogues to beguile fools to destruction" (Report, p. 55).

The balanced view between these extremes of praising thrift as the one thing needful to prosperity and of condemning it as an evil, is to show that there is truth on both sides. Self-help is not the only necessary help. Cooperation is necessary. Thrifty, competing individuals may lower their wages by thrift; but thrifty cooperation or socialism will not lower wages, and yet will save much for the individual and the community. The rich as a class are much more thrifty than the poor. Waste is never wise. The need is for a thrifty cooperative community.

THÜNEN, JOHANN HEINRICH VON: Political economist; born 1783, the son of a landed proprietor, and became himself the owner of a large estate near Rostock. Political economy was his favorite study; in 1826 he published the first volume of his "Der Isolirte Staat." It is still a matter of debate how far Von Thünen was a Socialist, but many of the opinions to which he gives expression are of a decidedly socialistic nature. Von Thünen's inquiries led to the conclusion that the wages of a laborer only cover the cost of his maintenance, and the interest on the capital employed in his bringing up; for his labor, his exertion, he receives nothing but his life—i. e., his necessary subsistence. Von Thünen thinks that the only way to raise the wages of labor is to increase the cost of bringing up the laborer, and thus he advocates the better education and training of the workman's children, the requisite cost being regarded as an indispensable need.

TILLET, BENJAMIN, was born at Lower Easton, Bristol, England, in 1860. As a boy he had to shift for himself, and roughed it in coal-pits and brick-yards until fourteen, when he went to sea. He spent three years in the merchant service and two years in the navy. By obtaining employment as a tea cooper he was brought into direct contact with dock and wharf work, and experienced the evils of irregular employment. In 1887 he was one of the most active in organizing the Tea Coopers' and General Laborers' Association, and later in organizing the London dockers. (See **DOCKERS' STRIKE**.) Mr. Tillet was elected and has since been general secretary of the Dockers' Union. He is a "progressive" trade-unionist, has been nominated for Parliament by the Independent Labor Party, and has been chosen an alderman of the London County Council. *Address*: 425, Mile End Road, London, E.

TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS CHARLES HENRI CHEREL DE: Jurist, author; born Verneuil, France, 1805. He studied law and became an assistant magistrate. In 1831 he was commissioned to investigate the penitentiary system of the United States. In 1835 he published his famous "De la Démocratie en Amérique." In 1848 he was elected to the Constituent Assembly. In 1849 Minister of Foreign Affairs for four months. In 1856 he published his "L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution." He died at Cannes in 1859. An opponent of democracy, he foretold its growth in the world, and became one of its first historians. We give two typical quotations from his book.

"Democracy," says De Tocqueville, in a remarkable passage (vol. ii., chap. xx.), "is favorable to the growth of manufactures. . . . Manufactures may possibly, in their turn, bring men back to aristocracy. . . . In proportion as the principle of the division of labor is more extensively applied the workman becomes more weak, more narrow-minded and dependent. The art advances; the artisan recedes. On the other hand, in proportion as it becomes more manifest that the production of manufactures is by so much the more cheaper and better as the manufacture is larger and the amount of capital employed more considerable, wealthy and educated men come forward to embark in manufactures. . . . In a short time the one will require nothing but physical strength without intelligence; the other stands in need of science and almost of genius to secure success. This man resembles more and more the administrator of a vast empire—that man a brute. . . . Hence it would appear, on searching to the bottom, that aristocracy should naturally spring out of the bosom of democracy. . . . The manufacturing democracy of our age first impoverishes and debases the men who serve it and then abandons them to be supported by the charity of the public. This is a natural consequence of what has been said before. Between the workman and the master there are frequent relations, but no real relationship. I am of opinion, upon the whole, that the manufacturing aristocracy which is growing up under our eyes is one of the harshest which ever existed in the world; but at the same time it is one of the most confined and least dangerous. Nevertheless, the friends of democracy should keep their eyes anxiously fixed in this direction, for if ever a permanent inequality of conditions and aristocracy again penetrate into the world, it may be predicted that this is the channel by which they will enter."

Industrial Servitude

De Tocqueville's final conclusions as to the effect of democracy upon social conditions in America is strange reading to-day. He says, in part, "great wealth tends to disappear, the number of small fortunes to increase; desires and gratifications are multiplied, but extraordinary prosperity and irremediable penury are alike unknown. The sentiment of ambition is universal, but the scope of ambition is seldom vast. Each individual stands apart in solitary weakness, but society at large is active, provident, and powerful; the performances of private persons are insignificant; those of the State immense. There is little energy of character, but manners are mild and laws humane. If there be few instances of exalted heroism or of virtues of the highest, brightest, and purest temper, men's habits are regular, violence is rare, and cruelty almost unknown."

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TOLMAN, WILLIAM HOWE: Director of the American Museum of Safety Devices and Industrial Hygiene; born 1861 at Pawtucket, R. I.; educated at Brown University (1882); took postgraduate work in history and politics at Johns Hopkins University; was for three years general agent of the Society for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, secretary of the Improved Housing Council, director of the League for Social Service and of the American Institute for Social Service (q. v.), and since 1907 of the American Museum of Safety Devices. He has been especially active in promoting exhibits in social economy at various international expositions: Paris 1900, St. Louis 1904, Liège 1905, Milan 1906, Paris 1907, has represented the United States Government at them, has been a member of the International Jury at each, and received numerous awards and decorations, including that of Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur, the Order of Leopold, and the Prussian Crown, third-class. Author: "History of Higher Education in Rhode Island," 1891; "Municipal Reform Movements in the U. S.," 1894; "Handbook of Sociological Reference for New York City," 1894; "Public Baths and Comfort Stations," 1897, and of numerous essays on industrial betterment. Address: 231-241 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York.

TOLSTOY, COUNT LEO: Russian author, social reformer; born 1828 at Yasnaya Poliana, a village and estate belonging to his mother's family, and situated near the city of Toula, in Russia. His family has been intimately asso-

ciated with the history of Russia for two centuries, and ranks among the higher nobility. He studied at the University of Kazan, and in 1851 took a commission in the Army of the Caucasus, seeing active service there, and later taking part in the defense of Sebastopol. About this period he published his first novels, including "Childhood, Boyhood, Youth," "The Cossacks," and "Sebastopol." At the close of the Crimean War he made St. Petersburg his home, and became a distinguished member of the literary society there. He traveled extensively abroad, and on his return settled upon his native estate, became a justice of the peace, and applied himself to the organization and management of schools for the peasants, now released from serfdom; he also edited a paper devoted to popular education. After further travel he married, at the age of thirty-four, and made Yasnaya Poliana his permanent home. For fifteen years he wrote his novels there, separated almost completely from society, and there his large family were born and brought up. During these years he composed his two greatest works, "War and Peace" and "Anna Karénina."

At the expiration of this period, and about the year 1877, Tolstoy became impressed with the emptiness of his literary pursuits, and began to ask himself what the meaning of life really was.

Making a careful study of the four Gospels, here at last he succeeded in satisfying himself. He says ("What I Believe," also called "My Religion," p. 10):

The text that gave me the key to the truth was St. Matt. 5: 39, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you that ye resist not evil." The simple meaning of these words suddenly flashed full upon me; I accepted the fact that Christ meant exactly what He said, and then, tho I had found nothing new, all that had hitherto obscured the truth cleared away, and the truth itself arose before me in all its solemn importance.

In his book "Life," Count Tolstoy gives systematic form to the theory of life which he deduced from the Gospels. He maintains that man should renounce the individual aims of his life and devote his life in love to his fellow creatures, thus finding his life in doing God's will—that is, in doing unto others as he would have others do unto him, and abstaining entirely from violence. He who enters upon such a life is really born again, for him there is no death. In "What to Do," "The Kingdom of God is Within You," he shows the conclusions to which his beliefs have brought him. He holds that war, government, private property are to be condemned as involving the use of force; that all men should engage in manual labor; that they should avoid luxury; that all should have an equal right in the land; that money is an evil thing, its chief end being the enslavement of the people, and that a life of complete chastity is the ideal toward which men should tend.

His Views

His system is thus seen to be a combination of the philosophy of St. John with the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount literally applied.

The "Kreutzer Sonata," a novel intended to show the author's rigid views upon marriage, was published about the year 1888, and was strangely misunderstood, having been placed under the ban by the Post-office Department in the United States as unfit for transportation in the mails. In an article written in explanation of this book, Tolstoy declares that eventually

love for God and for one's neighbor should replace the physical relations of marriage.

Count Tolstoy's own life gives a fair example of the application of his principles. He has stripped his house of everything not actually necessary; dresses like a peasant and works in the fields; has also learned bootmaking. He confines his writing to the elucidation of his moral and religious ideas, and has published many short moral stories for the peasants. He has become a strict vegetarian, and never touches wine, tobacco, tea, or coffee. During the famine of 1891-92 he and his family did an extensive work in establishing soup-kitchens in the stricken districts. The count has a considerable following in Russia, altho the character of the government in that country makes it difficult to ascertain the real dimensions of such a movement. He has escaped Siberia himself on account of his great international reputation.

Tolstoy has been a voluminous writer, and many of his works have been translated into the principal European languages. Among the English translations, besides those already mentioned, may be named "The Four Gospels, Harmonized and Translated," three volumes; "My Confession," "Ivan Ilyitch," "Family Happiness," "Napoleon's Russian Campaign," "Power and Liberty," "The Long Exile," "The Invaders," "A Russian Proprietor," "Where Love Is," "The Two Pilgrims," "What Men Live By," "Master and Man," "Work While Ye Have the Light." Many of these works are more or less autobiographical, and even in the novels there is usually a leading character who reflects more or less distinctly the personality of the author. He has also written several plays and some books on education, but these have not yet appeared in English.

ERNEST CROSBY.

TOOKE, THOMAS: Economist; born in St. Petersburg, Russia, in 1774, the son of William Tooke, the historian, and at that time chaplain to the factory of the Russia Company, in St. Petersburg. Thomas Tooke was for more than forty years successfully engaged in the Russian trade, but is better known as a pioneer in the free-trade movement. He drew up in 1820 a famous "Merchants' Petition" for free trade. He founded the Political Economy Club in 1831, and promoted numerous industrial and philanthropic reforms. He is the author of numerous writings on currency and trade, the best known being his "History of Prices and of the State of the Paper Circulation from 1798-1856," etc. (6 vols., 1838-57). He died in London in 1858.

TOPOLOBAMPO: A former cooperative colony situated in northern Sinaloa, Mexico, founded by Albert K. Owen, who had obtained valuable concessions from the Mexican Government. A company was formed to develop the colony; its charter was filed in Colorado, and the first colonists were landed in Topolobampo Bay in 1886. An organ of the colony, the *Credit Foncier of Sinaloa*, was started in 1885 in New Jersey and moved to Topolobampo in 1888, edited by Mrs. Marie Howland, and devoted to "integral cooperation." The colonists numbered, in 1892, 446 persons, including 150 children.

The main activities were the developing of the natural advantages of the colony, involving the investment of many tens of thousands of dollars. The main immediately remunerative industry

was a tinware manufactory. Family life was preserved. Differences, however, sprang up. A Free Land Company was formed to oppose the original Credit Foncier Company, headed by Mr. Owen, and the life of the colony gradually ended.

TORRENS LAND SYSTEM: A system used in Australia to keep the title of lands in a public registry, so that a transfer of titles can be made easily, cheaply, and safely, by simply recording the transfer in the registry. It was adopted in Illinois a number of years ago, but soon declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of that state. (See **LAND TRANSFER**.)

TORRENS, ROBERT: Economist; born in Ireland, 1780. He became major-general in India, and was for years in Parliament, prominent as a supporter of the Reform Bill. His views on the Corn Laws were finally adopted by Peel. He died in 1864. Author: "Essay on Money and Paper Currency" (1812); "Essay on the Production of Wealth" (1821); "The Budget, a Series of Letters on Financial, Commercial, and Colonial Policy" (1841-43).

TOTAL ABSTINENCE. See **TEMPERANCE**; **PROHIBITION**; **PROHIBITION PARTY**.

TOYNBEE, ARNOLD: Social reformer; born in London, 1852. He spent two years in a military college, then resided for a year in a retired village on the seacoast, engaged in study and meditation. After this he went to Oxford, where he made a notable mark. In spite of ill health he was appointed tutor to the Indian civilians at Balliol College, and for a time immersed himself in economic studies. Deeply interested in the working classes, he went to Whitechapel (East London) and lived, devoting himself to improving the condition of the poor, and taking part in public and religious meetings. Popular with the men, he felt called upon to lecture against the views of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," and the strain and excitement of this action on a feeble body, worn by constant labors, was the immediate cause of his death in 1883. From the inspiration of his example arose Toynbee Hall, founded in 1884. (See **SETTLEMENTS**.) His main work, published in partly unfinished condition, after his death, is "The Industrial Revolution in England." Neither a Socialist nor a Democrat, he had strong tendencies in both those directions, and opposed the doctrinaire character of most orthodox economics, and believed that modern facts show the necessity and value of adopting many Socialist principles. Deeply interested in Church reform, he desired the harmony of Church and State, his conception of Christianity being, the spirit of Jesus applied in all directions, and in all the affairs and relations of life.

TRADE AGREEMENTS: The term "Trade Agreement" is used to designate an agreement covering wages, hours, and conditions of labor, between an association or union of workmen and an association of employers. An essential part of the agreement is the clause providing that there shall be no strikes or lockouts during the term of the agreement, usually one year, but that all disputes relating to interpretation of, or to matters not covered by, the agreement shall be settled by conference between representatives of the

two associations. Sometimes it is provided that in case these representatives cannot agree they shall call in an outsider or umpire. The term Arbitration (see ARBITRATION) is sometimes inaccurately applied to the trade agreement, but arbitration is strictly the reference of a dispute to a disinterested outsider, whereas trade agreements are nearly always drawn up by the representatives of the parties. An exception to this rule was the arbitration of the anthracite coal strike in 1902, when a commission appointed by the president drew up a trade agreement, which the parties agreed in advance to accept for a period of three years. The term conciliation is also often used with reference to a trade agreement, but conciliation is properly mediation by outside parties with the object of inducing the two parties to enter upon a trade agreement of their own framing. The principal trade agreement systems at present in vogue are as follows:

Iron and steel industry, between the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers and such companies as the United States Steel Corporation and Republic Iron and Steel Company. The system originated in 1865 and has continued to the present time with three or four interruptions.

Bituminous coal industry, since 1898. Several agreements covering separate competitive fields, the principal one being that of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, between the United Mine Workers of America and different associations of coal operators. Anthracite coal industry, between the United Mine Workers and the largest anthracite coal producers since 1902.

Longshoremen's agreements between the Longshoremen, Marine, and Transport Workers, and different associations on the Great Lakes and Gulf and Pacific coasts, of dock managers, lumber and grain carriers, and others. Since 1897.

Stove industry, between the Molders' Union and the National Stove Founders' Defense Association. Since 1891.

Newspaper publishers and International Typographical Union. Since 1890.

Railroad Brotherhoods and nearly all railway systems.

The United Garment Workers, United Brewers, Hatters, and Cigar Makers have agreements, or contracts, with individual establishments granting the use of the union label.

In the building trades there are many hundred local agreements, the bricklayers having begun the practise in New York in 1884.

Lithographic Trades Alliance and the Lithographers' Association (National).

The Theatrical Managers and the Musical Protective Union. There are in addition very numerous local agreements.

Examples of the endurance of the severest tests on these agreements are the contracts between the associated bituminous coal operators and the United Mine Workers of America, and the contract between the Lake Carriers' Association and the International Longshoremen's Union. Each party to these agreements has undergone successfully the strain of granting higher wages on the one side and of accepting lower wages on the other. The acceptance of a lower scale by the bituminous coal miners prevented a strike, extending through Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, whose possible consequences no man could foresee, since it might literally have stopped the commerce and paralyzed the industries of the country.

The Stove Founders' Association, composed of 600 of the largest manufacturers in the U. S., has maintained since 1891 a trade agreement with the National Iron Molders' Union. This contract, renewed annually, has withstood suc-

cessfully the severest tests, both of advances and reductions in wages, two of these strains having been especially severe. The executive committee of each organization attends the annual convention of the other.

The manager of the Lake fleets and shipping interests of the U. S. Steel Corporation, Harry Coulby, recently said:

"There are no workers harder to manage than the longshoremen. Yet the discipline of their organization is so thorough and their sense of honor is so high that, when contracts are signed, the employers know just what they can count on. If a new local union attempts to violate its contract, the national organization protects the employers. Had it not been for the steadying influence of this organization and the effect of its collective contract, the business of lake transportation would have suffered disaster during the past five years."

JOHN R. COMMONS.

TRADE-UNION BENEFITS (see also INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE): We give here a tabulation of facts. Those for the United States are from the New York State *Bulletin of Labor* (March, 1906).

The national unions belonging to the American Federation of Labor made the following expenditures for benefits in 1905:

Death benefits.....	\$742,421.23
Death benefits (members' wives).....	24,800.00
Sick benefits.....	582,874.13
Traveling benefits.....	62,989.71
Tool insurance.....	5,180.41
Unemployed benefits.....	85,050.72
Total.....	\$1,503,316.20

THE RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS

Exclusive of street-railway employees, there are ten organizations of railway men in the U. S., of which only three (the car workers, trackmen or maintenance-of-way employees, and telegraphers) are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Of the remaining seven, five are composed of men engaged directly in the operation of trains and thereby exposed to great risks, against which they insure themselves through the Brotherhood itself or some association closely identified with the Brotherhood. The following table reveals the magnitude of this death and disability insurance at the present time:

BROTHERHOOD	Members of Brotherhood	BENEFICIARY DEPARTMENTS	
		Amount paid in benefits	Number of claims paid
Conductors.....	36,000	\$825,000	423
Engineers.....	47,000	1,327,500	594
Firemen.....	55,287	810,250	.....
Switchmen.....	23,000	154,200	151
Trainmen.....	74,539	1,545,236	1,154
Total.....	.....	\$4,662,186	.....

GREAT BRITAIN

The Board of Trade Report on Trade-Unions (1906) gives the following statistics for 100 of the principal unions:

	Unemployed, traveling, and emigration benefits	Dispute benefits	Sick and accident benefits	Superannuation benefits	Funeral benefits	Other benefits and grants to members	Total expended, benefit and working
1900.....	£263,231	£149,056	£308,900	£180,530	£95,655	£34,150	£3,693,854
1902.....	424,046	217,976	340,506	219,096	95,296	36,334	4,379,981
1904.....	647,722	226,446	384,519	267,395	95,644	49,074	4,616,230

The total membership in these years was respectively 1,149,937, 1,152,634, and 1,127,529.

In Germany and on the Continent generally trade-union benefits are low, partly because the State, particularly in Germany, does so much in industrial insurance, mainly, however, because the trade-unions themselves are relatively weak, tho on the increase. In Germany unemployed benefits are confined to the Hirsch Duncker unions and a few Social Democratic unions. In the Hirsch Duncker unions members receive from six to eight marks per week for thirteen weeks.

TRADE-UNIONISM (see special articles **TRADE-UNIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN**, by Sidney Webb; **TRADE-UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES**, by Prof. John R. Commons; **WOMEN'S TRADE-UNIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN**, by Miss Gertrude M. Tuckwell; **WOMEN'S TRADE-UNIONS IN THE U. S.**, by Miss Herron; **AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR**, by William J. Kirk; **COMPULSORY ARBITRATION**, by Samuel Gompers; **UNIONIST AND NON-UNIONIST**, by John Mitchell; cf. also articles **OPEN SHOP**; **TRADE-UNION AGREEMENTS**; **TRADE-UNION BENEFITS**, etc., etc.):

We consider in this article trade-unions in other countries, and the arguments for and against other trade-unionism.

I. Trade-Unionism in Various Countries

(For Great Britain and the U. S., see above.)

In France all industrial organizations, whether of employers, of employees, or of both, are called *syndicats*. Organization of trade-unions of the English type was late in France. (For the history, see **FRANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM**.)

In 1884 complete freedom of organization was gained. In 1890 there were 1,006 labor-unions with 139,678 members, and in 1905, 4,625 unions with 781,344 members; 3,176 of the unions were federated in 158 federations. The largest number of unions were in the building trades, followed next by transportation and then by the metal trades. In point of membership transportation comes first with 221,683 trade-unionists; metal trades, 90,355; mining and quarrying, 87,166; textile trades, 79,676.

Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, and the Department of Nord are the main centers. French trade-unions are more formally identified with the Socialist movement than English and American unions. (See **SOCIALISM**.) The entrance fee is usually 1 franc, and the monthly dues from 50 c. to 1 fr. The *Chambre Syndicale Typographique* is one of the oldest in Paris, founded in 1839.

In Germany trade-unions (*Gewerkvereine*) are of various kinds. The old medieval guilds (*Zünfte*) were abolished by various laws about 1800; but modern guilds (*Innungen*), mainly of employees, and somewhat patterned after the old, were developed, and were encouraged by the government, which strictly controlled all trade. Trade-unions proper date from 1868.

Herr Fritzsche established a German Union of Tobacco Workers in 1865, and of German printers in 1866.

These were largely socialistic. In 1868 were formed of this type various trade associations (*Gewerkschaften*). Dr. Max Hirsch the same year started a movement with the English trade-union idea. He and Herr Duncker worked together, and by 1869 had formed four such

unions. The principal German unions, however, the socialistic *Gewerkschaften*, in fifty-seven central organizations.

In 1894, however, began a new type of unions, the so-called Christian Trade-Unions, opposed to the asserted materialism and socialism of the *Gewerkschaften*. (See **GERMANY**, p. 539.)

The following table gives for recent years the relative strength of the various types of unions:

	1899	1904	1905
Social Democratic trade-unions (<i>Gewerkschaften</i>):			
Central federations.....	580,473	1,052,108	.....
Local unions.....	15,946	20,686	.....
Total "Gewerkschaften".....	596,419	1,072,794	1,372,539
Hirsch-Duncker trade unions (<i>Gewerkvereine</i>).....	86,777	111,889	117,097
Christian trade-unions:			
Affiliated to central federations.....	{ not	107,556	{ 188,106
Other.....	{ given	99,928	
Total Christian trade-unions.....	112,160	207,484	305,203
Other trade-unions (non-federated).....	68,994	74,458	144,601
Total of all unions.....	864,350	1,466,625	1,822,343

The Christian trade-unions are strongest in transportation with 83,000, and 44,118 in mining (1904). They reported an income that year of about 1,400,000 marks, and expenditures of about 1,009,000. The Hirsch-Duncker unions are strongest in the metal and engineering trades, with 47,000. They reported in 1904 an income of about 1,080,000 mk. and expenditures of about 880,000. The Social Democratic unions, which are much the largest, had in 1904 243,626 members in the building trades, 117,972 in the metal and shipbuilding trades, and 105,015 in woodworking trades. They reported in 1904 an income of some 20,000,000 mk., and expenditures of 16,600,000 for trade expenses alone and 1,120,000 in industrial benefits. These unions are now rapidly growing in Germany and the Social Democrats are entering them, developing them, and working with them and through them in every way.

In Switzerland trade-unions proper have not been strongly developed, tho they are now attaining more strength. (For the important *Grütliverein*, see **SWITZERLAND**.) An interesting feature of Swiss trade-unionism is that, owing to an agitation in 1886, a federal officer, called the workman secretary, is elected every three years by a congress of Swiss labor societies, organized as a federation, and represents the societies in the government. He is paid by the government. In all, the Swiss Trade-Union Federation had (1904) some 31,137 members, of which 21,000 were in printing and bookbinding trades. In 1907 it was reported at the Stuttgart Socialist Congress that Swiss unions claimed about 50,000 members, besides some 30,000 not affiliated in the central federation.

In Italy labor organizations are of very various kinds. Some are very ancient. The Pious Union of Journeymen Printers of Turin dates from 1710. The Pious Institute of Silk and Felt Hat Makers of the same city dates from 1738. In 1861 a *Fratellanza Artigiana* was started at Florence, and is still strong. In 1871 a *Patto*

del Fratellanza, or pact of working men's societies, was formed at Rome. Both of these were under the influence of Mazzini. Since then most Italian labor organizations are best considered under the head of socialism. (See ITALY.)

Other Countries

In 1902, however, there were reported 480,000 members of labor-unions, of which 240,000 were in agricultural unions. There were reported at Stuttgart, 1907, 365,000 members in 2,657 unions.

In Austria the history of trade-unions is identified with the political history and socialism. (See AUSTRIA.) On Christmas eve, 1893, the first congress of Austrian trade-unions met in Vienna; 270 delegates were present, reporting 20,000 members of unions in Vienna and 11,320 in the provinces. (See AUSTRIA.)

In 1905 there were reported 3,111 unions with 323,090 members, of which 28,403 were women, while at the Stuttgart Congress 448,000 members were reported in 1907. Hungary had in 1905 forty unions with 71,173 members. There were reported at Stuttgart, 129,232.

In Belgium trade-unions have long had a firm hold, some of them being descended from the old trade benefit societies, but at present are mainly Socialist societies. (See BELGIUM.) There were reported in 1907 100,000 members in two federated bodies, about 35,000 being connected technically with the Socialist Party. Sweden reported in 1907 144,000 trade-union members; Norway, 25,000; Denmark, 78,000. In all these Scandinavian countries the trade-unions and the Socialist parties are practically different forms of one organization. Holland reports about 28,000 members of unions; Spain, 34,000. It is estimated that there are about 250,000 trade-unionists in Australia. In Australasia, naturally, trade-unions have followed the English model.

II. Arguments for Trade-Unions

The first argument for the existence of trade-unions is that they are necessary to protect the individual employee. For capitalists organized in great corporations to refuse to allow their employees to organize is injustice. Before the gigantic organization of capital to-day the individual employee is helpless. Only by organization and collective bargaining can he at all put himself on a basis of equality in dealings with his employer.

Trade-unions are necessary to allow of arbitration, conciliation, and responsible, enduring relations between workmen and their employers. Boards of arbitration and conciliation cannot deal between employers and each of several hundred employees acting as individuals. In England the large employers have learned to prefer to deal with strong trade-unions. Then responsible bargains can be made for a year ahead between the masters and the men, and the men and the corporations can know what to count on in fixing their prices.

Says Schulze Garvernitz ("Social Peace," tr., pp. 248-250):

The more intellectually gifted employers in the most important English industries have given an ungrudging recognition to the unions, and comparing the present with the former state of incessant strife, they see in the trade-union movement the instrument which is to restore English industry to the paths of peace. He quotes David Dale, a prominent mine-owner, as saying: "Let me therefore declare emphatically, as the result of long and varied experience, that the best se-

curities that employers can have for the rule of reason and the observance of engagements on the part of the operatives of any trade is that those operatives should have among themselves a union strong in numbers and with an able and trusted executive."

Says Prof. Alfred Marshall, in a carefully balanced estimate ("Economics of Industry," bk. vi., chap. xii., section 13):

Little but mischief indeed comes from a weak union, always ready to interfere, but seldom able to secure the faithful carrying out of an agreement, to which its own officers have been a party. But a strong union, guided by able and far-seeing men, who have a grave sense of responsibility, is found to enable a few minutes' quiet conversation to settle innumerable petty disputes that in old times would have caused much delay and worry and loss of mutual good feeling.

Invention and machinery make trade-unions and short hours necessary. Muscular labor has been replaced by machinery (*q. v.*) in different trades from 50 to 300 per cent. This process is going on continually. Typesetting machines displace thousands of compositors. Trade-unions are often the only bulwark between the wage-worker and terrible reductions in wages. They are also the only hope of steady, orderly solution of the labor question. In trades where labor is well organized there are high wages and peace and hope.

The best argument for trade-unions is the simple statement of what they have done. Mr. Trant, summing up what they have done in England, says:

It has been argued: First, that trade-unions have succeeded in raising wages and reducing the number of working-hours. Second, that these reforms do not benefit the laborer at the cost of either the capitalist or the consumer; as, between certain limits, it is found that high pay and the prospect of an early cessation from work are such incentives to industry that the produce of labor is actually greater than under a system of long hours and low pay. Third, that the workmen have such confidence in the benefits they derive from union, that, after the experience of "half a millennium," they are crowding into societies, into unions, in a greater ratio every year. Fourth, that their declared object is to prevent strikes and substitute arbitrations; and altho the latter mode of settling disputes is often proposed by the men and refused by the masters, it is seldom proposed by the masters and still less often refused by the men. It has been argued further, that such being the objects of trade-unions, and such their success in obtaining these objects, the influence of that success must be very beneficial. First, because high wages mean increased comforts, which are not only a social but a commercial advantage. High wages mean increased production, also the double blessing just mentioned. Second, because high wages do not mean enhanced prices, but the contrary. Third, because the principles of trade-unionism teach men the prudence of denying themselves something to-day, in order that they may have greater advantages to-morrow; and the duty of self-sacrifice, by calling upon them to contribute, out of their meager wealth, toward the alleviation of the sufferings of their fellow men. Fourth, because trade-unions endeavor to obtain for the working classes more leisure for recreation and study. Fifth, because by lectures and other means the unions endeavor to make their members better workmen; and by rules which stigmatize and punish the idle, the vicious, and the incompetent, do all in their power to make workmen better citizens.

It is really difficult to conceive how an institution with such noble objects, having attained those objects, can be anything but a great blessing to the community in which it is placed.

In the U. S. trade-unions have produced the same results.

1. They have shortened hours of toil from 13, 14, and occasionally 16, seventy years ago, to 12, 11, 10, and even to 8 in very many trades to-day. This is almost solely due to trade-unions, and has not taken place in portions of the country or in trades where trade-unionism is weak. (See table on page 1233.)

2. Trade-unions have mainly contributed to what rise of wages has been gained.

3. Trade-unions have prevented an unknown number of cut-downs in wages.

4. Trade-unions have gained in many states legislation preventing the truck system, the locking of factory doors in work-hours, the employment of women and children at night, etc.

They have gained legislation protecting the life and limb of employees from unguarded machinery, compelling the erection of fire-escapes, appointing factory inspectors (men and women). They have helped or led in establishing evening schools, labor bureaus, boards of arbitration and conciliation. They have caused to be enacted laws compelling weekly payment of wages, exempting the wages of wives and children from attachment, defining the responsibility of railroad and other corporations for accidents to their employees, above all limiting the hours of labor of women and children.

Such laws have not been passed in all states, nor are they wholly due to trade-union efforts; but they have scarcely ever, if ever, been passed where trade-unions are weak, and in almost all cases it has been trade-union leaders who have attended the legislative hearings, collected the witnesses, and conducted the agitations that have resulted in these laws.

5. The chief benefit of trade-unions is implied in the above, viz., their educational effect. It is said that good trade-unions do good and poor trade-unions do harm, but good trade-unions usually come as the outgrowth of poor and weak trade-unions. Therefore even poor and weak trade-unions are to be encouraged and made strong and good as soon as possible.

6. Trade-unions have been of inestimable use to the working classes as benefit societies. (See TRADE-UNION BENEFITS.)

III. Objections to Trade-Unions

1. It is said that they are tyrannical. On the contrary, they are utterly democratic. In every trade-union, every office, every rule, every strike is voted upon by the members, and the majority prevails. Sometimes a union, after voting to strike, empowers a walking delegate to call the strike when he thinks best; but the decision to strike does not lie with him. It not unfrequently happens that an employer asks an employee why he struck, and the man says he was compelled to strike by his union. Yet often that same employee himself voted to strike. Employees do not usually tell their employers when they vote to strike. Of course, in a democratic organization, a minority submits to a majority, but this is not tyranny. Sometimes, therefore, some men do strike against their will; but if they did not belong to a union they would have their will more crossed by their employers, so that, tho in a union a man does not always have his way, he has it infinitely more often than the employee who belongs to no union.

2. It is said that trade-unions are led by agitators, whose salaries depend on getting up an agitation. This occasionally happens, but very seldom. Trade-unions employ walking delegates for two reasons: (1) To attend to the important beneficiary work of the union; (2) because they have learned that it is necessary to have some one to represent them in dealing with their employers who is not financially dependent upon his employer. This is unquestionably necessary.

3. It is said that trade-unions are mischievous

in creating useless strikes. This is, generally speaking, a mistake. (See STRIKES.)

4. It is said that trade-unions lower the efficiency of labor, interfere with personal rights, and create violence by preventing apprentices from learning trades, by demanding equal wages for union members without reference to skill, by interfering with the employer's right to employ whom he will, and demanding that he employ only union labor, and by attacking non-union labor in time of strikes.

To these objections it is to be frankly admitted that cases of injustice on the part of trade-unions do frequently happen, especially with weak and newly formed unions; but this is not because of trade-unionism, but because the members are ignorant and unwise, and therefore have more need of unions which gradually outgrow such evils. Says Professor Marshall ("Economics of Industry," bk. iii., chap. v., § 3):

In many of the smaller unions there remains to the present day much of the folly and ignorance and selfishness and a little of the violence of earlier times. But we may trust that those faults which are not now found in the largest and best-managed unions will, with the course of time and the diffusion of knowledge, disappear altogether. It is true that even the best unions do not always act up to the principles of unionism as they are expounded by their most enlightened members. But as, when dealing with the economics of trade, we do not trouble ourselves to discuss at length the guiles of dishonest merchants, so when dealing with the economics of unionism, we may accept its principles as they are put into practise by the most enlightened unionists.

As for violence in times of strike against non-union men, called "scabs" by the union men, it undoubtedly often happens, but very often it is conducted by irresponsible young men or boys, and sometimes women, in hate, or in spirit of mischief, and is not conducted by the unionists. The violence against property in case of strike is almost wholly committed, not by unionists, but by the hoodlums that infest most large cities, and are glad of any opportunity to attack the representatives of capital. Most trade-unions are careful to protect property, knowing it for their interest in the long run. (See STRIKES; OPEN SHOP; UNIONIST; NON-UNIONIST.)

Of the complaint that trade-unionists demand equal wages for workmen good and bad, Mr. Trant says (as above):

That unions force masters to pay bad workmen the same wages as good workmen is not true, and the very idea would be scouted by all sensible unionists. The notion that such is the case is, however, very general. . . . True, the unions sometimes agree upon a minimum rate of wages, but this is quite another thing. If a man be not worth that minimum no employer need employ him, while if he be a man of superior skill, or extraordinary working ability, there is no limit to the amount of wages an employer may feel inclined to give him. Of course, where wages are paid by the day, a uniform rate naturally springs in existence.

Ruskin advocates equal wages. He says ("Unto This Last," Essay 1):

"Pay good and bad workmen alike?" Certainly. The difference between one prelate's sermons and his successor's—or between one physician's opinion and another's—is far greater, as respects the qualities of mind involved, and far more important in result to you personally, than the difference between good and bad laying of bricks (tho that is greater than most people suppose). Yet you pay with equal fee, contentedly, the good and bad workmen upon your soul, and the good and bad workmen upon your body; much more may you pay, contentedly, with equal fees, the good and bad workmen upon your house.

"Nay, but I choose my physician and (?) my clergyman, thus indicating my sense of the quality of their work." By all means, also, choose your bricklayer; that is the proper reward of the good workman to be "chosen." The natural and right system respecting all labor is, that it should be paid at a

fix rate, but the good workman employed, and the bad workman unemployed. The false, unnatural, and destructive system is when the bad workman is allowed to offer his work at half price, and either take the place of the good, or force him by his competition to work for an inadequate sum.

Says the late Prof. Thorold Rogers (*q. v.*), of Oxford, concerning trade-unions:

I confess to at one time having viewed them suspiciously; but a long study of the history of labor has convinced me that they are not only the best friends of the workman, but the best agency for the employer and the public; and that to the extension of these associations political economists and statesmen must look for the solution of some among the most pressing and difficult problems of our times.

5. One objection is brought against trade-unions from a very different quarter from those we have considered above. They are declared

Trade-
Unionism
and
Socialism

by some socialistic reformers to be reactionary and useless. This objection, as far as it applies to trade-unions, is usually brought by young and Utopian middle-class Socialists who know very little about what trade-unions are doing. Few work-

ing-class Socialists object to trade-unions. But very many working-class Socialists do attack, and that bitterly, the trade-union leaders. They say trade-unions are necessary to-day, but cannot really solve the Labor movement; that only socialism can do that; and that the main use of the trade-union ought to be to educate the workers toward socialism. This, they say, the trade-union leaders prevent because it is for their interest to magnify the organizations which give them a living. Those trade-unionists who refuse to join the Socialist Labor Party they brand as traitors to labor.

The trade-union leaders, however, even those who do accept the ideals of socialism as their ultimate aim, being usually men of some years of experience, know that socialism at the best can come but slowly. They have seen working-class political movements and labor parties come and go. To identify trade-unions as organizations with such political movements, they believe, would endanger the only organizations that are protecting labor interests to-day for at the best questionable and vague hopes.

TRADE-UNIONS, 1907

COUNTRIES	Members	Trade-union papers
United States.....	2,000,000	245
Great Britain.....	1,700,000	...
Germany.....	1,372,539	75
France, 1905.....	781,000	...
Austria.....	448,000	46
Italy.....	305,000	23
Australia.....	250,000	...
Sweden.....	144,000	20
Hungary.....	129,000	8
Belgium.....	100,000	18
Switzerland.....	80,000	...
Denmark.....	78,000	32
Spain.....	34,000	12
Holland.....	28,000	40
Norway.....	25,000	11
Servia.....	3,000	...
Bulgaria.....	2,000	7

REFERENCES: *The History of Trade-Unionism* (British), by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (1894); *The Labor Movement* (American ed.), by G. E. McNeill (1887); *The Conflicts of Capital and Labor Historically and Economically Considered* (revised ed., 1890), and *Trade-Unionism, New and Old* (1891), by G. Howell; *Trade-Unions*, by W. Trant (1884); *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, by C. D. Wright (1895); *Labor Problems*, by Ph. S. Adams and Helen Sumner (1905); *Organized Self Help*, by H. N. Casson (1901); *Studies in American Trade-Unionism*, J. H. Hollander and

others (1906); *Trade-Unionism and Labor Problems*, by J. R. Commons and others (1905); *History of the American Labor Movement*, R. T. Ely (rev. ed., 1905); *Problems of Modern Industry* (1898) and *Industrial Democracy*, Sidney and Beatrice Webb (1902); *Trade-Unions*, Geoffrey Drage (1905). See also AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION; FACTORY SYSTEM MACHINERY; KNIGHTS OF LABOR; NEW TRADE-UNIONISM; SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT; STRIKES; TAFF VALE RAILWAY CASE; WAGES, etc.

TRADE-UNIONISM IN THE UNITED STATES:

The history of American trade-unions may be divided into five periods: (1) A formative period reaching down to about 1840, and including the early ten-hour movement. (2) A period of quiet growth on trade-union lines, accompanied by a wave of Fourierite socialism in the country, and then the concentration of all interest in the War of the Rebellion, ending in 1865. (3) A period of active effort on trade-union lines, reaching to 1878. (4) A period of great strikes and efforts at general organization, like the Knights of Labor, culminating in 1886. (5) The present period of the dominance of the American Federation of Labor.

The beginnings of American trade-unionism are not known with definite accuracy. A so-called strike of journeymen bakers is said to have occurred in New York City in 1741, but investigation of the circumstances and of the court records indicates that this was probably a combination of small master bakers with the object of nullifying a municipal ordinance regulating the weight and price of bread. The first organization along the lines of wage-earners of which we have any definite record is that of the journeymen printers of New York in 1776, when they made a demand for an increase of wages, and this being refused, a strike was called. The strike proved successful and the association ceased. In Philadelphia in 1786 an attempt by the employers to reduce wages to \$5.83 a week was made the occasion for calling the trade together. Twenty-six printers signed the document, pledging themselves to mutual support in case of being thrown out of employment on account of refusing to work for less than \$6 per week.

The journeymen cordwainers of Philadelphia had an organization as early as 1792; and the first trial of journeymen for conspiracy took place in Philadelphia in 1806, the union in question being a successor of this one which had been organized in 1792. The typographical unions had developed considerable strength, especially in New York and Washington. The first strike of sailors occurred in New York in 1803. Prior to 1827 most of the organizations in the several trades were secret in character, but the period 1827-37 marks their emergence into open organizations based upon the principle of quitting work under a joint agreement in order to compel acquiescence to demands. This period is therefore the real beginning of trade-unionism. Viewed from this standpoint, while England is considered the home of trade-unionism, the distinction belongs to Philadelphia. Modern trade-unionism, as an industrial and political force, began with the coming together of previously existing societies from the several trades to form a central body on the representative principle. Working by themselves, these isolated societies could accomplish but little in the face of hostile governments and employers. Consequently, they inclined to secrecy or to cloak their movements under the garb of friendly benefits. But when they formed a representative body, they

came out in the open, they encouraged each other in the spirit of aggressiveness, they greatly increased their membership, they organized the workmen in trades previously unorganized. This was the real beginning, not only of trade-unions, but even of the term "trades' union." For the term indicated originally not a union in a trade, but a union of trade "societies." The latter was the usual name of the isolated organizations. The general public, however, which first came to know them and to take alarm when these societies joined themselves in a union of trades, transferred the name of the representative body to the primary body. So that at the present time what was originally a trades' union has sought other names, such as Central Labor-Union, Trades Council, Trades Assembly, or Federation of Labor.

The first trades' union in England was that of Manchester, organized in 1829, altho there seems to have been an attempt to organize one in 1824.

But the first one in America was the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations, organized in Philadelphia in 1827, two years earlier. The name came from Manchester, but the thing from Philadelphia. Neither union lasted long. The Manchester union lived two years, and the Philadelphia union one year. But the Manchester union died, and the Philadelphia union metamorphosed into politics. Here, again, Philadelphia was the pioneer, for it called into being the first labor party. Not only this, but through the Mechanics' Union Philadelphia started probably the first wage-earners' paper ever published—*The Mechanics' Free Press*—antedating, in Jan., 1828, the first similar journal in England by two years. The political movement, begun in Philadelphia, was taken up by New York, Albany, and Troy in 1829, by Boston in 1830, and by other places in the same years. It disappeared altogether in 1831, after the older political parties had borrowed its planks and captured its leaders.

But the trades' union was again inaugurated two years later, in 1833, this time with a resolution learned from experience to "keep out of politics." New York now took the lead, and organized the "General Trades' Union," bringing the name from England. Baltimore and Philadelphia quickly followed, and in the next four years there were trades' unions in a dozen cities from Boston to Washington, and even as far west as Louisville. In New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia these trades' unions were remarkably aggressive and successful, and certainly in Philadelphia in 1835 and 1836 there was a larger proportion of the population enrolled as members of labor organizations than there has been at any time in the seventy years that have followed.

In 1834 these local unions formed a national association, which they called The National Trades' Union, with a constitution and officers. Altho England also had its so-called national organization in 1834 under the stimulus of Robert Owen, this fell to pieces in six months, while the National Trades' Union in the United States held three conventions with increasing influence in 1834, 1835, and 1836. The national union in England covered a few counties. The one in America stretched from Boston to Cincinnati. The American movement was not imported from England; it was an indigenous product of American conditions, and its leaders

were American-born. Altho the daily papers of this time in America abounded with news of strikes and with editorials of advice to restless mechanics, yet the remarkable national labor organization that backed these strikes was barely mentioned, and has been as utterly forgotten as the lost tribes of Israel or the continent of Atlantis.

The authentic sources from which to learn of these associations are the labor papers; and it is fortunate that these have been preserved in unexpected abundance in a few libraries. Out of some forty titles the principal ones have been located through the search set up by the American Bureau of Industrial Research. Aside from *The Mechanics' Free Press*, already mentioned, the most valued is a daily paper—*The Man*—published for sixteen months in 1834–35 under the influence of the Trades' Union of New York. Another is *The Working Man's Advocate* of 1829–30, the first of the New York labor papers. More important is *The National Laborer*, the organ in 1836 of the Philadelphia union and the National Trades' Union.

The labor movement of this period has usually been treated as a communistic or agrarian agitation, but this is because our knowledge of it comes only from the papers hostile to it or from Robert Dale Owen's *Free Enquirer*. Robert Owen had founded New Harmony in 1825 with an amount of advertising never before or since secured for a radical program. When his followers scattered after 1827, they attached themselves to whatever elements dissatisfied with political and industrial conditions would give them a hearing. As soon, however, as the import of their teachings was understood, the mechanics and working men withdrew support and limited their movement to the immediate demands of legislation or of trade-unions.

The Mechanics' Union of Philadelphia sprang from an unsuccessful strike of the carpenters for a ten-hour day. There the labor party held the balance of power in two elections, and all of its candidates who were indorsed by the Adams and Jackson parties were elected. Even the congressional candidates of the older parties flung out their banners as the "true working men's party," and appropriated the slogan of "6 to 6," which the working men had used to indicate their demand for the ten-hour day. The labor party disappeared entirely in 1830, and the American politician had learned for the first time how to split the labor vote.

In New York the movement of 1829 was much more complicated than it was in Philadelphia, more radical in its demands, more distinct in its cleavage of classes, and attended with greater immediate success. It began with a meeting called to protest against increased hours of labor. The meeting adopted an agrarian preamble drawn up by a mechanic, Thomas Skidmore, and transporting into economics the Declaration of Independence. They resolved that "the Creator has made all equal," and that "in the first formation of government no man gives up to others his original right of soil and becomes a smith, a weaver, a builder, or other mechanic or laborer, without receiving a guaranty that reasonable toil shall enable him to live as comfortably as others." They contemplated a strike, and not a political party. Six months later they nominated a ticket selected by lot and adopted another agrarian platform, again drawn up by

Skidmore, and accidentally elected a carpenter to the legislature. Three months later they ousted Skidmore and took up Robert Dale Owen. He persuaded them to renounce agrarianism and to indorse free education, but his free schools were to take the children away from their parents, to dress, feed, shelter, and teach them alike. He would substitute for Skidmore's communism of property a Pestalozzian communism of education. On this the party split. Tammany finished the disruption by enacting the mechanics' lien law—the first law of its kind to protect the journeyman as well as the contractor. Four working men's tickets then came into the field. The biggest vote went to Tammany and the smallest to Skidmore. Thus Tammany won its first success as the "workingman's friend," and Socialists had their prototype in the agrarians.

Outside Philadelphia and New York the working men's party included small employers. In Boston its platform appealed to "laboring men, mechanics, tradesmen, farmers, and others standing upon the same level." So in Charleston, Wilmington, and elsewhere. The class division of employer and employee was as yet limited to a few localities. Labor politics was a part of the general protest of the times raised by the "productive classes" against "aristocracy."

Four years of inaction followed the disruption. The stage was filled by Jackson and the Bank. When the Bank disappeared, its place was taken by a host of state banks with a flood of paper money. In 1835 and 1836 prices and the cost of living rose 50 to 100 per cent. Wages did not rise in the same proportion. The inflation came so suddenly that wage-earners could not escape to the free lands of the frontier. They were caught in a trap. They turned to their newly found trades' unions and to their National Trades' Union, which had held its first convention in 1834. They attributed to these organizations a permanence and grandeur pathetic in view of the collapse three years later, but excusable in view of the victories meanwhile. Not until thirty years afterward, in a similar inflation of the Civil War, did organized labor appear again in similar vigor. The trades' union of 1833 was a generation ahead of the industrial conditions that give organized labor endurance. It was not an industrial revolution, as in England, but a financial inflation, that provoked the labor movement of 1835.

The many strikes of 1835-36 are well known. The fact that they were systematically supported by extensive organizations of labor is not so well known. The climax was reached in 1836. Prices continued to rise, and the societies continued to strike. Their successes were inspiring. The trades' unions supported them with enthusiasm and devotion. Dues were increased and donations added to dues. Finally, the ominous sign of overorganization appeared. Jurisdictional struggles began. Blacksmiths protested against horseshoers, and hand-loom weavers against factory weavers. These were not settled when the panic of 1837 stopped everything, and the trades' unions disappeared when the wage-earners' employment ceased.

The issues that aroused the wage-earners may be learned from the debates in their conventions. The first national convention discust politics. The controversy raged back and forth exactly as it does to-day; but, finally, the convention excluded the word "political" from its objects

and substituted the word "intellectual." In each convention they discust education, public lands, immigration, child labor, female labor, prison labor, lotteries, banking, and cooperation.

Here were the beginnings not only of the general organization of labor, but also of humanitarian and reform movements. The industrial revolution was under way, but its substantial basis—the railway—was not yet a factor. In general the period was that of the sudden and rough awakening of labor as a distinct element in American history. For the first time magazines and newspapers gave space to labor problems. Humanitarians began to examine the conditions of working and living. Politicians put labor planks in their platforms. Protectionism framed its pauper-labor argument, and manufacturers proceeded to capitalize the labor movement. Some demands were immediately granted, others remotely. Imprisonment for debt disappeared before 1835. Free schools became general before 1850. Mechanics' liens have spread from New York to all other states. The ten-hour day became the standard. Juries began to return verdicts of "not guilty" in labor conspiracies. The importance of free land as an outlet for labor was first realized, and leaders of the homestead agitation learned their lesson in the predicament of the trades' unions of 1835.

The second period of growth on trade-union lines did not reach marked development until about 1844, after seven years of depression had attracted attention to the sufferings of the wage-earners, and had served to bring forward agitation along the lines of Fourierite socialism. Horace Greeley espoused this movement and *The New York Tribune* opened its pages to its advocacy. Many phalanxes were established, of which Brook Farm, near Boston, is the most famous. The organization of labor proceeded with considerable activity. The New England Workingman's Association was organized in 1845, but it was largely controlled by such men as Charles A. Dana, George Ripley, Albert Brisbane, and others connected with the socialistic and antislavery movements.

1844-1866

A nearer approach to industrial organization appeared in 1845, when the National Reform Convention was held in New York. This, however, was preliminary to the National Industrial Congresses, which began their sessions in 1846 and continued until 1854. These congresses were held at New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Chicago, and were attended by delegates from many different kinds of reform organizations including trade-unions. Horace Greeley presided at several of them. The Industrial Congress of 1850 adopted a platform dealing with the following subjects:

1. Homestead exemption.
2. Land freedom for all unoccupied lands.
3. Land limitation.
4. Independence of labor by land freedom and labor organizations in which every toiler will be a proprietor and as far and as soon as possible an equal proprietor.
5. Free trade and direct taxation.
6. Abolition of all laws for collection of debt.
7. Schools and colleges.
8. Abolition of all banking.

Eventually these congresses became absorbed solely in the land question and were the predecessor of the Homestead Law of 1861. The slavery agitation, which reached a crisis in 1854, absorbed the attention of the country; consequently these reform movements, as well as the

trade-union movement, were thrown into the background. It was in this period that the first national organization of a trade was effected, which has continued until the present time, namely, that of the National Typographical Union, organized in 1851. This trade had held a convention as early as 1836, but that convention was not followed by any permanent organization. In 1862 the Typographical Union adopted the name *International* in order to admit Canadian unions, and this term when employed by American organizations usually means simply the inclusion of Canadian local branches. The next national organization was that of the hat finishers, in 1854, followed by the iron molders in 1858 and the machinists and blacksmiths in 1859. These were the only national organizations of labor prior to the Civil War.

The Civil War period introduced a situation quite similar to that of 1835-36, namely, the enormous increase of prices owing to the paper-money inflation. This inflation began about 1862 and was in full swing in the middle of 1863. Its first impression which has left a permanent record is found in the publication of *Fincher's Trades' Review*, the first number of which appeared in July, 1863. This journal did much toward the organization of labor during the Civil War period and was assisted by *The Daily Evening Voice*, published by the printers in Boston during the years 1864-67. During this period national organizations were formed by the locomotive engineers in 1863, the cigarmakers in 1864, the bricklayers and masons in 1865; and a large number of cities recruited the organizations by central labor-unions or trades assemblies similar to those characteristic of the period 1827-37. In the '60 period state federations or trades assemblies were organized, and the one in New York has had a continuous existence until the present time. A combination of these local, state, and national organizations was found in the *National Labor-Union*, which held its first convention in 1866. The

National Labor Union

leading spirits in bringing about this national movement were Jonathan Fincher of the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union, editor of *Fincher's Trades' Review*; William H. Sylvis, president of the Iron Molders' Union; and A. C. Cameron, of Chicago. William H. Sylvis stands forth as the most important labor leader of that period, and it was through his tireless efforts and great enthusiasm and sacrifice that labor organizations were formed in many places throughout the country. The convention was representative not only of trade-unions proper, but also of eight-hour leagues and city trades assemblies. After a session of four days it adopted resolutions declaring that the first and grand desideratum is the eight-hour day; that every workingman should connect himself with his labor organization; that every local union should be represented in a trades assembly; that each trade should form a national and international organization; that cooperation is a sure and lasting remedy for the abuses of the present industrial system; that prison labor should be restricted, and the public be requested not to patronize parties who contract for prison labor except they pay the rate of wages demanded by mechanics outside; that labor organizations should cooperate with working women and factory operatives in their efforts to ameliorate their condition; that agricultural

interests in the South should be speedily restored by action of Congress; that tenement-house reform was essential to the welfare of the whole community; that the public domain should be disposed of to actual settlers only at a minimum price; that all honorable means should be exhausted before resorting to strikes; that mechanics' institutes, lyceums, and reading-rooms should be encouraged in all cities for the use of working men; that working men out of employment should proceed to the public lands and become actual settlers. This platform was substantially reproduced at succeeding meetings of the National Labor-Union, but with the addition in 1868 of an extensive discussion of the money question and the adoption of a resolution that the "issue of treasury notes be made a legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and convertible at the option of the holder into government bonds bearing a just rate of interest, sufficiently below the rate of increase in the national wealth by natural production as to make an equitable distribution of the product of labor between non-producing capital and labor." The National Labor-Union held annual conventions until 1872, when in connection with farmers' organizations it nominated presidential candidates. This resulted in the wrecking of the organization and the repetition of the experiences of forty years before, which has led trade-unions generally to adopt the policy of keeping themselves free from politics. It was during the activity of the National Labor-Union that the eight-hour movement took on a more aggressive form than it had ever taken before, and it received its first philosophical and scientific statement at the hands of Ira Steward of Boston, a member of the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union. A Grand Eight-Hour League was organized, but endured only for a short time. It was followed in 1869 by the Boston Eight-Hour League, which with the help of Wendell Phillips secured the establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, the parent of all other labor bureaus. There were many strikes for shorter hours, and out of the agitation developed the policy of Congress and American states and cities in establishing eight hours as a legal working-day. Congress adopted the eight-hour bill in 1868 and another act in 1869 regulating the compensation for eight hours so that it should be the same as it had been prior to the reduction in hours. The leaders of the National Labor-Union were in correspondence with the International Working Men's Association and a delegate was sent to the convention at Geneva in 1867. Among the trade-unions which sprang up during this period the Knights of St. Crispin were the most powerful, altho exceedingly short-lived. Its period of prominence was during the years 1869-72, but its attitude toward the introduction of labor-saving machinery and the vigorous onset of the employers practically destroyed the organization after 1874, altho it held a nominal existence for two or three years later. At that time the Coopers' Union was among the first in importance, but it likewise was destined to go down before the introduction of machinery. The presidents of the Coopers' Union and the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union joined together in 1872 to organize a national movement which should be free from politics and should be representative of the national trade-unions. Their efforts were unsuccessful owing to the policy of the national

leaders who feared that their authority in their own trades would be undermined. However, an important national convention was held in 1874 which adopted the name of the Industrial Brotherhood along with a platform derived partly from that of the National Labor-Union. This platform afterward was adopted almost without change by the Knights of Labor. The latter

Knights of Labor

organization was first established as a local secret labor-union in Philadelphia in 1869 through the efforts of Uriah S. Stevens, a clothing cutter. It continued its policy of secrecy until 1879, at which time T. V. Powderly was chosen General Master Workman. The Knights of Labor aimed to bring all labor men into one great organization without reference to the trade-unions to which they belonged. Its growth was rapid until 1886, at which time its membership was over five hundred thousand. Several disastrous strikes caused a reaction, especially that of the packing trades in Chicago, and the one on the Gould system of railways south and west of St. Louis, but, more than anything else, labor at this time received its severest blow from the Haymarket riot in Chicago, and the bomb which killed the policemen who were endeavoring to suppress an open-air meeting. During the two or three years following there was very little activity, but in 1890 a new organization, the American Federation of Labor, started its comprehensive plan of inaugurating an eight-hour working-day. The American Federation of Labor was formally organized in Columbus, Ohio, in 1886, as the successor of the Federation of Trade and Labor-Unions which had held its first meeting in Pittsburgh in 1881. The principles of the American Federation of Labor were opposed to those of the Knights of Labor in that they recognized the full autonomy of each trade to regulate its own internal affairs. Its plans, however, were made so as to assist each trade in the support of all other trades. Under this arrangement the carpenters, in 1890, were authorized to lead the movement for eight hours. They were successful in many cities. In 1891 the miners were authorized to follow, but they were unsuccessful owing to the deprect conditions in their trade and the dual form of their organization.

Since the time when the National Labor-Union and the International Working Men's Association exchanged fraternal delegates, there has been more or less controversy between the Socialists and the trade-unions. The leaders of the various socialistic parties have made bitter attacks on the trade-union leaders and have endeavored to capture the movement for political socialism. They have organized separate trade-unions on a socialistic basis at various times, but these have not achieved any marked success. Their principal influence has been in supporting one side of the internal conflict in the ranks of organized labor growing out of the two policies of organization by trades and organization by industries. Industrial unionism, by which is meant the enrolment in one organization of all of the employees in an industry, has appealed to the socialistic element as the proper line of organization. Three of the strongest organizations in the American Federation of Labor, namely, the mine-workers, longshoremen, and the brewery workers, are based upon this principle, but the great mass of organized labor follows the principle of trade

organization. In 1893 the American Railway Union, organized by Eugene V. Debs, attempted to introduce the industrial principle in the organization of railway employees. The great organizations of Locomotive Engineers, Firemen, and Conductors are outside the American Federation of Labor and they recognize the trade principle. The failure of the American Railway Union and similar organizations has served to strengthen the plan of trade autonomy, and the strength of this principle is shown in the recent expulsion of the Brewery Workers from the American Federation of Labor on account of its attempts to organize firemen and engineers. After a period of remarkable success in organization following a long period of depression ending in 1897, many jurisdiction troubles arose, and much of the time of the American Federation of Labor has been occupied in mediating between conflicting organizations.

One of the distinctive features of American trade-unions is the great variety of nationalities and languages embraced within the same union. This became more apparent in recent years than before on account of the extension of the recruiting area of immigration to the east and south of Europe. The characteristic organizations of recent years are those made up of immigrants and unskilled labor following the introduction of labor-saving machinery and minute division of labor in all branches of industry and the liberal policy of encouraging immigration. These conditions have changed the character of the organization in the boot and shoe industry so that instead of the journeymen cordwainers as represented in the Knights of St. Crispin, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union of the past ten years is a comprehensive organization of all employees in the trade. Another characteristic of American unions is the adoption of the union label which is a guaranty to the purchasing public that the goods bearing the label were manufactured by union workmen. The label has been of the greatest advantage to the Cigarmakers' Union and of considerable importance to the Garment Workers. Another trade represented by the Typographical Union in more recent years began to place greater emphasis upon its label as a means of organization. There are some sixty trades with labels, but the importance of these devices depends upon whether the union in question manufactures an article which is sold directly to working men.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

Effect of Trade-Unionism on Wages and Hours in the U. S.

The statistics in the following table as to wages and hours are taken from the *Bulletin* of the U. S. Bureau of Labor (Aug., 1907). The statements as to the strength of organization in the different trades are generalizations for the whole country, submitted to trade-union leaders, Professor Commons, and others. The connections between the two sets of facts are obvious. It must be remembered that not a few trades, tho generally weakly organized, are strong in some localities and sections or vice versa, and that these facts are estimates of general conditions in the trade.

The table on page 1233 shows almost absolutely, with very few exceptions, and these admitting of explanation, that complete organization is necessary for high wages and short hours.

TRADE OR OCCUPATION	Organi- zation	Hours per week	Changes 1890- 1906; 1890= 100	Wages per hour	Changes 1890- 1906; 1890= 100	Notes
Bakers, male.....	Poor	60	91.8	\$0.25	127.4	(1)
Boot and shoe workers.....	Fair	56	97.6	0.31	132.4	(Lasters, male) ² .
Bricklayers.....	Strong	46	91.9	0.62	138.6	(2)
Building laborers, male.....	Poor	54	95.4	0.19	122.5	
Carpenters.....	Fair	48	89.7	0.40	141.6	
Cigarmakers, male.....	Partial	55	106.7	0.31	117.6	(1)
Clothing cutters.....	Strong	49	97.2	0.42	109.9	(Machine, male.)
Compositors, male.....	Strong	51	92.8	0.35	120.3	
Conductors, railroad.....	Strong	.....	.....	3.04	.....	Per day.
Electrical workers.....	Fair	48	87.0	0.40	152.5	(Wiremen in houses.) ³
Engineers, railroad.....	Strong	.....	.....	3.65	.....	Per day.
Glass-workers.....	Strong	42	100.1	0.90	146.3	Window-glass highest wage paid. ¹
Granite-cutters.....	Strong	47	91.3	0.43	121.7	
Hatters, caps and furs.....	Strong	53	98.9	0.49	121.1	Curlers, male; highest wage paid. ¹
Horseshoers.....	Poor	54	.....	0.30	.....	
Housesmiths.....	Fair	49	.....	0.47	.....	
Iron-molders.....	Strong	56	95.1	0.32	123.8	Foundry and machine shop.
Machinists.....	Fair	55	96.7	0.32	118.6	Car manufacture.
Metal polishers.....	Fair	54	92.8	0.30	117.7	Brass finishers in car manufac- ture.
Painters.....	Partial	47	89.7	0.38	136.8	(1)
Plasterers.....	Strong	46	90.0	0.59	148.7	
Plumbers.....	Strong	46	90.2	0.53	141.9	
Pressmen, male.....	Strong	55	98.7	0.22	118.6	
Sheet-metal workers.....	Strong	47	90.5	0.42	145.1	Cornice makers.
Street-cleaners.....	Poor	48	91.0	0.22	114.9	Municipal work; contract, 56 hours 19 cents; change 93.3 and 139.8.
Trainmen.....	Fair	.....	.....	1.90	.....	Per day.

¹ This trade is on the whole poorly organized, therefore general averages are poor, but those workers in the trade who are organized have now good conditions.

² Idle two to four months in the year.

³ Poorly organized on the Atlantic coast. Strong on the Lakes, Gulf, and Pacific coast.

TRADE-UNIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND: Contrary to a popular impression, there is no evidence of any connection between the medieval guilds and the essentially modern institution of trade-unionism. The combinations of journeymen, which were not unknown in the England of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, appear to have been ephemeral and unstable. Not until the latter part of the seventeenth century do there seem to have arisen durable associations of wage-earners in particular trades, having for their object the protection and advancement of their economic position. The first of such associations as yet discovered is that of the woolen workers of the west of England, traced as existing in Devonshire in 1700. In 1720 the master tailors combined in Parliament that

The Journeymen Taylors in and about the cities of London and Westminster to the number of 7,000 and upward have lately entered into a combination to raise their wages and leave off working an hour sooner than they used to do; and for the better carrying on of their design have subscribed their respective names in books prepared for that purpose, at the several houses of call or resort (being public houses) which they use, and collect several considerable sums of money to defend any prosecutions against them.

Parliament listened, and prohibited such combinations, but the tailors seem to have continued their organization, centering around the "houses of call," for in 1810 a master declared before a select committee that their combination had existed over a century. Combinations, however, were illegal, and so were usually disguised as sick and funeral clubs, while perhaps still more often bona fide friendly societies gradually came to act as and finally to become trade-unions. The Society of Taylors of London in 1760 says: "It has been an ancient custom in the kingdom of Great Britain for divers artists to meet

together and unite themselves in societies to promote amity and Christian charity." The Newcastle shoemakers organized in 1719. The London Sailmakers' Burial Society dates from 1740. The Glasgow coopers organized in 1752. At Nottingham in 1794 fifty-six clubs joined in the annual procession. Local friendly societies sprang up everywhere. The rules of over 100 of these formed between 1750 and 1820, centered around Newcastle-on-Tyne, are in the British Museum. Adam Smith says: "People of the same trade seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public or in some contrivance to raise prices" ("Wealth of Nations," bk. i., chap. x.). Often a strike ended in a permanent organization.

All such combinations "in restraint of trade" were unlawful, both at common law and under various statutes. Especially during the Napoleonic wars, when the ruling classes were full of apprehension of sedition, were these "Combination Laws," as they were called, enforced with ruthless severity. The harsh punishments and legal tyranny of this period made the trade-unions all the more lawless. Economic oppression in these years went hand in hand with judicial persecution. In 1814 the last vestige of the Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices was repealed, and with it disappeared any pretense of maintaining the workers' standard of life. But within a decade the tide had begun to turn. In 1824, mainly by the efforts of Francis Place (*q. v.*) out of Parliament, and Joseph Hume in Parliament, the laws against combinations (see CONSPIRACY LAWS) were repealed, and freedom of association seemed won. In the following year, however, the alarmed ministry reimposed part of the legal prohibition of trade combinations, and the judicial persecutions began again. In 1834 six

Legislation

harmless farm laborers of Dorsetshire were sentenced to seven years' transportation for merely joining a trade-union which had among its initiation ceremonies the taking of an oath. It may here be said that complete freedom of association was not accorded until 1875, when the last remnant of penal legislation was repealed.

The history of trade-unionism in the United Kingdom may be conveniently divided into four periods. The first, lasting down to 1824, includes the origin of the movement, and its early struggles for recognition. This was followed by a "revolutionary period," when the trade-union movement was dominated by the Owenite movement and the Chartist political agitation. A third period, lasting down to 1880, covers the development of trade-unions into strong trade-benefit societies, largely ignoring and sometimes even opposing political action. The last period, reaching to the present, includes the development and then the partial subsiding of the first wave of what is called the new trade-unionism.

The first period we have already considered; the second period really belongs to Owenite socialism and to Chartism (*q. v.*) rather than to trade-unionism. The Lancashire and Yorkshire textile and building operatives were the pioneers of this phase of the movement. The unions were never a part and parcel of this movement, tho many of their members and a few organized unions did belong to it. No unions contributed to Chartist funds, and the leaders of the unions were often denounced for their apathy by the Chartists. The virtual collapse of Chartism in 1842 and its final end in 1848 set the unions wholly free to develop their non-political methods. (For the passage of factory laws, the short-hour movement of Oastler, "the factory king," the efforts of Lord Shaftesbury and of others, culminating in the ten-hour act of 1848, see **FACTORY LAWS**; **SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT**; **OASTLER**.) But after 1842 the unions devoted themselves to building up their own organizations. Those which were

Date of Organizations

organized before this period now developed their characteristic policy and strength. The Friendly Society of Iron Founders was organized in 1809, but the much larger Amalgamated Society of Engineers was only formed in 1850. The Steam-Engine Makers' Society dates from 1824, the Associated Iron Molders' of Scotland from 1831. The United Society of Boiler-Makers and Iron Ship-Builders dates from 1832, as does also the Operative Stone-Masons' Friendly Society. The Operative Bricklayers' Society was formed in 1848. The Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners dates from 1853, the Yorkshire Miners' Association from 1858. The Durham Miners' Association was not organized till 1869. The Amalgamated Society of Tailors appears in 1866, the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives in 1874. The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners was formed in 1860, and the Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Association in 1863. But these dates do not clearly indicate the actual course of events. As a matter of fact, the decade from 1840-50 saw a marked revival of trade-unionism. In 1843 a strong Potters' Union and an active Cotton Spinners' Association were formed, and in 1844 a National Typographical Society. Still more important was the Miners' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, formed in 1841, and, under the leadership of Martin Jude, sending out fifty-

three organizers who visited every pit in the kingdom, obtaining, it is said, in 1844 a membership of over 100,000. In 1845 a National Association of United Trades for the Protection of Labor was formed. It was not, however, political, like

The Trade-Union Idea

Owen's attempts, and with moderation and good management endured fifteen years. The unions of this period, as indicated by their names, were largely benefit societies. They expected and sought little from legislation, tho they strenuously fought against legislative oppression. They depended on organizing their own crafts, collecting dues, employing a paid secretary, aiding unemployed members.

The men of this period laid stress on the power of workmen in combination to obtain advances by collective bargaining, peaceful abstention from taking work under price, and great reserve funds. Among the coal-miners and iron-workers they accepted for almost a generation the assumption that wages should follow the price of the product, and thus they agreed to let the rate of wages be determined automatically according to sliding scales (*q. v.*), a plan now almost completely abandoned. But the leaders of this period did not abstain from political action. Under the leadership of Allan, Guile, Coulson, and Odger, acting as a sort of junta, the rich and powerful trade-unions drew together to resist the attacks that were being made on trade-unionism, to secure reforms in the law as to the terms of employment, to promote a system of national education, and to obtain an extension of the franchise. Only very slowly could the leaders induce the unions to take any corporate part in politics. At the 1874 election there was something of a trade-union movement, and Macdonald and Burt were returned to Parliament, where the latter has since continuously sat.

Meanwhile the trade-unions were growing steadily in organization. Between 1858 and 1867 local federations of the branches in all the principal towns were formed, under the name of trades councils. The first of these seems to have been that of Liverpool in 1848. By 1860 they were common. The London Trade Council was established in 1861. Out of these councils came the trade-union congresses, now the great British

parliaments of labor. An important

Congresses

special conference was held in London in 1864. The first annual conference was held at Manchester in 1868, and after 1875 became a power. What political action was taken by trade-unionists at this period was usually under the name of Radicalism or Liberalism. This grew up naturally as a result of the efforts on the part of the union leaders to gain legal recognition for their unions. It was necessary to use arguments that would appeal to middle-class politicians, since the Conservatives were not yet progressive enough to indorse trade-unions in any form. The argument that most appealed to the middle-class politicians was the Liberal argument of the freedom of the individual to sell his labor as he pleased—if he wished, individually; if he wished, collectively.

At the general election of 1874 Alexander Macdonald (*q. v.*) and Thomas Burt (*q. v.*) were elected to Parliament from Stafford and Morpeth—the first labor members; elected as Liberals or Radicals, tho not with any cordial assistance from the Liberal Party organizers. Seventeen other labor candidates went to the polls at this election,

and the miners, iron-workers, and some other unions voted money for campaign expenses. It was this showing of the strength of labor at the polls which made the victorious Conservative Party in 1875 pass the bill finally legalizing labor combinations.

The last period, beginning about 1880, has seen a change. This has been marked by the appearance of the so-called new unionism. (For

New Unionism

a full account of this, see **NEW UNIONISM**.) It may be described in brief as the effect of recent English socialism on the trade-unions. The new socialism which began to appear about 1882 made some of the younger men, like Tom Mann and John Burns (*q. v.*), dissatisfied with the conservative and non-political methods of the older unions. The great dock strike (*q. v.*) of 1889 and the match strike, together with the London agitation of the unemployed, created wide-spread excitement, and enabled the younger leaders to organize a union of unskilled laborers, some of which (such as the Gas-workers and General Laborers' Union and the Dock and Wharf Laborers' Union) have maintained their existence.

Political Activity

The outstanding feature of the trade-union movement in Great Britain since that date has been its growing participation in political activity and the consequent establishment in Parliament of an independent "Labor Party," claiming to oppose all other political parties. Toward the formation of such a party there have been many contributory causes, not the least of which has been the constant efforts of the Socialists to arouse the English working men, and notably the persistent propaganda of the Fabian Society, which took form in 1896 in the establishment of a society called the Independent Labor Party, in which many trade-unionists were individually enrolled, and which has steadily increased in membership and in the number of its branches. But it was not until 1899 that the trade-unions themselves were induced to take action. Their adhesion in 1889-92 is to be attributed to the apprehension and resentment caused by certain legal decisions (culminating in the case of the Taff Vale Railway Company *vs.* the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, *L. R. Appeal Cases*, 426), by which the law courts brought trade-unionism once more under the ban of the law. No attempt was made to bring back the criminal prosecutions of trade-unionists. But the judges held, contrary to the universal opinion of lawyers since 1875, that, altho trade-unions were not fully incorporated, they could be sued and cast in damages for the action of their agents, whenever this without justification caused damage to other persons. Under this finding the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants had to pay \$150,000 in damages to the railway company against which its members, against the wishes of the executive committee, had tumultuously struck. It became clear that trade-unionism was once more in grave danger from the law. The Trade-Union Congress had already taken alarm while the case was in the lower courts and in 1899 had issued an invitation to trade-unions, trades councils, and Socialist societies to join together in the formation of a "Labor Representation Committee" (*q. v.*). At the first annual conference of this committee in Feb., 1901, there were rep-

resented forty-one trade-unions with 353,070 members, seven trades councils, and the Fabian Society, the society called the Independent Labor Party (the I. L. P.), and the Social Democratic Federation. The latter organization soon withdrew, but the others continued, and at the sixth annual conference in 1906 there were represented 921,280 members in 158 trade-unions, seventy-three trades councils, the "Independent Labor Party," and the Fabian Society. This conference followed upon a most remarkable series of successful candidatures at the preceding General Parliamentary Election. The Labor Representation Committee had indorsed fifty candidates who had signed its pledge to constitute an independent labor group with its own whip, and of this number twenty-nine were elected. In addition to these members of Parliament, the miners' associations, which were not affiliated with the Labor Representation Committee, elected eleven members, and there were fourteen other workmen elected either as independent labor men or through the indorsement of other parties. The total labor representation in Parliament is therefore fifty-four. A striking feature of the ministry formed by the Liberals was the elevation of John Burns, the leader of the new unionism of 1889, to the position of a cabinet minister and president of the Local Government Board. Tho Mr. Burt and Mr. Broadhurst had held subordinate offices in previous Liberal ministries, Mr. Burns was the first workman to enter the cabinet. Tho this really amounted to a valuable recognition of the political influence of the working classes, the action of Mr. Burns in remaining outside the Labor Party, and in accepting office in a Liberal cabinet, was bitterly resented by the more extreme members of the Labor Party.

While the British unions were thus moving into the political field, they were not neglecting to strengthen their organization in the industrial field. The Trade-Union Congress had never taken on itself the support of unions in time of trade dispute. To accommodate these unions which desired a national body of this type, there was organized in 1899 the General Federation of Trade-Unions. The objects of this Federation were simply the accumulation of a strike fund for the assistance of constituent unions in strikes approved by the managing committee. Many unions were already affiliated in federations of their own, such as the Federation of Engineering and Ship-building Trades, the several miners' federations, and those of the textile trades. The General Federation affords similar protection for other unions, and even to unions which also are affiliated to the federations of their own industries. Its membership the first year included forty-three societies with 343,000 members, and had increased in 1907 to 119 societies with 630,933 members.

The recent statistics of British trade-unions are given in the fifteenth Report of the Labor Department of the British Board of Trade. The

Department knew of the existence of 1,148 separate workmen's trade-unions at the end of 1904, with a total membership of 1,866,755. This

is a decline in membership of 74,119, or 3.8 per cent, from the high-water mark at the end of 1901. The number of unions declined from 1,239 in 1901 to 1,148 in 1904. The total number of trade-unions has steadily decreased since 1896, when the number had reached 1,302. This de-

cline is especially marked in the smaller unions of builders and general laborers, where the process of absorption and amalgamation is most rapid.

Financial details are given with regard to 100 principal unions only, but these unions include over 60 per cent of the total membership of all the societies. The income of these 100 unions was £2,097,470 in 1904, and their expenditures amounted to £2,042,165. Their accumulated funds amounted to £4,616,230, or nearly £4 2s. per member. These figures are the highest yet recorded. "Of every £1 spent by the 100 unions in 1904, 6s. 4d. was for unemployed benefit, 1s. 3d. was on account of disputes, 8s. 4d. for sick, accident, superannuation, funeral, and other benefits, and 4s. 1d. for working and miscellaneous expenses." The proportion of expenditure for unemployed benefit was greater, and the proportion of expenditure for dispute benefit was less, in 1904, than in any year of the preceding decade. Meanwhile the accumulated funds have much more than doubled.

Detailed particulars as to the chief items of expenditure for the 100 principal unions are shown in the following statement:

EXPENDITURES, ETC., OF 100 PRINCIPAL TRADE-UNIONS, 1904

ITEMS	Amounts	Per cent
Unemployed, etc., benefits.....	£647,722	31.7
Dispute benefit.....	126,446	6.21
Sick and accident benefits.....	384,519	18.8
Superannuation benefit.....	267,396	13.1
Funeral benefit.....	95,644	4.7
Other benefits and grants.....	103,234	5.1
Working and other expenses.....	417,204	20.4

Concerning the distribution of members by trades in the United Kingdom, the department furnishes the simple totals from which the following table is drawn:

SIDNEY WEBB.

TRADES	GREAT BRITAIN			
	Registered unions	Unregistered unions	Branches	Membership
Metal, engineering, and ship-building.....	108	129	2,778	335,908
Building.....	79	30	3,310	225,481
Mining and quarrying.....	50	19	2,197	501,248
Textile.....	66	182	519	221,694
Clothing.....	19	17	591	58,525
Printing, paper, and allied trades.....	22	19	387	62,428
Woodworking and furnishing.....	42	57	633	39,571
Chemical, glass, pottery, etc.....	13	28	129	15,278
Food and tobacco.....	10	17	286	17,294
Workers in fiber, cane, etc.....	5	10	116	4,443
Leather.....	13	15	84	6,247
Enginemn.....	15	10	187	10,567
Miscellaneous.....	30	16	1,187	49,941
General labor.....	16	2	1,012	97,676
Transport (land and sea).....	46	11	1,380	154,206
Agricultural laborers and fishermen.....	4	3	9	3,913
Employees of public authorities.....	12	33	1,408	62,335
	550	598		1,866,755
Total.....	1,148			

TREVOR, JOHN: Founder of Labor Church; born Liverpool, Eng., 1855. Sent to a Wisbech school, he grew up under a narrow orthodoxy, a crushing load on his imaginative spirit. In 1869 he was articled to an architect in Norwich, but gave more thought to theological and sociological problems. In 1877, broken in health, he went to Australia, thence to San Francisco, and then entered the Meadville (Pa.) Theological School, to prepare for the Unitarian ministry. Returning to London, he tried to preach, but thought he had no mission, and returned to his profession of architecture in the south of England. Finding his profession commercialized and degraded by competition, he studied social problems more than ever, and gradually worked out the views which he later embodied in his Labor Church. Studying for a year at Manchester, New College, he then went to London to assist Mr. Wicksteed at Little Portland Street Chapel, but in 1890 went to Upper Brook Street Free Church, Manchester; at last left all organized churches and started, Oct., 1891, the Labor Church movement. (See LABOR CHURCH.)

TRUEBLOOD, BENJAMIN F.: Editor of *The Advocate of Peace*; general secretary of the American Peace Society; born Salem, Ind., 1847; educated in district schools, Friends' Academy at Blue River, and graduated from Earlham College, 1869. A.M., Earlham College, 1875; LL.D., Iowa Wesleyan University, 1887; LL.D., University of Iowa, 1890. Was in turn principal, instructor, professor, at various important institutions of learning; and from 1874-79 president of Wilmington College, Ohio; 1879-90 president of Penn College, Iowa. Spent year 1890-91 in France and other countries of southern Europe, studying the military condition of Europe. In 1892 was made general secretary of the American Peace Society and editor of *The Advocate of Peace*, which position he has held for fifteen years; has lectured in this country, England, and France. Member of the International Peace Bureau, Switzerland, and International Law Association. Early in life made a minister by the Friends' Society, he has been connected with many of the advanced religious movements in the Society of Friends. Mr. Trueblood holds advanced views on the subjects of peace and arbitration, temperance, women's rights, international trade, municipal ownership of street-railways, etc. Author of "The Federation of the World," and a number of pamphlets on peace. Translator of Kant's "Perpetual Peace." Address: 31 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

TRUSTS have been defined, both in their looser and stricter sense, by Mr. S. C. T. Dodd, solicitor of the Standard Oil Company, as follows ("The Present Legal Status of Trusts," published in the *Harvard Law Review*, Nov., 1893):

The term "Trust" in its more confined sense embraces only a peculiar form of business association effected by stockholders of different corporations transferring their stocks to trustees. The Standard Oil Trust was formed in this way, and originated the name "Trust" as applied to associations. . . .

The term "Trust," although derived as stated, has (now, however) obtained a wider signification, and embraces every act, agreement, or combination of persons or capital believed to be done, made, or formed with the intent, power, or tendency to monopolize business, to restrain or interfere with competitive trade, or to fix, influence, or increase the prices of commodities.

In this larger sense, which to-day usage has made the correct sense, a very large number and a considerable variety of associations must be included. Perhaps no recent economic movement has arrested more attention since the foundation of the first trust, the great Standard Oil Trust, in 1882, than the development of the trust movement. Mr. H. W. Macrosty, in his "The Trust Movement in British Industry" (1907), divides trusts into three main classes: the vertical or integral, as in the iron and steel industries; the more common amalgamation or horizontal combination, as more or less developed in all industries, and the innumerable but less organized terminable associations and agreements of the retail trades. Some trades pass through all these stages, beginning with a mere agreement as to prices, passing on into an association (sometimes into a trust in its narrowest sense), and then into a full consolidation of interest and management, and these general classes are subdivided into innumerable kinds and varieties, varying in different states and countries and from time to time to fulfil or get around the requirements of different laws, and varying also interminably with the needs of different trades and markets. Yet through them all runs the central idea, the avoidance of commercial competition and the development of more or less of a monopoly. Mr. Moody, in his "The Truth About the Trusts," perhaps the most authoritative recent statement of the facts as to trusts in the United States, considers them inevitable. He says (p. 494):

Instead of the growth of the trust movement being an achievement to be laid at the door of Mr. Morgan or Mr. Rockefeller, or any other leader of men, it should be laid at the door of nature. For if anything in this world is true, the following proposition is:

"The modern trust is the natural outcome of evolution of society conditions and ethical standards which are recognized and established among men to-day as being necessary elements in the development of civilization."

As to statistics for the U. S., Mr. Moody, in Jan., 1908, brought his figures down to date as follows:

THE GREATER INDUSTRIAL TRUSTS¹

NAME OF COMPANY	INCORPORATION		No. of plants acquired or controlled	Total capitalization, stocks and bonds outstanding (par value)
	Date	State		
1. Amalgamated Copper Co. and affiliated corporations.....	1889	N. J.	35	\$271,163,000
2. American Smelt. & Refin. Co. and affiliated corporations.....	1899	N. J.	145	203,100,000
3. American Sugar Refining Co. and affiliated corporations.....	1891	N. J.	about 60	160,000,000
4. American Tobacco Co. and affiliated corporations.....	1904	N. J.	about 200	324,309,900
5. International Merchant Marine Co.....	1902	N. J.	6	176,325,705
6. Standard Oil Co. and controlled companies.....	1899	N. J.	about 400	98,338,300
7. U. S. Steel Corporation and controlled properties.....	1901	N. J.	about 792	1,475,201,849
Total (seven greater industrial trusts).....			1,638	\$2,708,438,754

¹ In this list the "number of plants acquired or controlled" embraces not only the corporations and plants now operating, but also those which operated previously to their acquirement, whether they have now been discontinued or not.

The "total capitalization" includes the stocks and bonds afloat (in the hands of the public) of all subsidiary or controlled corporations, as well as those of the parent company. The figures given are the par values. It must be clearly understood that in some cases both the number of plants acquired and the amount of stocks and bonds outstanding are only approximately correct. There are instances in which it is practically impossible to secure the accurate figures for both of these items. However, the greatest care has been used in arriving at these approximate figures.

	No. of plants acquired or controlled	Total capitalization, stocks and bonds outstanding
<i>Summary of Industrial Trusts:</i>		
7 Greater industrial trusts.....	1,638	\$2,708,438,754
451 Lesser industrial trusts.....	5,038	8,243,175,000
<i>Grand Totals of Industrial Trusts:</i>		
458 Important industrial trusts.....	6,676	10,951,613,754

None of the above capitalization figures are duplicated. They represent, not the amount of securities authorized or even issued, but simply those which are "afloat" or in the hands of the public. No securities of subsidiary corporations which are owned by the controlling corporations are included in these figures.

Totals of the franchise trusts.....	2,599	\$7,789,393,000
Totals of the great steam-railroad groups.....	745	12,931,154,000
Totals of all franchise and transportation trusts.....	3,344	\$20,720,547,000
Grand totals (Jan. 1, 1908) of all trusts—industrial, franchise, transportation, etc.....	10,020	\$31,672,160,754

An analysis of these figures slightly in detail would show that of the industrial trusts 15 have \$100,000,000 capitalization or over, 33 have \$50,000,000 or over, 165 have \$10,000,000 or over, and 451 have \$5,000,000 or over. Of the franchise trusts 16 exceed \$100,000,000, 41 exceed \$50,000,000, and 156 exceed \$5,000,000. Of the 6 greatest railroad groups, all exceed \$1,000,000,000 capital.

EVILS

Trusts are accused of every economic evil, but probably with much injustice and certainly with much exaggeration. As to raising prices, the conclusion Professor Jenks, one of the most careful students of trusts, arrives at is probably the opinion of most. He says:

While they have it in their power to make profits at somewhat lower rates of prices than would be possible under free competition, they nevertheless do probably check slightly the normal decrease in prices that comes with increasing facilities for manufacturing. At any rate, they hold prices so that they can make much better profits than under competition. Competition, however, and the checked demand that would come with too high prices, generally in the long run prevent prices from being much higher than under free competition.

As for the treatment of employees, generally speaking, monopoly, at least makes possible, and probably usually makes actual better conditions. Generally speaking, wages are higher and treatment of employees better with large companies than with small ones. Small competing firms are often driven to small wages for lessening the cost of production. Large companies usually find fair treatment of employees the cheapest. They have capital to introduce reforms which small companies, tho anxious to, often cannot. Above all, combination of interests makes possible and

often even necessitates collective bargaining, aiding often and making necessary often strong trade-union organization. Strikes have occurred on the part of employees to compel small employers to enter an employers' association. Nevertheless trusts also make possible and often actual centralization of power used to crush out trade-unionism. A greater evil is their control of the methods and channels of production. They can and continually do discriminate against the home market, or certain sections which are under their power, by raising prices there to recoup themselves for selling cheap in a competitive foreign market or to create new trade. They frequently prevent progress by being able to prevent inventors from putting their inventions on the market, through not having or being able to get capital enough against these gigantic combinations. They often absolutely and irresponsibly check or destroy personality and free individuality. The one great evil of trusts and monopolies is their scandalous and notorious defiance or corruption of government. But for this see CORRUPTION. It is not, however, confined to the U. S. Said *The Economist* (English), Aug. 12, 1899: "It is undeniable that during the session just ended there has been an atmosphere of money in the lobby, and presents to the House of Commons scarcely known before. All manner of 'interests' have gathered there as they gather in Washington and in the various state legislatures in America."

The danger of the trusts then is that they threaten personal liberty, that we shall become, as has been said, "a nation of industrial and commercial employees practically permitted to enjoy life in greater or less degree, by the permission of other employees, who will take their instructions from the small companies of captains of industry who promise, in time, to be in control of the necessities, as well as the luxuries, of life, their production and distribution."

REMEDIES

Almost every state in the U. S. and the federal government in two main bills has attempted legislation against trusts. Yet the movement has only gone on increasing. When the Standard Oil Trust was declared illegal in Ohio, it continued with even greater powers under a new name, while its connections, assuming different names in different states to avoid the law, virtually form a single body. So, to a less extent, with the other trusts.

The first general federal law which can be regarded as a result of the trust agitation was the Interstate Commerce Act passed in 1887. This act was the outgrowth of the sentiment which had been created during the previous years by the general cutting of rates by the railroads, and their inequitable dealings with shippers in all parts of the country. The relations of the railroads with the Standard Oil Trust were matters of particular criticism at this time, and the immediate purpose of the act was mainly to eliminate the illegal discriminations in favor of the Standard, and, if possible, give all shippers the same opportunities.

The Interstate Commerce Law has now been in existence for twenty years, but its results have in no way verified the predictions of its framers. Recently its powers have been largely widened and prosecutions against the Standard Oil monopoly trusts have been begun, and several have been successful to the extent of imposing fines running into many millions. But these have been usually subject to appeal to Supreme Court, while few believe they can break up the movement.

A measure which was created in 1890, and is popularly known as the Sherman Antitrust Act, is the law which was passed for the express purpose of eliminating monopoly in

railroads or other corporations which may become established "in restraint of trade." It is the law under which the Northern Securities Company was sued by the Attorney-General of the U. S. and declared illegal. The law declares unlawful every contract, combination, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations; and also declares unlawful monopolies, and any attempt to monopolize, or any combination or conspiracy to monopolize any interstate or international trade. The law has been in effect now fifteen years and, with the exception of the Northern Securities Company case, has accomplished, at least until recently, practically nothing. Of the final result of the recent prosecutions it is too early to speak definitely. Most of the great trusts, however, have been formed since the passage of the law, and in spite of it, and most publicists believe that while perhaps some of the more apparent and grosser violations of the laws may be prevented by such legislation, the essence, if not the necessity of trusts has too deep a foundation in economic interest and practical common sense to be permanently and seriously affected by such laws. Colossal industries cannot by law be compelled to compete, only prevented from continuing in certain ways.

Therefore most publicists believe, with individualists, that the trusts must be attacked in their foundation, by taking from them all special privileges (see INDUSTRIALISM; FREE TRADE), or with the Socialists, that the trusts are but stepping-stones to socialism, the great trust of the people.

OTHER COUNTRIES

The trust movement in other countries has gone by no means so far as in the U. S., and has assumed less sensational forms, and yet very actually exists. Mr. Macrosty, whose two books, "Trusts vs. the State" (1901) and "The Trust Movement in British Industry" (1907), furnish probably the best general study of the subject in Great Britain, finds the trust movement, at least in the form of agreements to control prices, more or less present in practically every British industry. The movement in Great Britain is

scarcely twenty years old, and as it has not developed in the striking American form and since some of the early attempts at combination were not a success, the claim has been made that trusts cannot flourish on British soil, nor under free trade, yet Mr. Macrosty says of England ("Trusts vs. the State," p. 160): "So far as the transport services are concerned, we are driven to the conclusion that competition in the old sense of the term has ceased to exist; and turning to manufactures proper, we shall find the same opinion forced upon us."

The first movement to consolidation was, as was to be expected, among "the natural monopolies" dependent upon valuable franchises, such as the agreement between the London Water Companies after they were forbidden to amalgamate and before they were bought out by the city. The next step was in the development of "throughness" on the railways, such as the formation of the London & Northwestern Company out of forty-five companies, and the amalgamation of the Southeastern and the London, Chatham, and Dover Railways. To-day there is practically no competition in British railways (see RAILWAYS), fares being fixed by conferences between the roads. Shipping companies have similarly combined. Charges here too have almost invariably been fixed by conferences between the lines.

Combination in manufacturing lines is more recent; after various failures, beginning successfully about 1895, in the metallic bedstead trade in Birmingham and rapidly extending to many other industries in Birmingham and

elsewhere. Combination in the textile trades began about the same year in the textile industries with J. I. Coates, Limited, in the sewing-cotton trade. In 1896 London found that eight firms supplying 5,000,000 of the 8,000,000 tons of coal coming to London, had combined. Agreements as to prices are at present the rule in the iron and steel industries. Amalgamation and absorption of companies in every branch of industry goes steadily on. Says the *Textile Mercury*, as early as April, 1899: "Steadily, altho at a rate far less rapid than in the States, amalgamation of kindred concerns is going on within our borders." In almost every case, says Mr. Macrosty (idem, p. 199):

Years of keen rivalry have eaten away all the gain in manufacturing or trading. Attempts to reconcile the conflicting interests have produced some form or other of voluntary association to control selling prices; but these bodies, even when guarded by the provision of money penalties for breach of rules, may at any time be wrecked by the greed of one member or the starting of a new competitor. Sooner or later they break down and the trade either slips back into the slough of bankruptcy or advances to the consolidation of rival firms into one large company.

In Germany similar combinations (called Kartells) have arisen in the last twenty-five years, often of great power and magnitude, and in a great number of trades. In the extent to which actual merging of companies has gone they occupy somewhat of a midway position between the developed American trust and the English agreement. The specific and typical

Germany German kartell (tho the word is also used in a looser sense) is not a merging of companies, nor yet a mere agreement, but the formation of a committee and sometimes of a new company which undertakes the selling (and therefore the fixing of prices) for all the companies entering into the kartell. The companies do not sell at all, and are wholly independent only in methods of production. To this simple beginning, however, greater powers are often added, and the kartell is recognized by the German law and both defended and made responsible by the law. Kartells of one kind or another exist in the coal, iron, steel, book, wall-paper, and spirit industries; to a less extent among others. One of the chief is the Rhenish Westphalian Coal Kartell, with a capital of only \$225, but all of the shares are held by the coal owners and are transferable only with the consent of the general meeting, so that the coal owners wholly control it and through it determine the output, the base price, and the selling price, each mine owner voting according to the number of tons of coal he produces.

Similarly under one form or another, tho to a less extent, the trust movement has developed in France, Belgium, Austria, and elsewhere.

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TUBERCULOSIS: The definite movement for the prevention of tuberculosis dates from the discovery of the tubercle bacillus by Dr. Robert Koch, of Berlin, in 1882. Koch not only found that this bacillus is the cause of the disease but was able to isolate and describe the life history of the organism. He proved that it is received into the body in a dried state through the discharges of tuberculous individuals and chiefly through the sputum. The main channels of infection are the respiratory and digestive tracts.

It follows from Koch's discoveries that tuberculosis is necessarily an infectious disease, and, its cause being known, is consequently preventable. It has also been found by subsequent clinical investigators that when taken in its early stages the disease is curable.

While it was some years before the significance of Koch's work became generally recognized, there has now arisen a movement for the elimination of tuberculosis of world-wide scope. The necessity for this organized campaign is evident from the extent of the disease which is responsible for more than 1,000,000 deaths per annum in the civilized world.

The conditions which favor the development of tuberculosis are precisely those which exist in the crowded quarters in each of our great centers of population where the nutrition of the inhabitants is defective and where adequate ventilation and hygienic surroundings are not present. The practical work of prevention therefore associates itself with all the modern movements of a social character for the betterment of the poorer classes of our communities. It involves the cooperation of the medical profession and the laity as well as the vigorous prosecution of measures for the betterment of health on the part of public officials.

Starting in Europe, the organization of leagues for the prevention of tuberculosis has spread rapidly until at the present time such associations are found in nearly all the countries of the civilized world, those of particular efficiency being in Great Britain, Germany, France, Denmark, Switzerland, and the United States. Organizations on national lines also exist in Italy,

Austria, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal. In Norway the government is taking an active part in the control of tuberculosis, and the same is true, in a lesser degree, of Sweden. In South America antituberculosis leagues exist in Brazil, Argentine, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Ecuador. A league has also been established in Cuba.

In the U. S. the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis is pushing the work of organization in all parts of the country. There are now seventeen state societies for the prevention of tuberculosis, with others in process of formation. Local associations to the number of about eighty have also been organized, nearly all within the last two years, and it is evident that a short time will see the U. S. completely organized for the fight against this disease.

An International Antituberculosis Association made up of representatives from the various national societies is also in existence with headquarters in Berlin. Annual meetings are held where topics of particular interest at the moment, both technical and social, are discussed from the various points of view of the different countries represented.

Extent
of Movement
Against

Once every three years an International Congress of still wider scope is held and is rapidly becoming one of the chief factors in the dissemination of authoritative information regarding tuberculosis and its treatment and prevention. The next congress will be held in Washington in Oct., 1908.

The most important feature of the organized campaign as at present conducted is the movement for the education of the general public with regard to the causes of tuberculosis and the methods of prevention. While every available means is drawn upon to force this knowledge upon the attention of the public, particular emphasis has been laid during the last two years upon the exhibition method. Such exhibitions of comprehensive character form one of the chief features of the international congresses, and in the U. S. exhibits are kept constantly in operation in various parts of the country. The National Association conducts one of large size which is sent from city to city, and is used as a means of stimulating public interest and subsequent organized cooperation against the disease.

Permanent exhibits have also been formed by many of the state and local societies.

The program advocated by those who are conducting the campaign is comparatively simple in its outlines. It involves the establishment of sanatoria, hospitals, dispensaries, etc., on an adequate scale for both incipient and advanced cases. This is regarded as necessary not only as a curative but as a preventive measure. It also advocates the passage of such legislation as shall enable the municipal and state health authorities to exercise adequate supervision over the disease. The particular points at present at issue are the requiring of registration and notification of tuberculosis by physicians and the passage of ordinances forbidding indiscriminate expectoration. The other features of the program can be included under the term "Education" which, as has been said, involves every possible method of instruction in the elementary facts regarding the disease, namely, that it is infectious, preventable, not inherited, and in early cases curable; that in order to prevent infection proper hygiene must be observed, and that the cure depends upon the simple factors of fresh air, good food, and rest. The reduction that has already taken place in the death-rate from consumption in those communities where rigid and organized measures have been taken make it entirely reasonable to suppose that the disease will ultimately be practically eliminated.

PROF. LIVINGSTON FARRAND.

TUCKER, BENJAMIN R.: Anarchist; born near New Bedford, Mass., 1854; educated in private schools, and at Massachusetts Institute of Technology; decided on journalism as a profession; served apprenticeship in printing-office; in 1878 joined editorial staff of a Boston newspaper. Introduced to radical thought by Josiah Warren, Colonel William B. Greene, and others. Making a thorough study of Proudhon, he considered "anarchism" to be the most appropriate designation for his political doctrines. In 1877 he established a quarterly, *The Radical Review* which did not receive the requisite support. Mr. Tucker soon concluded that a more effective propaganda of his views could be carried on by a fortnightly or weekly organ, and accordingly

founded *Liberty*, in 1881, still recognized in philosophic and progressive circles as the ablest and most authoritative champion of anarchism, both in Europe and America. In 1893 published "Instead of a Book"; in this socialism, communism, the single tax, and other reforms are criticized from the anarchistic point of view. Author: "A Blow at Trial by Jury"; "The Attitude of Anarchism Toward Industrial Combinations." Address: P. O. Box 1312, New York City.

TUCKWELL, GERTRUDE M. (MISS): Chairman of the Women's Trade-Union League; born 1862, Oxford, England; was educated at home; daughter of the Rev. William Tuckwell, "the Radical Parson," well known in England for his experiments in allotments, his advocacy of land nationalization, and his strong labor views. At the age of twenty in order to be independent she trained as a board-school mistress; worked in Liverpool and in London for six years. Then became secretary to her aunt, Lady Dilke, and honorary secretary to the Women's Trade-Union League, and came thus into complete touch with women's industrial life. At the death of Lady Dilke in 1904 was chosen in her place chairman of the Women's Trade-Union League. Through the league, which is very active both in trade-union and in legislative work, Miss Tuckwell represents 140,000 women. She is a Christian Socialist and a strong trade-unionist; has written much for the *Forerightly* and *The Nineteenth Century*. Author: "The State and Its Children," and several small books on industrial law. Address: Women's Trade-Union League, Club Union Building, Clerkenwell Road, London, E. C.

TURGENEFF, IVAN SERGYEVITCH: Russian novelist, nihilist; born 1818 in Orel, the son of an officer of cuirassiers; he was educated at Moscow and afterward at the University of Berlin. In 1852 he first became the object of government displeasure. Was imprisoned for a month for an article he wrote on the death of Gogol, and compelled to reside for two years more in the country. This experience seems to have been in some sense a turning-point in his career, for in 1855 he commenced publishing the novels which have had such a vital connection with the social life of Russia. In 1855 he published "Dimitri Rudin"; in 1858, "A Nest of Nobles" and "Helene"; in 1862, "Fathers and Sons," which work was one of the most potent means in wakening into action the philosophy of negation and materialism. This book, too, gave to the philosophy the name of "nihilism," which it has borne ever since. In 1865 he published "Smoke," and in 1877 "Spring Floods" and "Virgin Soil." He wrote many shorter stories; his last work was a collection of prose poems entitled "Senilia," which for power and pathos takes rank with his best work. After the publication of "Fathers and Sons" he left Russia and settled in Baden, where he stayed until the termination of the Franco-German War. Then he removed to Paris and resided there until his death in 1883.

TURGOT, ANNE ROBERT JACQUES, BARON DE L'AULNE: French statesman and economist; born Paris, 1727. Educated for the Church, he gave up an ecclesiastical career and studied law, becoming noted as a liberal thinker and contributor to the *Encyclopédie*. He associated with

Quesnay and Gournay, and accepted to some extent their views. (See **PHYSIOCRATS**.) In 1761 he was appointed intendant-governor of the province of Limousin, and in 1774 Controller-General of France under Louis XVI. The courtiers and nobility bitterly opposed his reform ideas, but for a while the king supported him, and he was able to introduce free trade in grain and other reforms. At last the king, in 1776, was induced to depose him, and Turgot retired to private life and devoted himself to science till his death in 1781. His "*Œuvres Complètes*," including his essays on usury, on taxation, and "*Réflexions sur la Formation et la Distribution des Richesses*," etc., were published in nine volumes (1808-11).

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION, THE INTERNATIONAL: The International Typographical Union of North America, organized in 1852 as the National Typographical Union, is the oldest national trade-union in the United States. As early as 1836 an attempt was made to unite the typographical societies in the U. S. in a national organization. At a national typographical convention held in Washington, Nov. 7-11, 1836, a constitution was framed and submitted to the various local societies. In 1837 at New York this constitution was amended in minor details and the National Typographical Association formed. The association, however, died within the year. In 1850 a call for a national convention was issued by the New York, Boston, and Philadelphia unions, and on Dec. 2, 1850, the National Convention of Journeymen Printers met in New York with delegates present from six unions located in five states.

At the convention held in Baltimore in 1851 the unions in seven states were represented and the convention formulated a constitution for the National Typographical Union. In 1869 the name of the union was changed to the International Typographical Union of North America.

The membership of the union includes printers, proof-readers, machine-tenders, mailers, type-founders, editors, and reporters. Pressmen and bookbinders were admitted until 1895, stereotypers and electrotypers until 1902, and photoengravers until 1904. The members of these trades have formed separate international unions. Despite these losses, the membership of the Typographical Union has steadily increased in recent years.

MEMBERSHIP BY YEARS

1891.....	25,165
1892.....	28,187
1893.....	30,454
1894.....	31,379
1895.....	29,295
1896.....	28,838
1897.....	28,096
1898.....	28,614
1899.....	30,646
1900.....	32,105
1901.....	34,948
1902.....	38,364
1903.....	42,436
1904.....	46,165
1905.....	46,734

The annual convention of representatives elected by the subordinate unions was originally the only organ of government. The officers, mere adjuncts to the annual session, were elected by the convention from its own members and held office for one year. Since 1884 the annual

meeting of representatives has been partly replaced and partly supplemented by other institutions. In 1889 the referendum was made a regular part of the union's governmental machinery. Provision was made that all amendments to the constitution and all laws involving increased taxation should be submitted to a vote of the membership. The advocates of nationalization in the union have long desired to replace entirely the convention by the initiative and referendum. In 1893 they secured the adoption of the initiative; in 1894 the sessions were made biennial; in 1896 the membership voted to do away with regular sessions. Since 1896, however, there has been a strong movement in the direction of limiting the use of the initiative and referendum and of restoring the convention to a considerable place in the governmental machinery. The annual session has been restored. A referendum is always had, however, on important changes of law. The initiative is rarely used. Since 1896 the officers have been elected by a popular vote and every member of the organization is eligible to office.

Since the establishment in 1888 of permanent headquarters, the importance of the official staff has rapidly increased. The judicial power of the convention has practically been transferred to the president. The increasing intricacy of the union's affairs has made the opinion of the officers more weighty in legislation. The net result of these changes is that the government of the union, theoretically vested in the convention, rests really in the membership at large and in the official staff.

In the fiscal year ending May 31, 1905, the receipts of the union were \$244,689.24. Of this sum \$196,280.27 was received from a per-capita tax of thirty-five cents monthly; \$27,472.83 was received from a compulsory subscription to the *Typographical Journal* of five cents monthly. Thus practically all the revenue of the union is derived from the regular per-capita tax and from special assessments.

The principal expenditures of the union in 1905 were: Printers' Home, \$56,235.95; burial benefits, \$39,690; the *Typographical Journal*, \$29,426.77; salaries and office expenses, \$16,408.02; strikes and disputes, \$39,603.16.

The United Typothetæ of America, the organization of the book and job master printers, was organized in Oct., 1887. It was formed primarily to resist the demand of the Typographical Union for a reduction of the working-day to nine hours. The bargaining between the United Typothetæ and the union has been concerned almost exclusively with the shortening of the working-day. In 1898 the Typothetæ agreed to put the fifty-four-hour week into effect on Nov. 21, 1899. In 1902 the Typographical Union began to plan for a further reduction in the hours of work. The Typothetæ has steadily refused to grant the eight-hour day. In Sept., 1905, a great strike began. The strike was at first confined to Chicago, but by Jan. 1, 1906, it had extended to every large printing center. The Typothetæ has led the opposition to the demand for the eight-hour day and has on its own side declared for the open shop.

The relations of the union with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, the organization of employers in the newspaper business, have been amicable. In 1900 an arbitration

agreement was entered into by the union and the publishers. Under this agreement the Typographical Union guaranteed the performance of the contract of a local union with a publisher, provided the publisher agreed to arbitrate all disputes as to interpretation. In 1902 the agreement was broadened to cover not only disputes as to interpretation but disputes arising over the formation of new contracts. The present agreement expires in 1907. GEORGE E. BARNETT.

REFERENCES: John McVicar, *Origin and Progress of the Typographical Union* (1891); Ethelbert Stewart, *A Documentary History of the Early Organization of Printers* (Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, Nov., 1905); George E. Barnett, *The Introduction of the Linotype* (Yale Review, Nov., 1904); George E. Barnett, *The Government of the Typographical Union and Collective Bargaining in the Typographical Union*, in *Studies in American Trade-Unionism*, ed. by Hollander and Barnett, 1906; *Regulation and Restriction of Output* (Part I., chap. i.), *Eleventh Special Report of Commissioner of Labor*, Washington, 1904).

TYSON, ROBERT: Exponent of direct legislation and proportional representation; born Canterbury, England, 1845; largely self-educated; as a boy worked in machine-shop; later shorthand clerk in railway offices; then as newspaper reporter and editor in Lancashire. Came to Canada 1870; did newspaper work until 1876, when he was appointed stenographic reporter to the Court of Queen's Bench, now a division of the High Court of Justice. At one time editor of *Proportional Representation Review*; is now editor of the Proportional Representation Department in *Equity Series*, of Philadelphia. He has conducted many elections for societies, labor-unions, etc., and addressed meetings on the proportional principle; is in touch with the movement and current history of proportional representation in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, Switzerland, etc. Mr. Tyson's economic views are based on those of Henry George, and for some years he worked ardently in the single-tax cause. Later becoming impressed with the necessity of improved political conditions in order to forward social reform, he directed his work more toward direct legislation and proportional representation, making a specialty of the latter. Author of several pamphlets and many serial articles on elec-

toral reform. Address: 10 Harbord Street, Toronto, Canada.

TWEED RING: The Tweed Ring of New York City may be said to have begun in 1863, when William Marcy Tweed, a chairmaker of Scotch descent, born in New York in 1823, was appointed deputy street commissioner. He had been long prominent in local politics, and in 1853 had been elected to Congress. He was a member of Tammany (q. v.) for many years, and from 1860-71 its grand sachem. Becoming the virtual head of the Street Department, and later of the Department of Public Works, he enormously extended the expenditures for "improvements," and created numberless offices, giving him vast influence and the bestowal of sinecures on his friends. A ring gradually developed, and by 1869 held almost every department of the city in its power. In 1868 the ring's greatest scheme of robbery was begun—the building of a new county court-house. It was stipulated not to cost over \$250,000. Before 1871 it had cost \$8,000,000, and was still unfinished. In 1870 the power of auditing accounts was taken from the supervisors and vested in certain city offices filled by friends of the ring. All restraints on fraudulent bills were then removed. Bills amounting to \$6,000,000 were passed at the first and only meeting of the Board of Audit. Of this amount \$1,000,000 was traced to Tweed's own pocket. A secret account of the money thus paid was kept in the auditor's office, entered "County Liabilities." During the winter of 1870-71 a clerk stealthily copied its items and showed them to his patron, James O'Brien, an opponent of Tammany. He gave them to the *New York Times*, and they were published in July, 1871. The excitement created an investigation, and through the efforts of Samuel J. Tilden the frauds were exposed and the ring overthrown in the election of Nov., 1871. Tweed was tried for grand larceny and forgery, and Nov. 22, 1872, sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment and a heavy fine. In 1875 he escaped and fled to Spain, where he was captured and returned to New York City in 1876, dying in Ludlow Street Jail in 1878.

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UMANITARIA, LA SOCIETÀ: An Italian philanthropic society, founded by the generosity of Prosper Moise Loria (died 1902), of Milan, who bequeathed 10,000,000 lire for this purpose. But owing to certain legal and political difficulties, the society has been inactive for nearly ten years, and the funds now amount to about 13,000,000 li.

The general purpose of the society is to help the poor, needy, and unemployed, to raise the industrial efficiency of workers, and to serve as a general adviser and cooperator to all philanthropic societies. Men and women of whatever nationality are admitted as members on payment of 1 li. per annum. The members elect fifty delegates who have general charge of the budget and of the management, and elect ten of the fifteen directors of the society—the other five are appointed by the Municipal Council of Milan.

The Umanitaria expects to have about 600,000 li. annual income, to be divided thus: 45,000 on

annuities; 90,000 on administrative and office expenses; 175,000, or 37.64 per cent, for the amelioration of unemployment; 200,000, or 43 per cent, for industrial education; 50,000, or 10.76 per cent, on farm laborers; 20,000, or 4.3 per cent, in the promotion of cooperation; 20,000 on social bureaus of all kinds which aid the poor and needy in some way, particularly legal and medical aid societies.

The society maintains a *Bureau du Travail*, for making investigations into various labor problems, e. g., legal rights of the workman, the opportunities for employment at home and abroad, institutions for the moral improvement of the working classes, cost of living, sanitary conditions, etc. This bureau has, with its three divisions, a network of correspondents all over northern and central Italy, and receives reports regularly. The employment bureau for working men, governesses, and domestics placed in 1906: industrial workers, 5,089; domestics, 602. Two

bureaus assist, instruct, and supervise emigrants both from the city to the country and from Italy to foreign lands.

Industrial education is furnished in schools of designing, blacksmithing, furniture-making, engraving, molding, decorating, varnishing, clock-making, tailoring, cooking, embroidery and other needlework, electricity, etc. One school is intended to train young men as foremen, superintendents, etc.

Cooperation is encouraged by a loan association, a supply store, an agricultural cooperative society, etc.

The unemployed are assisted, according to the system practised at Ghent, by a relief station and a labor colony.

The society has taken a keen interest in the housing of working men, and has established (1906) two model tenements for 2,000 persons at a cost of nearly 1,000,000 li. It has encouraged taste and simplicity by offering a prize for the best furnished flat for a small family at a cost below 700 li.

The espousal of anti-alcoholism and the establishment of a *Musée Sociale*—intended for the education of the people in preventive measures—complete the list of activities of the Umanitaria. The society expects to purchase an old monastery, renovate it, and establish its industrial schools, its central offices, and a physician for women there; and to build a *Maison du Peuple* in its neighborhood.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

UNEMPLOYMENT: We consider in this article: I. The meaning and kinds of unemployment. II. The number of the unemployed. III. The means used to meet the problem.

I. Meaning and Kinds of Unemployment

It is necessary to consider the meaning of the word, because differences here have led to numberless misunderstandings and to fatal errors in the practical working of the problem.

Mr. Carroll D. Wright, in his report on the unemployed as United States Commissioner of Labor in 1886, uses the word in a very limited sense. He defines it as including only "those who under prosperous times would be fully employed and who during the time mentioned were seeking employment." But, obviously, if during times of especial need one would find the complete number of those without work, one must add to those whom Mr. Wright defines as the unemployed, those who in times of prosperity would be without employment, and this undoubtedly is not a small number.

Other writers seem to mean by the term only those who desire work. The tramp who does not work, mainly because he will not work, they do not reckon among the unemployed. The object of making this distinction seems to be to differentiate between those whom people consider to deserve sympathy and aid in finding work and a class which they believe to be very much to be condemned and who should be severely treated. Yet if we could go into the life history or the prenatal history and early environment of the work-shunning tramp we might find one genuinely to be pitied even more than the man who has not yet fallen low enough to lose his desire for work, one perhaps needing aid and help (altho usually in the form of very stern treatment) more than any other one class

in the community. But however this be, it is certainly true that no one can possibly arrive at any true conclusions of how to employ the unemployed, if one leaves out of consideration those who do not desire employment. For in actual life those who do not work because they cannot find work and those who do not work because they will not, are commingled at every step and not seldom the two natures are somewhat developed in the same person. The whole problem of employing the unemployed often turns upon this very point. One cannot solve a problem by reading out of the problem one of its most difficult and complicated factors.

Once more, some writers and more readers seem to understand by the unemployed only the exact opposite of the foregoing. They take it for granted that any can find work who will, and that therefore if anybody is without work, it is because he will not work, or at least because of some fault which he has developed, and for which he is morally responsible. To them there are no unemployed except those who will not work. Few students of social facts take this view. However much the members of the unemployed through no fault of their own may have been exaggerated by some, no one can doubt but that, in the present ordering of society, with its sudden economic changes, there are such. The invention of a machine, the formation of a trust, the usual resultant shutting down of mills or shops or mines, the change of a railroad rate, the termination of an important contract, the failure of some crop or of some supply, even the caprice of fashion or the overstocking of a market—these and

a hundred other things may cause thousands of operatives to be at least temporarily out of work. To call all the unemployed willing idlers, or shiftless incapables, is to ignore facts and to insult many a worthy but unfortunate honest workman. It certainly is to dodge rather than to face a problem.

Nor is there any more ground for limiting the word unemployed, as is sometimes practically done, to the unemployed among the artisan and manual-labor class. The unemployed clerk, the unemployed accountant, journalist, professional man, is often in a much more serious and critical condition than the artisan or manual laborer who finds himself without work. A university diploma is unfortunately by no means an insurance against lack of work.

Nor, once more, can the term unemployed be limited to those who are without work for a considerable period of time. An artisan without work for a day is not usually in a very serious condition and certainly need not be a concern to the community, and yet he is for that day unemployed. He may in that day contract the beginnings of evil habits; he may that day undercut the wage of a man who will go months without work—above all, if day be added to day, he may grow, before he knows it, and before the community knows it, into one who is both a burden and a menace to the community. This is certainly true—that if provision for those finding themselves temporarily out of work can be made promptly and well, before habits of idleness and the recklessness of discouragement have set in, the difficulty of caring for confirmed idleness, hopeless apathy, and developed degeneration will often not have to be met. It may be said in fact that almost the most important portion of the

problem of unemployed is how to prevent there being such a person as an unemployed man.

Nor finally is there any sex limitation to the word. An unemployed man may, in the long run and upon the whole, be a very much more serious social factor than an unemployed woman, because usually and as a fact to-day, and as most people believe, by nature, man is the chief bread-earner of the family and of the community; but when a woman does need work and either cannot or will not find it, she is often in a much more pitiable, and a more dangerous, even desperate condition than an unemployed man. The problem of the unemployed cannot leave out the woman idle either by disposition or by circumstance.

And so we must mean by unemployment the being out of work, for any cause, either by fault or misfortune, by any class or condition of persons who are in need of work, whether

Definition conscious of the need or not.

But second only to the necessity of including in the problem all its elements, all classes of the unemployed, is the necessity in the actual treatment of the case to most carefully distinguish and discriminate between different classes of the unemployed. The failure to do this last has probably been the one most frequent cause of the failures in working out the problem. To treat a drunken, burned-out weakling like a strong skilled man, temporarily out of work, is almost as serious a sociological mistake as to treat the honest, skilled, willing artisan, out of work, like the tramp who comes begging for a nickel to quench his fevered thirst. Yet history is full of instances of industrial colonies which have failed because they have taken for granted that everybody knew how and desired to work, and still more of instances of well-meant systems which have begun by insulting or more frequently driving away the most hopeful class of the unemployed by insulting them and lumping all the unemployed in one class and under conditions suited only to the most degraded and the most inefficient. To distinguish is the very first step toward the solution of the problem. Years ago it was said by John Burns, the present Secretary of the English Local Government Board:

Until the differentiation of the laborer from the loafer takes place, the unemployed question can never be properly discussed and dealt with. Till the tramp, thief, and ne'er-do-well, however pitiable he may be, is dealt with distinctly from the genuine worker, no permanent benefit will result to any of them. The gentleman who gets up to look for work at mid-day, and prays that he may not find it, is undeserving of pity. I have seen the most genuine and honest men at meetings mixed up with the laziest and most drunken scoundrels.

Briefly, we may divide the unemployed as follows:

First, The Temporarily Unemployed, who are Employable—those who, both able and willing to work, find themselves for one reason or another temporarily out of employment.

Second, The Temporarily Unemployed who are Unemployable—those who for one reason or another, of fault, or of temperament, or circumstance, are so inefficient that while they can do certain work, are always losing their jobs, continually getting tho not remaining permanently out of work.

Classes of the Unemployed *Third, The Somewhat Permanently Unemployed who are Employable*—those who by reason of a change in their trade or in the market, or for some other reason find themselves threatened by permanent

unemployment and yet are able and willing to work.

Fourth, The Permanently Unemployed and Unemployable—those who are permanently out of work, because for one reason or another of fault or misfortune they are too inefficient to do work.

Fifth, The Permanently Unemployed who are viciously or incorrigibly unwilling to work.

It is obvious that these distinctions at once need very different modes of treatment. Differentiation only can lead to solution.

II. The Number of the Unemployed

Before considering their number it is necessary to consider some common misconceptions of the subject.

The opinion seems general in the U. S., and to a less extent exists even in other countries, that the number of unemployed has been exaggerated and above all that sympathy for men without work is, generally speaking, largely undeserved. The reasons for this very common and natural opinion are habitually overlooked, but when they are studied the opinion will be seen to be erroneous.

1. In the first place, the unemployed which come into closest contact with the general community, and above all with the charitable community, are beyond all question the worst unemployed and therefore mislead the public as to the general character of the unemployed. The self-respecting men and women avoid begging and knocking at the doors of charity until the last possible moment. Many of them prefer and often actually do choose starvation rather than beggary. Consequently these self-respecting persons are the last to come in evidence before the charitable. But those who have lost self-respect, who will not work even when they can, who are the professionally unemployed, the typical tramp of the stage and at the rich man's door—these do continually haunt the wealthy and the charitable. Not unnaturally the ordinary public judges from its experience and wrongly concludes that what is true of the unemployed with which it comes in contact, is true of the whole class, and that the one trouble with the unemployed is that they will not work. But all experienced investigators of the subject are agreed that, while this may be true of a large class, it is by no means true of all, and that there are millions of people in the U. S. who never come before the charitable and who even denounce and dislike charity who are nevertheless, at least for periods of time, bitterly in need of work.

2. These premature judgments of the ordinary public are caught up and repeated by the press. The press, and especially the press supporting whatever administration happens to be in power in any locality, Republican or Democratic, does not like to admit any lack of employment. It is for their interest to talk good times: "Prosperity" talk creates prosperity. Of this there is no question. Desiring, as we all do, prosperity, the papers, probably rightly, encourage hope, but not unfrequently falsely assert that there is work for all. A New York paper not long ago declared that the Department of Street Cleaning was unable to secure street-sweepers. Application at the department at that very time elicited the fact that the department was overrun with applications for work. Such is the fact as to many similar rumors and statements accepted by the public.

3. The wealth of the U. S. is so limitless, its opportunities so vast, the prosperity of certain classes so good, the wages of many artisans so high, ordinary labor, when paid at all, is so well paid, compared with European labor, that it seems incredible that at that very time others should be unable to get work at any price. Yet such is the case. Trade-union wages are high, not because there is no competition from the unemployed, but because of strict trade organization.

4. People get into the way of thinking that those out of work are so through their own fault alone because such are usually our "weaker brethren." Such forget that this *must* be so. When a man employing 100 men must discharge five, he naturally discharges the five who, for one reason or another, are the least efficient. Yet he may have discharged them, not for any especial inefficiency or fault, but because his business compelling him to discharge five, he selected them. Consolidation of business is said to have discharged some 35,000 traveling agents. Railroads sometimes lay off a thousand men at a time. When two companies combine, some clerks are almost always discharged. Inevitably, the more efficient are retained and the unemployed are the less efficient. For many of these, especially of the clerical class, with a fair general knowledge but no especial

trade, it is difficult to find work, especially if at all old. Invention and machinery also temporarily make men idle. The rapid entry of women into offices and some forms of light manufacture displaces men, at least temporarily. Other forms and often higher forms of work usually open for the abler men, but the inefficient often go months without work. The experience of certain college professors who, with plenty of physical and mental ability, have experimented in seeing if they could get work, and have found it, proves nothing. The question is, Can the inefficient get work? Yet for their inefficiency they may be by no means to blame. Born as many of them are born, bred as many of them are bred, housed as they are housed, fed as many of them are fed, it is physically impossible but that they should be inefficient. Are they, therefore, to starve?

5. It is said that they could at least be thrifty, cleanly, temperate; and that often they are not. Large numbers of the unemployed are thrifty, cleanly, temperate; but be it remembered that few apply for relief or come to the public notice until they have been unemployed for a considerable time, or only employed on very occasional jobs, so that the process of discouragement and demoralization has gone on a long ways before they attract attention. By this time many who, when they had good work, were thrifty and temperate have begun to take a weak refuge in thriftlessness and intemperance.

6. This leads us inevitably to the question of intemperance as the cause of unemployment. Some say foolishly that the question of unemployment is only another form of the drink question and that everybody could find work except for drink. Few informed students say this. Serious as is the evil done by drink, it is easily exaggerated, because if drink leads undoubtedly to evil habits, and so often at least to discharge and unemployment, it is also true that idleness and unemployment often lead to drink. It is often difficult to

know which is cause and which is effect. The facts are often, perhaps usually, so complex that most students of sociology to-day have given up asking what are the causes of drunkenness, poverty, unemployment, or crime. They are too intricate often to allow of analysis.

We come therefore, without limiting the number to those who are or who are not to blame for their unemployment, to ask how many are unemployed.

Of the number of the unemployed, in the full sense of the word, in the U. S. particularly, no man has any even approximately exact knowledge. Only a few hints can be given. Of the higher artisan class in a few cities statistics are taken somewhat exactly. Perhaps the most complete of these statistics are the returns to the New York Department of Labor and published in its Bulletin.

According to this Bulletin (March, 1907) comparatively full reports were received from the manufacturing, mechanical, and transport trades, from hotels, and some other leading occupations, and the mean of unemployment, 1902-5, was 15.1 per cent. In 1902 it was 14.8 per cent; in 1903, 17.5; in 1904, 16.9; in 1905, 11.2. But this was the mean for the whole year. In January and February it runs much higher. It is also for the better and more established industries. Fifteen per cent of the 2,000,000 members of organized labor would be 300,000.

Of the unorganized trades we have but little but guesses. Still less do we know the number of the vagrant class who have no trade. Mr. Lewis estimates them at half a million. (See VAGRANTS.)

For Great Britain, we have the following:

The mean percentage of the unemployed returned by trade-unions during 1905 was 5.4, compared with 6.5 in 1904, 5.1 in 1903, 4.4 in 1902, and 3.8 in 1901. The average percentage for ten years, 1896-1905, was 4.04.

According to the Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom for 1906, there were in receipt of poor relief, on Jan. 1st, in England and Wales, 909,918 persons; on Jan. 15th, in Scotland, 111,202 persons; on the last day of the year and in January in Ireland, 103,302 persons; or for the United Kingdom, 1,114,522 persons, which is 2.59 per cent of the estimated population.

In France, according to the census of March, 1901, there were 314,530 unemployed, or 2.92 per cent of the workers.

Germany reported 520,728 unemployed in the second quarter of 1905, or 1.9 per cent.

But these are of the working classes. Statistics are inevitably taken mainly from the larger establishments. Of the total number who are out of work at any time in any country, we have no adequate means of knowing.

Wrote Mr. John Burns, in the *Nineteenth Century* for Dec., 1892:

Disguise it how we will, hide it tho we may, looming up is the great, the all-absorbing question for all countries and governments to face—How can the honest worker be provided with work uncontaminated with pauperism's degrading taint and charity's demoralizing aid? The glib quotation of figures showing that official pauperism has decreased only insults the genuine worker who asks for work, so that it may be reduced further still. But even the official statistics, when shorn of all their complacent optimism, reveal the real nature of the problem. The fact that a cruel administration of the poor-law, which mixes honest and criminal together, has reduced official pauperism from 46 to 20 per 1,000, is cold comfort to the men who, by physical necessity or want of work, are compelled to be of the 20. The growth of trade-unionism, friendly, sick, loan cooperative,

John Burns

and other agencies that the workers resort to in times of distress, is not recognized as a factor in reducing the distress which, in the absence of such agencies, the poor-law would have to meet. Exploiting the ever-increasing repugnance among the genuine poor to pauper relief, the officials representing the *laissez-faire* middle class are determined to throw the support of the worthless, that the rich and poor now sustain, on the poor exclusively, who voluntarily, taxed as they are, cannot carry further burdens.

Outside the official pauper class, as Mr. Charles Booth proves, there are hundreds of thousands of people whose standard of life and comfort, from the point of view of food, clothing, and house accommodation, is lower than that of the pauper or criminal, yet these people will not accept relief, but struggle on in the vain hope of work that never comes, and which, if it did, would find them too low to perform it. The fact is the virtue—or vice—of thrift and independence among the pick of the working classes, which well-fed reformers contend is applicable to all, is being abused and exploited. When the poor refuse poor-law relief, it is construed as proof that its abolition is justifiable. When, as a better alternative, the poor man asks for work, he is told that that is pauperism in another form. When he becomes ill through neither relief nor work being offered or accepted, or, as a last resource, thieves and goes to prison, he has to be kept, after his health and morals have been shattered, till he dies. . . . Having experienced the lot of the workless worker, I believe, with Carlyle, that "a man willing to work and unable to find work is, perhaps, the saddest sight that fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun."

III. Means Used to Meet the Problem

With the indirect means used to meet the problem we are not here concerned. Yet these may be the most important and probably are so. It is, indeed, beyond doubt that the only complete solution of the question is to prevent there being any unemployed. If education or temperance or religion or protection or free trade or socialism or individualism will so order society as to provide work for all, almost all social problems would be solved. But to this question this whole Encyclopedia is devoted and we can only consider in this article what can be done for or with the unemployed as they exist today.

This we have said must vary with the different classes of the unemployed. We can little more than name the different measures that have been tried or proposed, referring the reader to special articles for account of them.

1. Undoubtedly the first thing to do is to divide the unemployed into their different classes. Till this is done, nothing can be done with any class. Hence the work test, which has loomed so large especially in English and American attempts to grapple with the problem. It is, however, but a crude test compared with the following of the lines of individuals as in Germany. (See ELBERFELD SYSTEM; RELIEF STATIONS.) These methods enable the Germans to know what a man is and therefore to aid him wisely.

2. The second step undoubtedly is to reduce the problem to its lowest terms by obtaining employment in the quickest time for all who are employable and for whom employment can be found. This means the wisest form of employment bureau, in which Germany again seems to have worked out the best system. (See PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.)

3. We come next to the question of how to deal with the somewhat employable and efficient, for whom, however, no work can immediately be found. Here America, England, and Belgium, in different ways, have been the most successful. (For the system most successfully worked out in America, see VACANT LOT CULTIVATION. For the Belgian system, see INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE. For the English system, see PUBLIC RELIEF WORKS.)

4. We come to the class more permanently unemployed, and usually for the most the unemployable and inefficient, the weak but not the confirmed and semi-criminal confirmed idlers. For these the so-called labor colonies of Germany and of other countries are undoubtedly the best means. (For these, however, see LABOR COLONIES.)

5. We are left finally to consider the semicriminal and vicious and confirmed idlers, the tramp proper or vagrants. For these, undoubtedly compulsory work in colonies more or less penal, like those of Holland and Belgium, should be established. For these, different means used for different classes of the unemployed should doubtless be worked into a complete national system, as in the following plan, recommended by Percy Alden, P. M., in his book "The Unemployed."

(For New Zealand and the unemployed, see NEW ZEALAND.)

A congress as to unemployment was held at Milan in 1907, and an international committee was organized.

REFERENCES: Percy Alden, *The Unemployed* (1905); *Die bestehenden Einrichtungen zur Versicherung gegen die Folgen der Arbeitslosigkeit*, German Imperial Report, 3 vols. (1907); D. F. Schloss, *Report on Agencies and Methods for Dealing in Certain Foreign Countries*, English Board of Trade Report (1904); W. D. P. Bliss, *Report on the Employment of the Unemployed*, U. S. Bureau of Labor (1908).

UNEMPLOYMENT, USELESSNESS OF LABOR COLONIES FOR: For the genuine unemployed—the independent, self-reliant, self-respecting workers—farm colonies are an inadequate remedy, uneconomic, wasteful, and destined in the future, as in the present and past, to be a futile remedy for their workless condition.

There are several rural workhouses for able-bodied paupers; there are *al-fresco* casual wards and pastoral labor hospitals where the industrial misfits and social wreckage find refuge under coercive, restrictive, and pauperizing conditions, that the efficient but workless workmen will very properly not accept. But these institutions are but pauper auxiliaries, with the dependent, subjective, and penal taint.

They are admirably diagnosed and effectively summarized by the last Board of Trade report, which says of their foreign counterpart, of which the British are but immature imitations, "Whatever be the object of these colonies, the great bulk of the material with which they deal consists not of efficient workmen out of work, but of tramps, ex-prisoners, and others whose distress is caused by personal defects. They are not colonies of unemployed; they are receptacles for social wreckage." Writing of them recently, Mr. T. Mackay, no mean authority, says: "They are asylums more or less satisfactory to the philanthropic sentiment, more or less attractive to persons of unindustrial instincts, but in no large sense of the terms are they able to restore or to create industrial capacity in those who resort to them."

As abroad, in Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, from 50 to 90 per cent of the colonists are ex-convicts, chronic tramps, who often "go to colony after prison, or arrive in serious debility from alcoholic excess." I do not think I was far wrong when I said: "Farm colonies were only doss-houses in which good men were brought down to the level of tramps and wastrels, and became chargeable to the parish."

WHERE THE FARM COLONY FAILS

Can we wonder that these places abroad and at home are avoided by unemployed men of character, the people of whom alone I am speaking? Their reasons for so doing are commendable in every way. The isolation of a farm colony from industrial centers, its distance from the normal labor market, prevent the genuine unemployed workman, anxious to take up his work, from resuming his proper and profitable place in the ranks of labor when his opportunity for employment arrives.

The farm colony breaks up family life by withdrawing the father and breadwinner from his family, and even where this may sometimes lead to his physical benefit, it often results in greater moral detriment to himself and family.

CANADIAN EXPERIENCE

It is all-important, at this moment, when the unemployed are being exploited by advertising and rival religious leaders, when real and permanent remedies for the prevention of the unemployed are being pushed aside by social freaks, economic charlatans, and settlement quacks, each with his patent pill, that some one should enter a protest against costly and illusory projects and delusive remedies for the unemployed. I feel justified in taking this view, as in a recent tour in Canada I traveled several thousand miles to see some ten colonies in which this problem was being dealt with; the only satisfactory examples were the Doukhobor settlements, that are not labor colonies at all.

The time has arrived, now that London, through Mansion House funds and other undesirable means, is attracting the provincial workless wastrels, and the tramp, to the metropolis, to the detriment of its own decent unemployed, that some direct speaking should be given in protest against this kind of thing.

The worst way to help the unemployed, in my judgment, is to put them in small celibate compounds on pauper patches in rural districts. The better plan is to prevent them, as free men, being driven from the land in droves. An Essex laborer dispossessed from the soil, briefly employed at the East End, then sent to a farm colony, is worse for the transposition. He has been "institutionalized," and I never yet knew the average man survive that pauperizing ordeal.

JOHN BURNS, M. P.

UNION LABEL, THE: A trade-mark owned and registered by a trade-union. It is usually granted by the unions to those firms which employ union labor only, and is to be attached to articles of sale to indicate that they have been made under conditions stipulated and approved by the organization.

The purpose of the union label is to gain friends for organized labor among the general public and to confine the patronage of union men to the goods of employers who pay union wages, and otherwise conform to the conditions stipulated, e. g., in regard to hours, sanitation, and places of manufacture. From this point of view the label is a legal or negative boycott, since the employers to whom it is granted are on the "fair list."

The history of the union label dates from 1874, when it was first used by cigarmakers in California as a protection against Chinese labor. Its origin is closely connected with

the race question, since it arose as a result of the more intense competition due to a larger immigration of skilled workmen, beginning with 1870. Owing to this fact the label has not been widely adopted in Australia, since the trade-unions in that country have always been successful in keeping out cheap labor. The Trade-Union and Cooperative Congress in England approved it in 1893, and it was adopted by the hatters. But in Canada and the United States the label has been widely used as a weapon to "maintain the white as against the coolie standard of life." During a strike in St. Louis (1875) a discussion arose as to the color of the label; this was settled at the convention in Chicago (Sept., 1880) by the adoption of blue.

The extent of the use of the label is enormous. The hatters' unions adopted it in 1885, and reported 3,120,000 labels used in fourteen towns from Dec. 1, 1896, to June 1, 1897, and about 12,000,000 for the U. S. in 1897. It is estimated that over 100,000,000 were used by different unions from 1885 to 1900. Various unions have urged all the "locals" to adopt the label all over the country. The American Federation of Labor recognized and approved forty-three labels in 1903, but advocated the use of its own label.

The benefits of the label have been numerous for organized labor, owing largely to systematic and persistent advertising. The cigarmakers seem to be in the lead in this respect, e. g., Cigarmakers' Union No. 97 expended over \$3,188 in 1896 for "label agitation"; other unions spent smaller amounts.

Finally, state legislatures have granted legal protection to the label. Illinois, for instance, makes its counterfeiting or unauthorized use a semicriminal offense, and penalizes it with \$100 fine or imprisonment. In 1898 the label was protected in twenty-eight states, and in 1900 in thirty-two.

Since that time the label has increased as a commercial asset for the trade-unions, since many employers find its use a good advertisement, and are perfectly willing to conform to the conditions stipulated.

RUDOLF M. BINDER.

UNION LABOR PARTY: This was a political party organized at Cincinnati, Feb. 23, 1887, mainly by representatives of farmers' organizations of the West and Western Middle States, with many of the old Greenback Party (*q. v.*). Its platform declared for a graduated land and income tax; government telegraphs and railroads; abolition of national banks; free coinage of silver; payment of national debt at maturity; exclusion of the Chinese; woman suffrage; arbitration of labor disputes; and against contract labor in prisons, the further issue of interest-bearing government bonds, and the employment of armed men by private corporations. It polled an insignificant vote, but led to the formation of the People's Party (*q. v.*).

UNIONIST PARTY: The name commonly used in Great Britain to-day for the party formerly called the Conservative Party, as indicating the union of all those who believe in the maintenance and defense of the existing Constitution and political institutions of the British Empire, tho with such constructive and progressive legislation as shall adapt these to the growing needs of the people without, however, any fundamental change, either in the empire or the United Kingdom, in State, Church, or social organization. Its keynote may be said to be at present the exaltation of the empire, calling for preferential tariff arrangements with the colonies and protection or at least tariff discrimination against other powers, the maintenance of the House of Lords, and in general the rights of property and private initiative, as against all beginnings of republicanism and socialism, the maintenance of a strong army and

navy, paternal legislation for the benefit of the industrial and working classes, education, with much recognition of the Church of England as the State Church.

For the position of the Unionist Party on the two important topics of the tariff and of education, see special articles **TARIFF REFORM** IN GREAT BRITAIN, from the standpoint of Mr. Chamberlain, undoubtedly the leader of the Unionist Party upon this line, and **SCHOOL QUESTION** IN GREAT BRITAIN, Section I, from the standpoint of the Church of England.

On other questions the following quotations may be said to be semiauthoritative, being from campaign pamphlets published by the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations, the central propaganda body of the Unionist Party.

On the mooted question of the House of Lords these pamphlets say:

Why abolish the House of Lords because it can suspend too hasty or ill-considered legislation on the part of the House of Commons?

Why not abolish the House of Commons because it often vetoes the legislation of the House of Lords?

The House of Lords has the older standing, the greater intellect, and, above all, the freedom to consider questions on their own merits alone, which the House of Commons, subject as it is to electoral caprice, can never have.

It is often asserted that the existence of the House of Lords is opposed to the principles of democracy, but few of those who make this assertion have ever considered what it means.

The principle of a democracy is that the deliberate wish of the nation as a whole ought to prevail in all questions of government. This is easily provided for in all cases where a large majority of the nation is of one opinion; it is difficult, if not impossible, to attain when the nation is equally divided upon any question. It often happens that the supporters of a particular view, though a minority of the electors, are able to secure the return of a majority of members holding their opinions. If it is not a party question, candidates on both sides are selected from men holding the opinions of these electors, who, though comparatively few, may be numerous enough to turn the election in the particular constituency.

Again, at most elections there are more questions than one prominently before the electors, and some of the electors support the candidate of their choice on one ground and some on another, so that the member when elected cannot say that upon either question he certainly represents the views of the majority of the electors.

In the interests of democracy itself, therefore, it is necessary that there should be some authority to prevent laws being passed by the House of Commons against the wishes of the people, and this can best be done by a second chamber.

In America the elected Senate is stronger than the House of Representatives, which is fatal to the democratic principle. In France the two chambers, if they differ, sit together, and the majority of the House of Representatives, if small, does not always prevail even where it represents truly the views of the nation.

The English House of Lords appears of recent years to have performed the duty required in the interests of democracy more successfully than the senates of foreign countries. Being an hereditary House it can without discredit yield to the will of the people if clearly and deliberately exprest, and yet being independent it can resist the House of Commons when it is really doubtful whether their decision expresses the deliberate wish of the nation.

During the Parliament of 1892-94 the Lords more than once stayed the hand of the House of Commons. In the case of Home Rule, the nation had in 1886 pronounced strongly against it, and in 1892, by a small majority, if any, in its favor. It was impossible, therefore, to say that the deliberate opinion of the nation had been exprest, even on the general question. On the particular bill it certainly had not been exprest, and few people now believe that the Home Rule Bill was really desired by a majority of the electors. The clause of the Employers' Liability Bill prohibiting contracting-out was an endeavor to impose a serious restriction upon the liberty of the working classes, and was carried by so small a majority in the House of Commons, notwithstanding all the exigencies of party, as to leave it quite uncertain what were the real views of the majority even of the elected representatives of the people. In 1906, in the case of the Plural Voting Bill, the House of Lords simply upheld the old constitutional principle, that any alteration in the franchise must be accompanied by a redistribution of seats, while with regard to the Education Bill, as every sec-

tion of the community which was concerned or interested in its provisions had most vigorously protested against one or other clause of the measure, it is perfectly obvious that in amending it the Lords did not oppose the wishes of the people.

In each case the action of the House of Lords was such as to secure, and not to thwart, a deliberate expression by the nation of its desires.

When those desires are exprest at a general election the House of Lords conforms to them.

In opposition to socialism, the Unionist pamphlets say:

Socialism means the end of liberty—the Socialists would make every man a puppet and a slave to the Socialist god—the State. All men would become machines for the use of the State, their work parceled out when, how, and where the State thought fit, and its results snatched from them for the purposes of the State.

Socialism would seize from every man his home and belongings. Under socialism no man must *own* anything; everything would belong to the State. All the savings of years of thrift would be taken and thrown into the common pool.

Socialism would destroy family life and take away those sweet things that make the English idea of home the best thing in the world.

For "home," socialism would substitute gigantic barracks where you would be compelled to live and have your meals divided out to you, of such kind and quantity as the State decided, in such company as the State chose for you. If you wanted more tea, more beer, more tobacco, however honestly you had earned it, you could not have it. You must have no more than your neighbors. Socialism would kill all enterprise and stop progress, individual and national. Under socialism no man could rise. Can you conceive what life would be without ambition or hope? Without the possibility of reaching to better things? Without the chance of carving out for yourself a higher future? With the deadening knowledge that as you are so you shall remain, with your life State-planned, State-run, State-crushed? Is not this black despair? Under our present conditions, however low down a man may start, he has it in his power to make his future. Consider the thousands of men who have risen from nothing to eminence.

There is no need for socialism. Not because the present state of things is perfect. But every year sees the worker's lot improved. The aim of every piece of labor legislation is to bring into being benefits which could not be possible under socialism. And with it all the marked liberty is not lessened; it is increased. Why, then, give up liberty for nothing?

In opposition to the Liberal (or Radical) Party, the Unionist Party claims that:

(a) That party has not fulfilled its pledges on the old-age pensions, an unemployed act, reduction of the income tax, a licensing act, retrenchment.

(b) It has thrown many men and women out of employment, by reducing the work at the arsenals, and by buying supplies for the army outside of England.

(c) It has aroused serious hostility toward the mother country among the colonies: in *South Africa*, by its anti-British policy; in *Natal*, by blundering interference in local affairs, causing such resentment as to make the Natal Ministry resign; in *Newfoundland*, by a gross betrayal of the colonists' interests—the making of a treaty contrary to their wishes; in *Australia* and *New Zealand*, by riding roughshod over colonial sentiment in the matter of the New Hebrides convention.

(d) In regard to Chinese labor in *South Africa* at the very time when the Radicals were circulating lying slanders about the Chinese labor ordinance, they were actually themselves making a similar ordinance (but harsher) to bind the blacks of the New Hebrides.

But the position of the Unionist Party is by no means purely negative and defensive. It claims, on the contrary, to be the party of achievement and construction. It claims among other things to have introduced:

(a) Most of the progressive industrial legislation of England in which England, until recently, at least, has led the world.

(b) The Agricultural Rating Act, 1896, and Continuance Acts of 1901 and 1905. This act lowers the local rates payable by agricultural land in England and Wales by one half. It provides £1,333,000 a year out of the Imperial Exchequer to relieve land from its heavy and unjust taxation, local taxation being the heaviest burden upon land. It affects all classes interested in the land, and especially the farmer and laborer.

(c) Agricultural Holdings Act, 1900. This act is of great

House of Lords

Opposition to Liberalism

importance to the tenant farmers, giving them increased security in the value of their improvements.

(d) The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, Extension Act. This act, passed in 1900, confers upon agricultural laborers the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897.

(e) Other acts like the Light Railways Act, 1896, the sale of food and drugs acts, etc.

(f) The Unionist claims that "the long period of Conservative predominance has synchronized with and generously aided the growth of the imperial idea," preserving the empire intact, developing progress in India, Canada, Australia, Egypt, etc.

(See **TARIFF REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN.**)

UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE, THE: The United Kingdom Alliance is an association of temperance and social reformers, formed in Manchester, England, 1853.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. That it is neither right nor politic for the State to afford legal protection and sanction to any traffic or system that tends to increase crime, to waste the national resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy the health and lives of the people.

2. That the traffic in intoxicating liquors, as common beverages, is inimical to the true interests of individuals, and destructive to the order and welfare of society, and ought, therefore, to be prohibited.

3. That the history and results of all past legislation in regard to the liquor traffic abundantly prove that it is impossible satisfactorily to limit or regulate a system so essentially mischievous in its tendencies.

4. That no considerations of private gain or public revenue can justify the upholding of a system so utterly wrong in principle, suicidal in policy, and disastrous in results, as the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

5. That the legislative prohibition of the liquor traffic is perfectly compatible with rational liberty, and with all the claims of justice and legitimate commerce.

6. That the legislative suppression of the liquor traffic would be highly conducive to the development of a progressive civilization.

7. That, rising above class, sectarian, or party considerations, all good citizens should combine to procure an enactment prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages, as affording most efficient aid in removing the appalling evil of intemperance.

The alliance has no test of membership bearing upon the personal habits of its members, or as to their religious creed or political party. It invites the aid and cooperation of all good citizens, whether abstainers or not. It has but one object—the removal of the liquor traffic by a law, enacted by Parliament and enforced by public opinion, working through the executive power of the State. *Secretary, Mr. W. Williams, 16 Deansgate, Manchester, England.*

UNITED LABOR PARTY: This party was organized in 1886 in New York, and based upon the single-tax principle. Henry George, one of its chief promoters, was nominated by it for Mayor of New York in the same year. He received over 68,000 votes, as against over 90,000 received by the Democratic and over 60,000 by the Republican nominee. The following year a convention was held at Syracuse, the organization of the party was perfected, and measures taken to spread it through the state. Henry George was nominated for Secretary of State of New York. In the election he received 70,055 votes, against 469,888 for the Democratic, 452,811 for the Republican, and 7,622 for the Progressive Labor candidate. The United Labor Party declared in its platform that it does not seek to "secure any forced equality in the distribution of wealth, nor propose that the State shall take possession of land, and either work it or rent it out," but that its aim is to abolish all restrictive taxes upon industry, to remove the tax from improvements, and increase the land tax. Its platform advo-

cated government ownership of telegraphs and railroads; prohibition of child labor and competitive convict labor; reduction of the hours of labor; prevention of the abuse of the conspiracy laws; legal and judicial reform; and a mode of election that would check bribery and corruption by relieving the candidates of expense. After this election its chief promoters mainly united with the Democratic Party in the hope that that party would lead in battle for free trade, and thus, by abolishing protective taxes, pave the way for the single tax (*q. v.*).

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, THE: Organized in 1890, it has a total membership in the United States exceeding 300,000. Its officials claim for it the distinction of being the strongest and largest single trade-union in the world. It is well organized in at least ten of the twenty-seven coal-producing states, and is gradually extending its power into all of the twenty-seven. About 75 per cent of all the coal-mine employees in the country are at present members of the union; more than 85 per cent of the total of 486,000 are governed by the union's scales and work under its conditions of employment, and, the officials of the union claim, fully 90 per cent of all coal-mine workers in the U. S. would go out on a strike if a national suspension of coal-mining is ever found to be necessary by the union.

The United Mine Workers of America is one of the most democratic organizations in the world, with the possibility of it all at once becoming one of the most autocratic. It is democratic in the sense that in the final analysis its policy and management are in the hands of its members. To them, in their local unions, every great question affecting the national union is referred sooner or later; from the local unions come the final decisions on all such questions.

Once a year representatives of the local unions meet in regular convention as the national union, usually at Indianapolis, and for ten days or two weeks outline the policy of the national union for the ensuing year. This convention possesses absolute power; there is nothing affecting the organization it cannot do, even to altering or amending its fundamental law—the constitution. It can even abrogate, if it so chooses, the agreement of the Interstate Joint Conference.

No strike can be ordered by any district, nor can final action be taken upon any questions directly or indirectly affecting the interests of the mine workers of another district, until the approval of the national president is secured in writing, or, he having disapproved, until favorable action upon an appeal from his decision has been taken by the Executive Board. An exception to this, of course, is in case the strike or action has been ordered by the national convention.

The vesting of such great power, by the United Mine Workers of America, in the hands of one man is due primarily to the exigencies of strike times when, for all practical purposes, the union becomes a military organization, in the control of which there must not be the least possibility of divided leadership.

Under the constitution every local union is required to pay into the national treasury a per-capita tax of ten cents a month for each member and such additional assessments as may be levied

by the National Executive Board. Boys under sixteen years of age are regarded as half members and pay one half as much tax and assessments as full members. These dues and assessments from the locals form the principal sources of income for the national union. When a strike of unusual proportions is in progress contributions from other labor organizations and from the general public increase the funds in the national treasury. The important part these play in the conduct of the organization was shown during the six months' strike in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania in 1902. To carry on that struggle alone, not including the expenses accompanying the strike of mine workers in progress at the same time in the Virginias, the various unions of the United Mine Workers of America voluntarily donated \$258,344, and the members of the organization paid in special assessments \$1,967,026, a total of \$2,225,370.

So well organized are the finances of the United Mine Workers of America that the national union was able to carry on a wide-spread system of relief to the needy anthracite mine workers during the last two months of the strike in 1902. In this relief work no distinction was made between union and non-union men. In fact the testimony of many witnesses is to the effect that aid was furnished as freely to the non-union as to the union mine workers.

Since 1885 the union has held an annual joint conference with representatives of the operators and coal-mining companies of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the Pittsburgh field of Pennsylvania. In these conferences labor is regarded as a commodity, and the possessor of this labor—the mine worker—is accorded the right, through representatives of the union, to “bargain” with representatives of the purchasers of that labor—the coal-mining companies—for the price of his labor and the conditions under which it is to be sold.

Since the great strike of 1897 the United Mine Workers has extended the eight-hour work-day into the mines of Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Michigan, Kentucky, and parts of Tennessee, and has secured for the mine employees of those states increases in wages ranging from 13 to over 30 per cent. Increases in the wages of mine workers in other states have also been secured through joint conventions with the operators, and increases in wages, with improved conditions of employment, were forced from the railroad mining companies and independent operators in the three hard-coal fields of Pennsylvania in 1900 and 1902. (See also COAL STRIKE AND WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.)

FRANK J. WARNE, PH.D.

UNITED STATES, THE. (For all statistics and details, see special articles. In this article we very briefly outline the story of social reform in the U. S. so as to bring out the continuity and the connection of the various movements.)

Social reform in the U. S. may be said to have commenced with the political agitation over the adoption of the Constitution. As is well known, it was with the utmost difficulty that the various states were induced to ratify the Constitution. It was held by large masses of the people in all the various states that the Constitution was a concession to aristocracy and the power of wealth in giving too much power to the central government and thus subverting the very principles of democracy upon which the American government was supposed to rest. While, therefore, the leadership of Washington, Hamilton, and others

brought political success for a while to the Federalists, the supporters of the Constitution, a strong party of decentralization was growing up, led by Thomas Jefferson, which finally won political success in the presidential elections in 1801, with Jefferson as president. “The Republican and Democratic Party,” as the party supporting this view was then called, remained in power under the presidency of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe until 1825, and was strong with the masses of the country and the agricultural interests, the opposing Federalists being mainly strong with the commercial and manufacturing interests of the North. The doctrine of decentralization was during this period largely applied not only in the central government but in the states, it being generally held even by both parties that that was the best government which governed least. It was during this long period too that the U. S. developed its national tendency to individualism and the minimizing of government action, federal, state, and local. (For all this, however, see article CENTRALIZATION.)

The first steps to reform other than political were, as is well known, in the agitation against slavery. The Pennsylvania society for the abolition of slavery was formed as early as 1774, and abolition societies followed in almost all the states in the immediately ensuing years, including Virginia (1791). The abolition of the slave-trade by Great Britain (1807) was followed by that of the U. S. in 1808. Nevertheless the issue between the slave power and the abolitionists increased steadily in popular interest. In 1831 Garrison (*q. v.*) established the *Liberator* in Boston, and in 1832 the New England Anti-Slavery Society was formed. (For all details, however, see article ABOLITION.) The Liberty Party was formed in 1840, the Free Soil Party in 1848, leading to the formation of the Republican Party and the War of the Rebellion, till in 1870 the American Anti-Slavery Society disbanded, believing its work fully done.

Distinctive economic and labor reform in the U. S. came much later, altho a few trade-unions were formed very early in the nineteenth century if not in the eighteenth. (See TRADE-UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.) The really formative period of American trade-unionism, however, did not begin till 1825, and then only gradually became active until 1840, when it was somewhat submerged by the interest in Fourierism. Various labor papers were published during this period and important labor organizations attempted. A Workingman's Convention was held in Syracuse as early as 1830 and made a labor nomination for the governorship of New York.

The Labor movement, however, early became largely identified with the eight-hour movement, and from 1840 to 1850 this was the important subject of agitation in labor circles. In 1840 President Van Buren issued a proclamation establishing the ten-hour system in the U. S. Government establishments. (See EIGHT-HOUR DAY.)

Meanwhile, although having little direct connection with the general economic movement, industrial colonies of one kind or another were established in the U. S., mainly from Europe. The Shakers, led by Ann Lee, first came to the U. S. from England in 1774 and were gathered into Settlements in 1787. The Harmonists (*q. v.*) came to America in 1803. In 1825 Robert Owen established his short-lived community in New

Early Labor Movement

Harmony, Ind. (For these and other colonies, see COMMUNITIES.) These colonies, however, led to a considerable development of the community idea in the U. S. itself, the most important result of which was the foundation of Brook Farm in 1842. This, however, was swallowed up in the wave of Fourierite socialism which swept over the U. S. from 1840 to 1850. In 1840 Brisbane (*q. v.*) published his "Social Destiny of Man," and in 1843 Horace Greeley opened the columns of the New York *Tribune* to the teachings of Fourierism. Fourierite phalanxes were established almost by the dozen. Even Brook Farm became a Fourierite phalanx in 1844. The movement, however, did not endure, and by 1850 it was practically at an end.

After 1850 the political events which preceded the war absorbed attention, altho various labor-unions were formed and considerable agitation created in various social and economic lines. All this, however, was for the time forgotten in the Civil War.

At the close of the war a new era of social reform begins in the U. S. The first political movements were connected with the greenback and currency question (see CURRENCY), but the trade-union movement was not inert. A National Labor-Union had been formed in 1860, but had not endured, and in 1866 another National Labor-Union was formed. A grand Eight-Hour League was organized, and later (1869) the smaller but more influential Boston Eight-Hour League. The efforts of this league led to the establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor in 1862, the first labor bureau of the world. In 1874 Massachusetts enacted a ten-hour law for women and children under the age of eighteen. Since then the progress of labor legislation has been almost steady. In 1870 and 1871 we have the first beginnings of the direct connection between the labor movement in the U. S. and in Europe, when a few branches of the International (*q. v.*) were formed in the U. S., but did not take deep root. In 1873, however, an attempt was made to reorganize the National Labor-Union and an important congress was held in Rochester and drafted a platform which later became almost without change the famous platform of Knights of Labor (*q. v.*). This great order was first established as a secret labor-union in 1860, though it did not hold its first general assembly until Jan. 1, 1878. Meanwhile various trade-unions had been growing in power and believing in the principles of trade autonomy and federation instead of a merging in one general organization like the Knights of Labor. Various attempts at such organization were made, resulting finally in the formation of the American Federation of Labor in 1886. (See AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.)

Socialism, as a political movement, began in the U. S. much later than in Europe. After the collapse of the revolutions of 1848, however, a few European exiles, mainly German, sowed the seeds of international socialism in the U. S., and a few local Socialist societies were started principally in or near New York City. They, however, were for the most part forgotten in the war and the new problems that sprung up at its close. In 1876, however, a Social Democratic Workingman's Party cast 1,365 votes in the City of New York. In 1877 it changed its name to the Socialist Labor Party. It was, however, composed largely of Germans and was little in touch with the native Amer-

ican trade-union movement. It was, too, like the early European international movement, by no means free from the anarchist movement, and did not become so till the two wings of the party completely split in 1885. After that the Socialist Labor Party grew, till the policy it developed of hostility to the trade-union movement (since the movement as a whole would not declare for political socialism) dissatisfied a large number of the members of the party, particularly in the West, and the Socialist Democratic Party was organized in 1898. Since then the Socialist Labor Party has grown steadily relatively smaller, and is now confined mainly to the followers of Mr. Daniel De Leon (*q. v.*) in New York City and elsewhere. The Socialist Democratic Party (now called in most states the Socialist Party) has become the main representative of political socialism in the U. S. Its platform and policy are those of international socialism, while as concerns trade-unionism, it strives to induce trade-unions to declare for political socialism. In this for the most part it fails, tho a few unions, notably the Western Federation of Miners (*q. v.*), have done so. Nevertheless, its members work more or less in harmony with the unions on trade-union lines and the party vote steadily grows. (See SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.)

A distinctively American Socialist movement, however, began in 1888 when a Nationalist Club was founded in Boston to advocate the ideals portrayed in Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward" (see NATIONALISM), and led to a very general discussion and propaganda of Socialist ideas throughout the country. Various similar clubs were formed, with one or two attempts at political organization, particularly in California. The movement, however, did not endure in organized form, but for the first time the seeds of political socialism were widely sown in the U. S. Almost at the same time and with the same result of unending organization, but with the sowing of germinal seeds far and wide, we have a Christian Socialist movement beginning also in Boston in the Society of Christian Socialists organized in 1889. This was a definitely Socialist body and movement, tho there have also been various Christian Social societies in the U. S. not definitely socialistic, such as the Christian Social Union, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, the Brotherhood of the Kingdom. (See their respective names.) In 1906, however, a new Christian Socialist Fellowship (*q. v.*) was formed in the West on definite Socialist lines. (See also CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; BLISS; HERRON; CARR.) The seeds of this Nationalism and Christian Socialism, however, early passed into the Populist movement and largely influenced it.

The Populist Party. This party, the outgrowth of the Farmers' Alliance (*q. v.*) which began in Texas as early as 1876, was formed on a national basis at Omaha in 1902, tho a Kansas People's Party was formed in 1890 and had large success in that state.

Into this party came many elements, however. A National Greenback Party had been formed in 1876, on the greenback issue (see GREENBACK PARTY), but later united with "labor reformers," and as the national "Greenback Labor Party" in 1878 polled over 1,000,000 votes and elected fourteen representatives to Congress. In 1880, however, it polled only 300,867 votes and in 1884 only 175,380 on an "antimonopoly" platform. In 1887, however, a National Union Labor Party was organized at Cincinnati, which, tho polling a small vote in 1888, kept this movement alive in 1890. All these elements—

Socialism

People's Party

greenback, labor, and nationalists—united with the Farmers' Alliance in the People's Party. Tho called a labor party, it had, however, little or no connection with the trade-unions or their members and was rather a farmers' and middle-class movement. As a result it stood for greenback and silver currency ideas (see CURRENCY), together with socialistic ideas, such as the nationalization of railways, etc. When, therefore, these ideas, largely through the influence of Mr. William J. Bryan, captured the Chicago Democratic Convention in 1896, the People's Party by a large majority voted to fuse with the Democratic Party, and thus became lost in it, in spite of the efforts of a small minority to keep the party alive.

The result has been to divide the Democratic Party into a minority (nationally not small and possessing influence and wealth) of old-time Democrats unfavorable to most progressive measures and intensely individualistic; and a majority favorable to socialistic measures but with no concerted platform or policy on which it is agreed, since it largely represents an attempt to unite socialistic measures to an individualistic basis. Prominent leaders like William J. Bryan, Tom Johnson, the able single-tax mayor of Cleveland, W. R. Hearst, and others succeed in doing this to the satisfaction of themselves and their followers, but without national union.

Meanwhile the Republican Party, born of the antislavery movement (see ABOLITION MOVEMENT), and heir to the federal traditions and the economics of protection, has been the party of construction and of support of the federal government, as against state rights. Nevertheless, becoming the party of protection and of gold, it has become a party whose machinery and politics are controlled by capitalists and monopolists, and therefore the party of the rich, plus a large middle-class vote of respectability and conservatism, together with the negro vote and a large vote in cities dominated by Republican bosses. Against this party machinery Mr. Roosevelt has struggled with so-called antitrust measures (see RAILROADS, etc.) with the result that the Republican Party has become divided with the president, popular with the people, and the monopolists in control of the party machine. Thus neither the Democratic nor the Republican Party comes before the country with a united front, but the Republican Party with the immense advantage of being in power, having access to large moneyed support, and of being the party to which the country owes its "success." Meanwhile the Prohibition Party, formed in 1869 as a national party, from 1892 to 1896 added to its platform various other reforms, which it has since largely abandoned for prohibition simply.

Such, very briefly stated, have been the main national political reform movements. The main political movements, not national, have been various efforts at municipal reform; at first mere sporadic uprisings of outraged citizens in temporary non-partizan political movements to oust an unusually corrupt administration, or more frequently the unusually open corruption of a ring (see TAMMANY HALL; CORRUPTION), but developing later permanent organizations, and later still the Law and Order Leagues which sprang up during the eighties, and more thorough organizations like the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago, organized in 1896, and the Municipal Leagues of Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and others, and finally uniting these in a National Municipal League with affiliated societies in every large American city and an intelligent civic reform movement now sweeping through the land.

**Present
Parties**

In state action there have been various efforts at reform, as in Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Wisconsin, and still more frequent efforts at anti-monopoly legislation, as in the Granger laws enacted in many central western states, laws requiring three-cent-a-mile rates and other "reforms" enacted in many states in 1906, and "so-called" anticombination laws enacted at different times in almost every state and almost universally without result. Some states have enacted some tax-reform legislation. In 1886 Mr. Henry George, nominated for the mayoralty by the United Labor Party, conducted a phenomenal campaign for the single tax in New York City, polling 62,110 ballots, followed in 1886 by a state campaign. The results of these campaigns and brilliant lectures delivered by Mr. George throughout the U. S., and after his death by many able champions, has been to develop no party, but to affect some tax legislation and enroll many devoted adherents mainly in the radical wing of the Democratic Party. Anarchism (*q. v.*) has had some brilliant advocates in the U. S., but has affected no national movement. The significant and epoch-making hanging of the so-called "Chicago Anarchists" (*q. v.*) in 1887 is the only important anarchist event.

Temperance in the U. S., on the contrary, has had much political activity in the U. S. nationally through the Prohibition Party (see above), but far more effectively through LOCAL OPTION (*q. v.*) which has carried the discussion of temperance into almost every town and village in the U. S. Most effective in this line has been the work of the women, and particularly of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, beginning in the Woman's Crusade of 1874 and organized by Miss Frances E. Willard into a world's Christian Temperance Union in 1883. More recently considerable temperance agitation and also with bearing on legislatures has resulted from the Anti-Saloon Leagues, begun as a state movement in Ohio in 1893. In these educational and moral movements has the main work for temperance been done in the U. S. rather than in the adoption of prohibition by certain states, as in "the Maine Law" of 1851, the adoption of prohibition in Kansas in 1890, or the adoption of the dispensary system by South Carolina in 1893. (See, however, TEMPERANCE and the various temperance movements and ideas under their different names.)

Cooperation and, to a much less extent, profit-sharing have had repeated and widely scattered trials in the U. S., but without developing a concerted national movement, as in other countries, unless it be the BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS of the U. S., which lead the world in that especial form of cooperation. (See COOPERATION; PROFIT-SHARING; BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.)

Communities of almost every kind have also been tried in the U. S. After the failure of the Fourierite communities there were no large attempts in this line till about 1885, when for about fifteen years we have a long line of experiments, almost all, however, disconnected and almost all disastrous and short-lived. (But see SHAKERS; AMANA FAIRVIEW and HOME COLONY; and also COMMUNITIES.) Less ambitious but more practical efforts, however, mainly on the parts of employers, have developed many so-called "model villages" and have resulted in many activities

**Municipal
Reform**

for the benefits of the employed. (See *MODEL VILLAGES*; *INDUSTRIAL BETTERMENTS*.) "Settlements" have been founded in

Non-Political Reform

very large numbers in all of the large and not a few of the smaller cities, particularly since 1895, and some of them with very great success, like Hull House in Chicago, founded in 1889, and which may be said to have affected the whole city if not the country. (See *SETTLEMENTS*.) Many churches have undertaken social activities. (See *INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES*.) Charities and philanthropies of almost every kind have had a very large development. (See *CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES*; *BATHS*; *LIBRARIES*; *KINDERGARTENS*; *RECREATION CENTERS*; *REFORMATORIES*, etc.)

Civil service reform has been largely and successfully adopted. (See *CIVIL SERVICE*.) Primary reform has been much less developed, but is successfully beginning. (See *BALLOT REFORM*; *PRIMARIES*.)

The *REFERENDUM* and the *INITIATIVE* have been largely discussed and quite recently adopted in several western cities. (See *DIRECT LEGISLATION*.)

Labor Bureaus and *LABOR LEGISLATION* have had considerable development (see those subjects), undoubtedly largely due to influence of the great growth of organized labor (see *TRADE-UNIONS*), perhaps in their turn largely occasioned by the phenomenal growth of combination in capital. These great aggregations of capital on the one hand and labor on the other have led to gigantic strikes which have assumed national importance, notably the Pittsburg railroad and coal strikes of 1879, the strikes on the Gould railroads in the early nineties, the great Pullman strike of 1894, and the Homestead strike of 1892, and perhaps greatest of all the coal strike of 1902. All of these great struggles, and of numerous smaller, whichever side has immediately won, both sides in the long run have seemed to emerge more strongly organized and yet with increased respect for their opponents' strength. The result has been wide discussion and considerable adoption of methods of arbitration and conciliation, the compulsory arbitration has received little favor. In this movement the National Civic Federation, organized nationally in 1901, has been a leader. (See *ARBITRATION*; *CONCILIATION*; *OPEN AND CLOSED SHOP*, etc., etc.) Perhaps especially characteristic of the U. S., however, has been the large development of women's clubs of various kinds, and especially the entry of women into almost every kind of professional and industrial life. Only four states, Wyoming (1869), Colorado (1893), Utah (1895), and Idaho (1896), have granted complete woman's suffrage and that with little effect, of either the good results claimed by its advocates or the evil results feared by its critics, but many states have granted school suffrage with, in a few instances, municipal suffrage, and probably in no country is woman's educational and social influence so potent and actively used as in the U. S. Women have entered very largely into industrial life. (See *WOMAN'S MOVEMENTS*; *WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE*; *WOMEN'S TRADE-UNIONS*; *WOMEN'S FEDERATION OF CLUBS*, etc. See also special articles on all important subjects.)

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION: The University Extension movement dates from the pressure brought to bear upon the universities of England

to extend their benefits to men and women who could not attend their regular sessions. Beginning in 1867, Prof. James Stuart and others began lecturing to bodies of club women, teachers, and workmen, especially in the northern industrial districts of England. The University of Cambridge appointed a committee in 1872, which reported in 1873, recommending the university experiment with courses of lectures in two or three towns. In the winter of 1873 the

first lectures authorized by the university were given in Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham. These lectures followed the methods which

Origin

have become the distinguishing characteristics of university extension, the lecture being followed or preceded by the quiz, the weekly or fortnightly paper presented by volunteer students, examination, and the printed syllabus.

In the absence of a teaching university in London a society was established in 1876 to extend the methods of the university. In 1878 the University of Oxford followed this example with little success, until in 1885 it began to offer courses of six lectures instead of the twelve which had remained the unit with the other organizations. The rapid growth of university extension in the next few years inspired imitators in America.

Experimental lectures were given in 1887 and succeeding years, and in 1890 the Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching was organized. The following year the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching grew out of this local effort. The first president of the American society was Prof. Edmund J. James, subsequently director of the Extension Division of the University of Chicago.

The movement took root in the West in the organization of the Chicago Society for University Extension, in 1891. This organization undertook to correlate the efforts of half a dozen of the universities in the middle West, and was responsible for much of the pioneer work in that section. During those earlier years spasmodic attempts were made by other universities, notably by the Universities of Iowa, Wisconsin, Cornell, and Brown, but the first institution to incorporate university extension methods as an integral part of its organization was the University of Chicago, which on its foundation in 1892 accepted the extra-mural teaching as one of its functions. The prophetic instinct of Prof. William Rainey Harper saw a field for the university which was nothing less than world-wide, and planned to send members of the faculty out through the country, for lectures throughout the city and suburbs, for the conduct of classes, duplicating university work and their teachings by correspondence throughout the world. These three methods are still followed by the University of Chicago with increasing success.

Recently the University of California has organized an Extension Department under the direction of Prof. Morse Stephens, whose experience in England and at Cornell qualifies him to direct such work on the Pacific coast. The latest accession to the ranks of universities giving official recognition to university extension is Columbia, where an experienced extension man, Dr. Frederick H. Sykes, has organized a system of lectures and classes of exceptional thoroughness. The most remarkable expression of the influence of university extension in America has

come through recognition of the merit of its methods by the Board of Education of New York City, under the direction of Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, supervisor of free lectures.

Extent Over 1,000,000 people attend the 4,000 or more lectures given in Greater New York annually. This example has been followed officially by Milwaukee, and through private patronage by various other cities.

The numerical significance of university extension in Great Britain and America at the present time is partly indicated by the attendance on the lectures conducted by the University of Cambridge of over 10,000 people annually; London University (which has incorporated the London University Extension Society), over 15,000 people; Oxford, 20,000; the American Society at Philadelphia, 25,000; the University of Chicago, 50,000. These figures represent the attendance at courses of six or more lectures given at weekly or fortnightly intervals.

Not the least significant of the methods of university extension is that of correspondence instruction. This method was employed in Germany as early as 1856 by the School of Languages in Berlin, and in the United States at Chautauqua in 1894. The University of Chicago incorporated these methods in its original organization in 1892, and gives instruction now to over 2,000 students in every state in the union and many foreign countries. Similar work is undertaken by the American Institute of Sacred Literature, Chicago, Pennsylvania State College, University of Wisconsin, Northwestern University, Sprague Law School, Detroit, and other minor institutions, as well as by several large commercial organizations. University extension methods have also been employed by several European universities and organizations, notably in Berlin, Vienna, and Paris.

CHARLES ZUEBLIN.

USURY: Literally means and originally meant *use-money*, the payment of money for the use of money, and sometimes even payment for the use of any article. It was identical with our term interest. Only in modern times has it been limited to mean the taking of inordinate or excessive interest. In this article we consider the ethics of usury or interest-taking. (For economic and other questions, see **INTEREST**; **CAPITAL**.)

Usury or interest-taking among all ancient peoples was considered sin. The Hebrew condemnation of usury is well known: "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury" (Deut. xxiii., 19). This condemnation occurs repeatedly in the Old Testament. (See Lev. xxv., 35-37; Ex. xxii., 25; Neh. v., 7, etc.) Ps. xv., 5, describes the righteous man as one "who putteth not out his money to usury." It is true that the Hebrew could take usury of a non-Hebrew! "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury" (Deut. xxiii., 20), but this was probably due to the organic and national conception of Hebrew morality. All races originally condemned usury. Herodotus says the Persians repudiated all buying and selling. Yet usury was everywhere practised. In Greece and Rome it gradually developed a plutocracy by putting all the small creditors into the power of the rich, and often reducing the poor to literal slavery. Aristotle ranks usury with prostitution. He says:

Such are all they who ply illiberal trades; as those, for instance, who keep houses of ill fame, and all persons of that class; and usurers, who lend out small sums at exorbitant rates; for all these from improper sources, and take more than they ought ("Nicomachean Ethics," iv., § 1).

Plato says:

Of the two sorts of money-making, one, as I have just said, is a part of household management, the other is retail trade; the former necessary and honorable, the latter a kind of exchange which is justly censured; for it is unnatural, and a mode by which men gain from one another. The most hated sort, and with the greatest reason, is usury, which makes a gain out of money itself, and not from the natural use of it. For money was intended to be used in exchange, but not to increase at interest. And this term usury (*tokos*), which means the birth of money from money, is applied to the breeding of money, because the offspring resembles the parent. Wherefore of all modes of money-making, this is the most unnatural ("Politics," i., 10, 4, Jowett tr.).

Cato, on being asked what he thought of usury, asked the speaker what he thought of murder. Nevertheless, in both Greece and Rome usury was common, and laws were in vain passed against it. The opposition of the Church fathers is well known.

Chrysostom says ("Homily on St. Matthew"):

Nothing is baser than the usury of this world, nothing more cruel. Why, other persons' calamities are such a man's traffic; he makes himself gain of the distress of another, and demands wages for kindness, as tho he were afraid to seem merciful; and under the cloak of kindness he digs the pitfall deeper by the act of galling a man's poverty.

Basil says ("Second Homily on Psalm xiv."):

In truth, it is the last pitch of inhumanity that one man, in the need of the bare necessities of life, should be compelled to borrow, and another, not satisfied with the principal, should seek to make gain and profit for himself out of the calamities of the poor.

Of the man who has borrowed on interest Basil says farther on:

At first a man is bright and joyous; he shines with another's splendor. . . . But the money slips away. Time as it runs on adds the interest to its tale. Now night brings him no rest; no day is joyous; no sun is bright; he is weary of his life; he hates the days that are hurrying on to the appointed period; he is afraid of the months, for they are the parent of interest. . . . Usury is the origin of lying, the beginning of ingratitude, unfairness, perjury.

Such are examples of the position of the fathers. Council after council forbade usury, especially upon the part of the clergy. Yet it grew. It was gradually allowed, even by the canon law under the form of one exception after another. It was, however, still condemned on principle. Protestantism, too, first condemned usury, and often with unmeasured terms. The usurer's house was the house of the devil. One per cent was enough to shut out the kingdom of heaven. Archbishop Sands is quoted as saying, "This canker hath corrupted all England"; Luther as saying, "To exchange anything with any one and gain by the exchange is to steal." Interest was forbidden as late as an act of Edward VI. Beginning with Henry VIII., however, the endeavor was only to control the rate of interest. Calvin was the first Christian thinker to nominally allow interest. Locke, Hume, Adam Smith, and, above all, Jeremy Bentham, argued that it was justifiable. Bentham's celebrated argument was that the effort to condemn and forbid interest simply raises the rate of interest. Men at times must borrow. The lender does a real service to the borrower. Under equity he is entitled to some reward or interest. If all interest is forbidden, he will then secretly ask a higher rate of interest because of the risk run. It is also argued by

those of this school that the attempt to control interest places useless and harmful checks on the natural flow of commerce.

To-day civilization is largely based on interest, and few but the extremest radicals condemn it. To destroy interest, it is argued, would harm the worker and overthrow civilization. On the other hand, radicals who condemn all interest argue that labor of hand or brain is all that men ought to receive pay for, and that he who lends money lends stored-up labor, perhaps, and

therefore should get back what he lends and no more, because, in the loaning, he has himself done no labor. They argue that the power which interest gives to the idler, who has either himself made or inherited money to live in idleness and receive interest from those who toil, is the foundation of social evils, creating classes, developing luxury, enslaving the poor to support the rich. (See INTEREST; CAPITAL.)

REFERENCES: *Usury*, by W. Cunningham; *The Ethic of Usury and Interest*, by W. Blissard (1892).

V

VACANT LOT GARDENING, or a plan for the relief of the unemployed, or of families in need, began in Detroit, Mich., in 1894, when Mayor Pingree asked for the loan of vacant lots on which the unemployed could be aided to develop vegetable gardens. Four hundred and thirty acres (about 7,000 lots) were given, staked, plowed, and harrowed; 945 families were given seeds with lots of from a quarter to a half acre. About nine tenths of these were well taken care of. The estimated value of the crop produced was some \$13,000, and the cost to the committee, \$3,600. The plan was so successful it was copied in other cities, notably Philadelphia. The movement in that city began in 1896, and after eleven years' continued success, the latest report declares the last year to be the most successful one, with the following summary of results: Gardens conducted for 800 families; total value of product, \$52,000; average value of product per family, \$65; approximate number of men, women, and children receiving benefits from the garden, 4,000. The cost to the Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Association (R. F. Powell, superintendent, 1123 Land Title Building, Philadelphia) was \$6,616. Similar work is being now carried on in Washington, D. C., New York City, Chicago, Cincinnati, and Cleveland. It is being agitated in Europe, in London and Milan.

VACCINATION: The inoculation with vaccine, or the virus of the cowpox, as a preventive of the smallpox. Dr. Jenner, an English physician, discovered the process of vaccination in 1796. One illustration will suffice to prove its beneficial result. The cases of smallpox in New York City were: 1898—12; 1899—54; 1900—132; 1901—1,198. Jan., 1902—190; Dec., 1902—9. Of the 1,396 cases from 1898—1901 nearly one third, or 410, ended fatally. Then the Health Department bestirred itself and tried to stop the rapid increase of the disease; 200 vaccinators were appointed for special service; they went to schools, factories, houses, and vaccinated about 800,000 people in six months. It required some money, but the disease and its ravages were stopt.

Vaccination does result fatally, however, in some cases. This is due to the fact that the vaccine is impure, that the instruments used are not treated antiseptically, or that the blood of the patient is in very poor condition. There is an Anti-Vaccination Society in Great Britain. Nevertheless, the governments of civilized countries make vaccination obligatory.

Charities and the Commons, of Oct. 12, 1907, says: "The contrasted experience of the two great empires of Germany and Russia affords conclusive evidence on this question. Compare

the figures of a single year as taken from the official records of each of these nations. In 1904, in Germany, having enjoyed the blessing of compulsory vaccination for nearly thirty years, only 189 cases of smallpox, of which twenty-five were fatal, occurred. More than a quarter of these were imported from neighboring countries. In Russia, where free vaccination is offered and where every possible safeguard is thrown around the operation, and no expense is spared to educate the people as to its advantages, but where it is not compulsory, during the same year, 103,717 cases of the disease occurred with 48,390 deaths. In Germany the average annual death-rate per million of population for a five-year period was 1.1, while in Russia it was 463.2. Our people, like those of Russia, are far from having reached such a state of civilization that they can be relied upon to willingly and voluntarily accept universal vaccination."

VAGRANCY (TRAMP, ETC.): Vagrancy is a national problem. Thus far its treatment has been almost always local. The vagrant is the most elusive of all applicants for charity; in consequence, charitable aid for the vagrant has generally taken the form of wood-yards, wayfarers' lodges, municipal lodging-houses and missions. The vagrant's crimes are petty, and often not discovered; as a result both courts and citizens have looked upon him more as a nuisance or as a pitiable object, than as a criminal or a potential malefactor. He has been "moved on," or committed to jail for a few days with little labor, if any, or he has wintered in the workhouse or almshouse.

The question of vagrancy has concerned England and European countries for many years. England, with an army of the unemployed, and with time-worn treatment of vagrancy by casual ward, workhouse, and short-term sentence, has recently received the recommendations of its Vagrancy Commission, which, after months of investigation in England and in Continental countries, has reported to both houses of Parliament that present methods of treating vagrancy should be coordinated, strengthened on the side of repression, and supplemented by the establishment of compulsory labor colonies. In Germany, a generation ago, the prevalence of vagrancy and begging precipitated questions similar to those we are now asking, at least in some of our Eastern states; as a result, way stations were established for wayfarers, home inns for "overnight," and volunteer farm colonies for more permanent treatment. (See RELIEF STATIONS; LABOR COLONIES.)

Of the number of vagrants in any country no

man knows. In the United States the vagrant largely lives on the railway, at least during the summer months. "Railroads representing more than half the total mileage operated in the U. S. and Canada testify almost without exception to depredation, thieving, injuries, deaths, accidents to passengers or rolling-stock, enormous aggregate costs to railroads or society, caused by the habitual illegal use of the railroads by vagrants." The number of "trespassers," from one half to three quarters of whom are vagrants, who are killed annually on American railroads, exceeds the combined total of passengers and trainmen killed annually. Within four years 23,964 trespassers were killed and 25,236 injured, thus furnishing the enormous total of 49,200 casualties, with all the cost they involve. If we may judge the number of vagrants by the number killed in the same proportion as the number of railway employees killed to the total number, it brings the number of vagrants in the U. S. to some 500,000. Major Pangborn, representing President Murray of the Baltimore & Ohio, stated with deliberation that railroads frequently maintain private graveyards along their right of way, in which to bury vagrants killed by trains while trespassing; \$25,000,000 would be a conservative estimate, according to Major Pangborn, of the direct and indirect annual financial losses to railroads in the U. S. through railway vagrancy.

To attack vagrancy effectively, the main principles of a consistent program must be followed by all communities. During the last two years Massachusetts has waged an effective vagrancy campaign, because the entire state has been made the unit of activity. In consequence, the number of vagrants in Massachusetts has diminished remarkably; but probably there are now more vagrants in contiguous states. No city or state can live unto itself alone in a thorough treatment of vagrancy. New York City has recently adopted excellent lodging-house regulations, which will increase the price of the cheapest beds. Yet in the absence of a mendicancy squad in New York City, vagrants can still ply their trade in New York, and commute by ferry to the unsupervised ten-cent lodging-houses across the river in Hoboken, Jersey City, and Newark.

At the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (1907) a committee was appointed to create a national committee upon the question. (See also UNEMPLOYMENT.)

REFERENCES: Benj. C. Marsh, *Vagrancy and Methods of Eradication*; Annals of American Academy, May, 1904; O. F. Lewis, *Vagrancy in the U. S.*, a paper presented at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (1907); *Report of Departmental Committee on Vagrancy* (Great Britain, 1906); W. and V. W. Carlile, *The Continental Outcast* (London, 1906); Louis Rivière, *Mendicants and Vagabonds* (Paris, 1904); *Der Wanderer* (monthly), Bielefeld, Germany. (See also UNEMPLOYMENT.)

VAIL, CHARLES HENRY: Economic writer; born Tully, N. Y., 1866; educated at St. Lawrence University, and entered the ministry in the Universalist Church; has held pastorates at Albany, N. Y., Jersey City, N. J., Richfield Springs, N. Y.; now pastor of Pullman Memorial Church, Albion, N. Y. Mr. Vail believes in the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. Author of "National Ownership of Railways," "Modern Socialism," "Principles of Scientific Socialism," "The Socialist Movement," "The Mission of the Working Class," "The Negro Prob-

lem," etc. Address: 141 South Main Street, Albion, N. Y.

VAILLANT, MARIE EDOUARD: French Socialist; born in 1840 at Vierzon, France. He became a student of the *École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures*, and a civil engineer in 1862; also a physician and surgeon. He was a member of the Commune in 1871, and has been prominent as a Socialist ever since; elected to the Municipal Council of Paris in 1884, and as a deputy in 1893, he became a leader of the *Parti Ouvrier*, and now of the United French Socialist Party, and as such was elected again a deputy in the last election.

VALUE (from Latin *valere*, to be strong, to be valiant, to be worth): A term sometimes loosely used, even by economic writers, to include the worth of an article measured in any way. It is, however,

Definitions increasingly used in economic science in a narrower sense to mean what a commodity will bring in exchange for other articles. Adam Smith, even in his day, clearly differentiated between value in use, or the utility of an article to its possessor, and value in exchange, or what an article will exchange for in the market. This distinction is fundamental, and is observed by all economists. Air, for example, has great value in use. Man cannot live without air. But air has ordinarily little exchange value. Diamonds, on the contrary, with a low use value, have great exchange value. In modern terminology, however, value in use is usually called utility, and by value is simply meant value in exchange.

It is still necessary, however, to distinguish value from the cognate words "price" and "cost."

"Price," says Professor Fawcett, "is a particular case of value." Value is what an article will exchange for. Price is what an article will exchange for in money (*q. v.*).

Cost is different from either value or price. Cost may be defined as the sum of sacrifices of any kind involved in the production of an article. Articles frequently sell for much more or for much less than for the cost to produce—that is, their value and their price are different from their cost.

Remembering these definitions, we now come to consider the important and much-discussed question of the theory of value. We may recognize two main theories of value. The value of an article is believed by one school to depend upon its cost of production, and by the other to depend upon its utility. Adam Smith, Ricardo, the classical economists, most German Socialists, and most individualistic or anarchistic radicals hold to the former view. Professor Hadley ("Economics," p. 93) calls it the socialistic theory. On the other hand, most modern economists and most Fabian Socialists hold to the latter view. Both views, however, it must be remembered, have been variously stated.

Adam Smith held that value must tend to the cost of production, because he argued that no man could afford to sell an article for much less than it cost to produce, while no man would pay much more, since he would rather produce it or cause it to be produced himself. He says ("Wealth of Nations," bk. i., chap. v.): "Labor, therefore, is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities. The real

Cost Theory

price of everything, what everything really costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it."

The followers of Adam Smith very much developed this view, but spent more time in analyzing it than in asking if it be true. Ricardo makes value depend upon the quantity of labor and the scarcity of the articles; but since most articles can be easily multiplied, he makes the quantity of labor the main source of value. Mill calls attention rather to the wages cost of labor than the quantity of labor. Cary makes the important point that value depends on what it would cost to reproduce an article at the time of its sale rather than on what it originally cost. Such are the main points as to value developed by the classical school.

From this view Karl Marx and most German Socialists argue that labor (of mind or hand) being the only source of value, only the laborer should share in the result. That portion of value produced which goes to the capitalist Karl Marx calls surplus value robbed from the real producer. Hence such Socialists argue that if the community owned all the land and capital, the monopolist could not take from the laborer any portion of the product, and the laborer would receive the whole value of his product. Anarchists and extreme individualists would get the same result by doing away with the governmental control of monopolies which secure the monopolists in their monopoly, and, leaving every man free to obtain land and capital, secure to every worker the value he produces.

We now come to the second school. It is now denied by most economists that value depends upon cost of production, and that labor is the only source of value. As a matter of fact, value, says the modern school, has often very little relation to the cost of production. A certain quack medicine that happens to hit the public fancy can often command prices bearing no reference to the cost of production. Houses continually sell for prices often much above and often much below

Utility Theory

their cost of production; so with books, so with wines, so indeed with most things, even including such stable articles as grain, iron, etc. The old theory therefore does not explain the facts, and a new theory must be developed. Jevons was the first prominently to develop the new theory, which is often associated with his name. According to this theory, the value of an article depends upon its final utility. According to this, the value of an article depends upon how useful to the community another article of the same kind would be. If the community desires more medicine, more houses, more books, more jewels, more bread of a certain kind, the price is high; if the community does not desire more, the price falls. Says Jevons ("Theory of Political Economy"):

A great undertaking, like the Great Western Railway or the Thames Tunnel, may embody a vast amount of labor, but its value depends entirely upon the number of persons who find it useful. . . . Labor once spent has no influence on the future value of any article; it is gone and lost forever. In commerce by-gones are forever by-gones; and we are always starting clear at each moment, judging the value of things with a view to future utility.

Such, in brief, is Jevons's view. His phrase, however, has mainly given place to another. The Austrian, Professor Wieser, has given us the phrase marginal utility in place of final utility, as indicating the utility of an article on the margin of production—i. e., on the margin of doubt,

whether it be worth while to produce it or not, since it is when one is debating whether it is worth while to obtain an article or not that its value is fixed. This theory, indeed, has been mainly developed by the Austrian school of economists, tho more recently American economists have carried the theory even further than the Austrians. This has led to what is sometimes called psychologic economics. If value depends on how much the community desires an article, it follows that value is affected by all the psychologic elements which affect desire.

This view, too, now widely accepted, is accepted by some socialists, and especially by most Fabian Socialists. They come to the same conclusions as German Socialists, but not on the ground that labor is the only source of value or that cost determines price. They base their socialism mainly on grounds of expediency (see SOCIALISM), and argue that just because value is determined, in part, by the whims and desires of society, it is not wise to leave the individual worker subject to the whims and caprices of a changing market. In conclusion, Ruskin's view, which plays more or less into the psychologic view of the modern holders of the utility theory, must not be forgotten. He says ("Munera Pulveris," chap. i., § 12):

Value signifies the strength or "availing" of anything toward the sustaining of life, and is always twofold; that is to say, primarily, intrinsic, and secondarily, effectual. . . . Value is the life-giving power of anything; cost, the quantity of labor required to produce it; price, the quantity of labor which its possessor will take in exchange for it. . . . Intrinsic value is the absolute power of anything to support life. . . . It does not in the least affect the intrinsic value of the wheat, the air, or the flowers, that men refuse or despise them. Used or not, their own power is in them, and that particular power is in nothing else. But in order that this value of theirs may become effectual, a certain state is necessary in the recipient of it. The digesting, breathing, and perceiving functions must be perfect in the human creature before the food, air, or flowers can become of their full value to it. The production of effectual value, therefore, always involves two needs: first, the production of a thing essential, useful; then the production of the capacity to use it. When the intrinsic value and acceptant capacity come together there is effectual value or wealth. Ruskin's view, then, is (see "Unto This Last") that all labor should be equally paid, and thus the good workmen be rewarded not by higher pay for a given piece of work, but by being more in demand and in this sense better paid. Thus valuable work will be produced, and there will be no competition to get "cheap" work.

REFERENCE: See POLITICAL SCIENCE.

VARLEZ, LOUIS: Professor at the Industrial School of Ghent; doctor of laws, and of science; born at Antwerp, Nov. 26, 1868; entered the university and studied law. He practised for a few years, then began to study the question of providing work for the unemployed of different classes. He originated the so-called Ghent system (see article UNEMPLOYED), which has been adopted in Belgium, Germany, Holland, France, etc. Professor Varlez is a member of numerous societies which work for social betterment; also of the International Institute for Statistics. Address: Ghent, Belgium.

VERINDER, FRED: English land reformer; born in Bethnal Green, 1858. He was one of the founders and the first secretary of the Guild of St. Matthew (q. v.). He was long subeditor of the *Church Reformer*, secretary of the English Land Restoration League, and organizer of the Red Van movement. He is now secretary of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values, 376-377, Strand, W. C., London.

VERRIJN, STUART COENRAAD ALEXANDER: Professor of economics and of industrial law at the Academy of Technology at Delft; born

1865 at Weesp, Holland. He received the doctor's degree in law and political sciences at the University of Amsterdam in 1890, and was appointed instructor in economics at the School of Commerce the same year. He was also one of the directors of the Statistical Institute—a private institution founded by the Statistical Association in that city. In 1892 he became secretary of the Central Commission of Statistics at The Hague, and in 1899 was appointed director of the Central Bureau of Statistics—a government institution founded on the reorganized Central Commission.

In politics he is a liberal. In respect to the social question he believes that the amelioration of social conditions depends more on the mental and moral improvement of the working men themselves than on the interference of the state. Author of numerous articles and papers in various periodicals, mostly in the Dutch language; a few of them dealing with the relation between the theories of classical economy and those of Marx. Address: Delft, Holland.

VIENNA: Imperial royal capital of Austria-Hungary, and of Lower Austria. It dates back to the Roman camp Vindobona, which was erected owing to the strategic position of the place—on the Danube where the spurs of both the Alps and the Carpathians almost meet. When the Romans withdrew in the fifth century, the settlement became the prey of various peoples until the twelfth century, when Margrave Leopold, the Saint, restored it, and made it his capital. Since that time Vienna has shared all the vicissitudes of the Austrian monarchy; being twice besieged by the Turks, and once nearly taken, 1683. During the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II., in the eighteenth century, the city received a number of prerogatives, and its population has since grown steadily, viz.: 1800—231,050; 1840—356,700; 1857—476,222; 1869—607,514; 1880—704,756; 1890—817,299; or with the incorporated suburbs, 1,341,897; 1900—1,648,335, plus 26,622 soldiers.

For administrative purposes the city is divided—since 1900—into twenty districts or wards, each of which enjoys a certain independence. The burgomaster and two vice-burgomasters are at the head of the municipal authorities, and are restricted in certain ways by the governor of Lower Austria and by the emperor. The Communal Council consists of 158 members, elected for six years in four groups. In 1900 there were seventy Christian Socialists, eighteen Liberals, and two Socialists in this body; this is the legislative body with the prerogative of initiative. The twenty-two aldermen form, with the burgomaster and the two vice-burgomasters, the executive body; they appoint and supervise all officials; they are elected by and from members of the Communal Council. The number of officials under their supervision was (1900) 2,471 with salaries aggregating 6,500,000 kronen—\$1,300,000. The city is supplied with excellent water from the mountains, which is conducted in some cases at a distance of 95.5 kilometers by means of aqueducts, one of which is twenty-five meters high. The total cost of the plant was, up to 1900, 127,320,000 kr. There are six municipal abattoirs, which draw chiefly from the central market of St. Marx, covering thirty-one hectares. In 1900 there were killed 279,670 cat-

Municipalism

tle, 207,362 calves, 563,302 hogs, 62,285 lambs, 107,764 sheep, 24,618 horses, and 23 donkeys.

The finances of the city are good. Property in 1900: 360,314,766 kr.; debts, 308,806,446; revenues: receipts, 164,663,076 kr.; expenditure, the same. The city made handsome profits on its transportation system, 4,422,047 kr.; non-navigable watercourses, 2,816,769; canalization, 2,173,557; markets, 1,701,502; cemeteries, 1,124,303; water tax, 6,069,367. The principal occupations are: Clothing industries, 202,437 people; commerce, 137,318; transportation, 106,355; woodworking, 86,013; court, state, and city officials, 86,082; own income, 85,301; various trades, 85,512; iron and steel, 62,119; building trades, 60,816; food, 46,438; textiles, 36,783; professions, 32,784; paper and leather, 29,576.

The city has a large commerce in grain and cattle, and is excellently served by railroads and several steamship lines. The railroad depots have recently been connected by means of a belt line. Numerous banks, particularly the Austro-Hungarian, facilitate commerce and assist industries; there are 94 savings-banks and loan associations; 21 *Konsum-Vereine* with 64,727 members and 4,710,000 kr. assets; 90 cooperative societies with 9,373 members and 25,610,000 kr. assets. The four municipal savings-banks have 574,588 depositors and 542,980,000 kr. deposits. Life- and accident-insurance is taken care of by 25 companies; besides numerous sick-benefit organizations. There are 46 hospitals for various kinds of diseases; 20 orphan asylums; 3 houses of refuge for vagrants and poor (1900—88,493 inmates), etc. Over 800 benevolent societies with more than 50,000 members minister to various and numerous needs of the sick and poor. The 9 city poor funds had an income of 7,056,110 kr.; 6,479,684 expenses, and property worth 40,920,000. The 1,343 institutions for the poor have 21,380,000 kr. property with 878,348 kr. income. About 65,500 persons received 463,900 kr. from public funds, and 83,430 persons 985,014 kr. from private funds in temporary relief; 21,815 persons received 3,187,978 kr. in the form of annuities. There are 27 baths, 13 of which are public and municipal.

The city has numerous and excellent schools, libraries, churches, opera-houses, theaters, museums—advantages which bring nearly 500,000 visitors to its hotels every year. Since the tearing down of the old walls around the inner city, Vienna possesses an excellent system of parks, which, added to the politeness and bonhomie of the inhabitants, form strong attractions to many Continentals and Englishmen.

VIVIS, LUDOVICO: A Spanish philanthropist who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. He dreamed of a sort of Utopia, and in 1635 wrote a book about it, which he called "De Commune Rerum."

VOGEL, SIR JULIUS: Twice Premier of New Zealand and spoken of as her "institution builder"; born in London, 1835; educated at London University and the Royal School of Mines. He went to Australia to practise his profession; in Melbourne was soon elected to the Provincial Council and became head of the provincial government. He soon, however, went to New Zealand, was elected to the House, and became Colonial Treasurer (1869), later Postmaster-General,

then leader of the House, finally Premier, 1873-1875, and again in 1876, when he resigned because of ill health. From 1876-81 he was Agent-General for New Zealand. Altho a Conservative, he introduced in New Zealand the nationalization of railways, the public-works policy, government life-insurance, the public-trust office, the Australian ballot, with other important measures. He died in 1899.

VOLLMAR, GEORGE von: German Socialist; born Munich, 1850, of aristocratic family, and educated by the Benedictine fathers. He entered the cavalry in 1865, and went through the Austrian campaign. He then offered his sword to the Pope, but joined the Bavarian army in the Franco-Prussian War. Wounded and crippled for life, he set himself to complete his education, and left the hospital a Socialist. He edited a Socialist paper in Dresden. Banished by Bismarck's anti-Socialist law, he spent his exile in France and Switzerland. In 1881 he was elected to the Reichstag, but was arrested and again banished. In 1884 and in 1890 he was returned for Munich. He is the main leader of socialism in Bavaria, the first lieutenant of Bebel and Liebknecht, and belongs to the more conservative German Socialists. In 1891 he published "Ueber die, nächsten Aufgaben der deutschen Social Demokratie."

VOLUNTARYISM is a system of social thought developed by Mr. Auberon Herbert (*q. v.*), and advocated in his paper *Free Life*. Mr. Herbert says:

Voluntaryism asserts the sovereignty—the self-ownership—of the individual; denies that the State, which is but a collection of individuals, possesses any larger right to use force than the individual possesses, and, therefore, opposes all force-action on the part of the State, except for the one purpose of maintaining individual self-ownership by protecting person and property against violence and certain coarse forms of fraud. The *Free Life* opposes all force-action by the State in matters connected with religion, education, health (except where person or property is injured by an aggressive act), the professions, labor, insurance, poor-law, trade, banking, drink, morality, marriage, and the taking of money for public purposes.

The *Free Life* believes in the weapons of reason, persuasion, and example; believes in the infinite development of ideas and of human resource and invention, where men are left free; believes in a society based upon the friendly exchange of voluntary services, and not in State-made virtues or in legal persecutions of each other, or in coercion of minorities by majorities, or in the bribery of politicians of their supporters out of private property or the common compulsory fund. It is opposed to all forms of pensions and official vested interests; it denounces all public debt as fatal to prosperity and most unrighteous as regards our successors; it would sell public property and make every voluntary effort in order to get rid of existing debt, but refuses all responsibility for any debt, central or local, incurred after the year 1893.

WADSWORTH, JOHN: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Hallamshire, West Riding, S. Yorkshire; born 1850; worked in the mines at Thorncliffe and Wombwell as miner and check weighman. He was elected secretary, president, and delegate for the Wharnccliffe Silkstone branch of the Yorkshire Miners' Association and is now secretary of the Association. He was elected to Parliament in 1906 chiefly by the votes of the Miners' Association, assisted by the Liberals. Address: 2 Huddersfield Road, Barnsley, England.

VOLUNTEERS OF AMERICA, THE: Founded in 1896 by General and Mrs. Ballington Booth. The organization adopts a military discipline, combined with a democratic constitution. It has nearly one hundred self-supporting posts and companies, exclusive of the philanthropic and sociological centers.

The Volunteer Prison League, organized by Mrs. Ballington Booth (1895), has branches in twenty-two state prisons and embraces 40,000 men. By correspondence and speech, this league is in touch with tens of thousands of men and women all over the country for their moral and spiritual betterment. It has established three Hope Halls (homes for released convicts until they can procure work), at Flushing, L. I., Fort Dodge, Iowa, and Chicago, Ill. Seventy-six per cent of those passing through these homes have done well.

In connection with the above, there are many philanthropic branches of work, such as employment bureaus, wood-yards, industrial departments, cooperative stores, the work of renovating second-hand furniture, supplying of coal, distribution of milk, women's sewing classes, reading-rooms, hospital nursing, fresh-air camps, distribution of clothing, and many other benevolent and needed efforts that are too numerous to mention.

The following is a statement by General Ballington Booth of the work for 1906, furnished for the Encyclopedia:

The eleventh year of our work has not been a backward one in the cause of philanthropy under the Volunteer standard. In connection with our Central Homes and Institutions, there have been 362,812 lodgings provided. There were 480,218 free meals given, and 275,084 paid meals, making a total of 755,302 meals. These are apart from the many thousands of meals provided at Thanksgiving and other seasons of the year.

Some idea of the magnitude of the work of the Volunteers in the prison world is shown in the fact that since its organization there have been registered in the Volunteers' Prisoners' League 60,000 members. The league is now established in twenty-seven penal institutions, but in addition to the above figures many hundreds of the men and their relatives and wives are in touch with the league by correspondence and visitation, and the moral and spiritual uplift reaped amid the poverty and temptation of our great cities has considerably grown.

Perhaps no phase of the Volunteer work has more forcibly demonstrated its need than that of the hospital work. In all 17,260 outdoor and dispensary patients have been treated during the last year; 47,819 visits have been made by patients to the dispensary alone; 40,286 individual cases were treated in the hospital and dispensary since June 9, 1905—a total of not less than 114,785 cases.

In conclusion, let me add that it would be little short of a serious oversight for me to overlook the fact that the indefatigable labors of the officers and workers of the Volunteers of America have resulted in the truly encouraging report that we have reached over 4,000,000 hearers.

President: Ballington Booth. *Address:* 34 West Twenty-eighth Street, New York, N. Y.

W

WAGES (see also **HOURS OF LABOR**; **MINING**; **RAILROADS**; **WOMAN'S WAGES**): We consider the subject of wages under three heads: I. The Asserted Laws or Theories of Wages; II. The Statistics of Wages; III. Real Wage Conditions; are they improving or not?

I. THE LAW OF WAGES

There have been six main theories presented as to the law or laws governing wages. Various

stated by different writers, they are substantially as follows:

A. THE WAGE FUND THEORY

This theory, suggested by Adam Smith and developed by his followers, is given up to-day by all economists in its original form, tho some, like Professor Taussig, of Harvard University ("Economics," 1896), assert that it contains valuable truth, and when properly stated is wholly true. As originally stated it is this: Wages, like everything else, are governed by supply and demand, and in the aggregate depend upon the proportion of laborers to the capital available for employing labor, this capital being denominated a wage fund. Adam Smith says ("Wealth of Nations," book i., chap. viii.):

The demand for those who live by wages, it is evident, cannot increase but in proportion to the increase of the funds which are destined for the payment of wages.

This hint his followers developed. Malthus and Ricardo hold the same, but argue that wages cannot rise, even by increasing the wage fund; because if the wage fund is increased and wages be temporarily raised, population, according to Malthus, always pressing on the limits of subsistence, will be enabled to expand, and the increase in the number of laborers will increase the supply relatively to the wage fund, and therefore lower wages. Ricardo says ("Principles of Political Economy," chap. v.):

By the encouragement which high wages give to the increase of population, the number of laborers is increased, wages again fall to their natural price, and, indeed, from a reaction, sometimes fall below it. . . . The natural price of labor is that price which is necessary to enable the laborers, one with another, to subsist and to perpetuate their race without either increase or diminution. . . . The market price of labor is the price which is really paid for it from the natural operation of the proportion of the supply to the demand; labor is dear when it is scarce, and cheap when it is plentiful. However much the market price of labor may deviate from its natural price, it has, like commodities, a tendency to conform to it.

Similarly argue Senior, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, and most of the older writers of this classical school, tho on this subject, as on others, Mill later somewhat modified his views, and is often inconsistent.

This wage-fund theory naturally leads to and did historically lead to

B. THE GERMAN SOCIALIST THEORY OF THE IRON LAW OF WAGES

According to this theory, wages under competition can never be higher than that which will just support the laborer and enable him to renew his kind. The theory directly follows, its holders argue, from the wage-fund theory as stated by Ricardo. It is true that Ricardo himself did not hold this theory, sometimes fathered upon him. He held that the condition of the laborer could be raised by education, if he could be taught by moral ways to avoid overpopulation; but the German Socialists claimed that under the intense struggle to live the laborer could not be sufficiently educated, and that the only way was to stop the competition and introduce a socialism which would lead to education rather than to depend on education to lead to socialism. The economic condition, they argued, is the key to all else, and civilization creeps on its belly. Hence they argued that under competi-

tion, by an iron law (Lassalle's phrase) the condition of the laborer can never be one of more than mere existence, and the only change for improvement is to replace the competitive system by socialism.

But now a new theory arose—

C. THE THEORY THAT PRODUCTION FURNISHES THE TRUE MEASURE OF WAGES

This theory, first clearly advocated by President Walker ("Wages Question," 1876), argues that the wage-fund theory and its socialistic corollary are wholly false, and wages depend upon the productivity of labor. Wages, it says, are not dependent upon capital, because men without capital can and often do employ labor, provided they can know that the laborers employed will produce enough value to enable them to pay the laborers out of the product and leave a balance for the employer. Employers are able to do this—as often on a farm—by giving the laborer merely his board till the harvest comes, and then paying him more out of the harvest his labor has produced. Or he can do it by borrowing capital, provided out of the product of labor he can pay for the capital borrowed, the laborers themselves, and leave a profit for himself. Hence wages depend on product. Says President Walker ("Wages Question," chap. viii.):

The popular theory of wages . . . is based upon the assumption that wages are paid out of capital, the saved results of the industry of the past. Hence, it is argued, capital must furnish the measure of wages. On the contrary, I hold that wages are, in a philosophical view of the subject, paid out of the product of present industry, and hence that production furnishes the true measure of wages. . . . The employer purchases labor with a view to the product of labor, and the kind and amount of that product determine what wages he can afford to pay.

This view has been very widely accepted in both England and America. Writers like Edward Atkinson have accepted it, arguing that the only way to raise wages is to raise the product.

Capital must be paid first, Mr. Atkinson argues, in order to induce it to contribute; but it is only paid just what is necessary in the market to obtain it, and the rest of the product goes to wages. The relative share of capital, it is claimed, will fall, because as wealth increases the competition of capital will grow more and more, and thus lower the rate of interest, and leave more of the product to go to the laborer. Interest is lowest, it is argued, in the wealthiest countries, and wages are there highest. Machinery increasing, the product increases; therefore, the share of the laborer. Such is, in brief, the roseate theory held to-day by many economists and most capitalists. But few working men or radicals accept it. They argue that the facts do not support the theory. They say it is true that the rate of interest is lowest in richest countries, but that the very competition of abundant capital and temporary rise of wages force capital more and more to employ machinery, and that on a large scale, thus tending to make the laborer, and especially the skilled laborer, less and less necessary, and so throwing on the market an increasing number of unemployed laborers, whose competition tends to lower wages, and leaves the employer with a low rate of interest, to yet accumulate large profits by multiplying small rates of profits in large concerns. The falling in the rate of interest does not show, say these critics, a falling in the share of capital. Capital gets its share, not only interest,

but in dividends, and dividends in large concerns may be very high where interest is low. Wages, then, do not, so these critics urge, necessarily rise and fall with production, but are often lower when production is highest, because a so-called overproduction discharges laborers and materially lowers their income. Were it not for trade, they argue, wages might be very low with production very large.

D. THE THEORY THAT WAGES DEPEND UPON THE STANDARD OF LIVING

This theory, born of the so-called eight-hour philosophy (see EIGHT-HOUR PHILOSOPHY), held to-day by most American trade-unionists, except those who are Socialists, and developed at length by Mr. George Gunton (*q. v.*) in his various writings, argues that wages depend upon what the workingman considers the lowest level upon which he can live. Competition, it argues, can reduce wages to the lowest limits he will work for, but not lower, because he will then starve rather than work, or so strenuously organize that wages will have to rise. What he will work for depends upon the standard of living in the different countries and trades concerned. An American will starve or strike rather than accept Chinese wages, because the American standard of living demands higher wages. The price of labor, like all other commodities, depends on the cost of production. A skilled laborer receives more than an unskilled, because it costs more to produce and maintain him in the standard of living necessary to his being a skilled laborer. A Chinaman receives low wages, because he will live in a low way. Wages in crafts which cannot be prosecuted all the year are per day higher than those in crafts which can be prosecuted all the year round, because in a portion of the year the laborer has to earn enough to keep him all the year. Wages in trades where the wife and child as well as the man habitually work (as in the cotton trade) are lower than trades where women and children do not work, because the wage of the wife and child, supplementing the man's wage, enables the family to maintain the standard of living of their class without the man's wage alone equaling that amount. City wages are higher than country wages, because it costs more in the city to live on the same plane of living as in the country. Wages in piece-work are in the long run the same as in day-work, because under competition the employer cannot pay higher wages than the workman can be obtained for, and under competition the workman will always work under any system for that which will enable him to secure the standard of living he considers necessary. All these cases show, argue the holders of this theory, that wages in any country and in any trade depend, not, as the Socialists say, on what will just support and renew the laborer's life, but on what will maintain and renew his life according to the standard of living he considers necessary. The one way to raise wages, therefore, argues this school of thought, is to raise the laborer's standard of living.

But this theory, like all the others, has its critics. It is argued that, however hard the laborer tries to maintain his standard, men will lower their standard rather than starve, and that when machinery discharges men, men will work for wages which will support life even far below the standard of living in their trade and country,

and hence, by their competition, lower all wages. In some skilled trades intelligent workmen, by labor combinations, may long keep up their standard of wages; but unskilled laborers cannot. Wages thus, say these critics, do not so much depend on the standard of living as the standard of living depends on the wages men can secure.

E. HENRY GEORGE'S THEORY OF WAGES

Henry George says ("Progress and Poverty"):

Wages depend upon the margin of production or upon the produce which labor can obtain at the highest point of natural productiveness open to it without the payment of rent.

Wages cannot be lower, he argues, than men can get by working for themselves, without paying rent, because men prefer to work for themselves, and will only work for an employer provided he will pay more than they get by working for themselves. On the other hand, Mr. George also argues, employers will not pay more than just enough to secure the laborer, because under competition they cannot pay more than they have to. If they do pay more somebody else will pay less, and so be able to undersell them, and force them to pay lower wages.

Therefore the one way to raise wages, according to Mr. George, is to give men opportunity to labor without paying rent.

But this theory, in its turn, is contradicted by the facts. Wages are not the highest where there is most free land, but where there is least. Wages are highest not in the center of Africa, but in New York City. If it be said that in Africa the laborer gets a larger proportion of his produce than in New York City, it may be true, but nine tenths of thirty cents is less than three tenths of \$3. The presence of capital and machinery enables the employer to pay not only higher, but much higher wages than the employer can make on land without capital at the margin of production. It is true that the competition of labor tends to lower wages, but the mere opening of opportunities in land cannot check this competition, because in civilized countries land without capital is useless, or so nearly useless that those with capital can afford to pay very much more for it than a man without capital, and hence in the open market will get the land, whether the price be paid to the landlord, as under the present system of land tenure, or to the government, under the single-tax plan. It may be said that this will force all land to be used by those who can use it best, and so employ labor and raise wages; but with machinery constantly improving in agriculture, as in all trades, the laborer grows less and less necessary to the employer, and the competition of the laborer, replaced by machinery, can lower wages under a single-tax system as well as under any other form of land tenure. Wages, therefore, do not depend on access to land. (See SINGLE TAX and objections.)

F. THE THEORY THAT WAGES DEPEND, AS IN ANY OTHER CASE OF VALUE, ON THE MARGINAL OR FINAL VALUE OF THE LABORER

(For a full statement of the marginal or final value, see VALUE.) This theory is rather a way of looking at things than the statement of a definite law. It simply states that no one law of wages exists; that wages depend on the value to

the wage-payer of the laborer he is considering—i. e., on the margin of employing. Each worker will get what his labor is worth to the employer at the time when his wage is decided upon. What the laborer is worth depends upon the state of the market, the ability of the laborer, the standard of living, psychological conditions, etc. The theory, therefore, simply states that no definite law of wages can be laid down. It is undoubtedly a great advance on any other, because it is undoubtedly true that wages are the resultant of many forces. All the above laws of wages contain elements of truth. Those who argue that wages depend on production are fond of declaring the wages-fund theory exploded; but, as Professor Taussig says ("Wages and Capital," p. 37):

In whatever sense we use the term capital, it will still appear that current wages, considered with reference to any but a very short period of time, are derived in the main from capital.

Thus the wage-fund theory has some truth. The Socialist theory has some, for under competition, without organization, wages do tend to what will just support life. So with all the theories. The standard of living, the margin of production, the productivity of labor, do all affect wages. Wages are the resultant of many economic forces. This seems to-day all that economy can say.

II. STATISTICS OF WAGES

A. THE UNITED STATES

The best general statements of wages in the United States are undoubtedly those of the U. S. Bureau of Labor. (See, however, Section III.) We quote from the latest statement of the bureau as to wages (*Bulletin* of the U. S. Bureau of Labor, July 1907). It must be remembered, however, that these returns are only for manufacturing, and even in that only report for the large industries and in the main the larger establishments, a result necessitated by the expense and difficulty, amounting to impossibility, of covering the whole field, and particularly the scattered industries, those most irregular and least organized, such as agriculture, mining, and commerce, and the smaller industries and establishments. But this means that the low wages of perhaps a majority of the people do not appear in these returns, as in agriculture, mining, and the unorganized trades, great department stores, and multitudinous small stores and workshops. The returns, therefore, tho doubtless true of the facts investigated, are of necessity limited for the most part to the higher conditions and therefore give an unduly favorable view for the whole of industry. The report says:

In making the investigation of rates of wages and hours of labor, the design has been to cover the principal distinctive wage-working occupations in the leading manufacturing and mechanical industries in the U. S. with a view to securing data that would be representative of conditions and show the trend of wages and hours of labor. The investigation covers those industries in which the wages paid in the U. S. in one year were \$10,000,000 or over as shown by the census of 1900. The office and field force available for the prosecution of the work has not admitted of the extension of the investigation to cover transportation, mining, agriculture, and the other great industrial groups.

The hours of labor given in this report represent the regular full-time hours of the occupation—that is, the time that the employees as a class were engaged in work. No account has been taken of time lost by individual employees because of a desire not to work, of bad weather, or of slack work. It is no part of the purpose of this article to measure the amount of unemployment, and it must not be inferred that all employees engaged in the establishments reported in this article worked full time.

WAGES IN REPRESENTATIVE INDUSTRIES, U. S., 1906

OCCUPATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
Bakers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	48	1,078	61.24	\$0.2465
South Atlantic.....	20	204	59.89	.2440
North Central.....	44	742	57.47	.2566
South Central.....	19	131	65.43	.2208
Western.....	17	202	59.38	.3293
United States.....	148	2,357	60.01	.2552
Blacksmiths, male:				
North Atlantic.....	11	33	56.21	.2776
South Atlantic.....	3	8	57.25	.2500
North Central.....	8	19	57.68	.2962
South Central.....	3	8	58.88	.2739
Western.....	6	26	53.46	.3598
United States.....	31	94	56.06	.3014
Boot and Shoe Workers (Factories)				
Closers-on, female:				
North Atlantic.....	29	177	56.09	.1885
North Central.....	15	107	57.79	.1787
United States.....	44	284	56.73	.1848
Cutters, outsole, male:				
North Atlantic.....	23	103	56.86	.2627
North Central.....	13	61	57.97	.2507
United States.....	36	164	57.27	.2582
Goodyear stitchers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	25	210	55.21	.3909
North Central.....	15	105	57.57	.3730
United States.....	40	315	56.00	.3850
Vampers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	14	148	54.89	.3155
North Central.....	5	22	56.55	.2920
United States.....	19	170	55.10	.3124
Vampers, female:				
North Atlantic.....	31	425	56.14	.2409
North Central.....	15	282	57.55	.2117
United States.....	46	707	56.70	.2292
Bricklayers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	73	2,035	45.74	.6091
South Atlantic.....	31	637	49.38	.5731
North Central.....	64	1,679	46.90	.6117
South Central.....	27	390	49.61	.6031
Western.....	20	363	44.98	.8263
United States.....	215	5,104	46.82	.6205
Cabinet-makers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	17	483	52.74	.2942
South Atlantic.....	6	160	55.63	.2180
North Central.....	34	775	50.17	.2482
South Central.....	1	23	60.00	.1815
United States.....	58	1,441	55.02	.2592
Carpenters, male:				
North Atlantic.....	70	2,695	46.96	.4194
South Atlantic.....	32	1,055	40.49	.3632
North Central.....	64	2,106	48.39	.3983
South Central.....	30	661	53.39	.3208
Western.....	20	651	46.97	.5170
United States.....	216	7,168	48.26	.4047
Clothing Workers (Factories)				
Buttonhole-makers, machine, male:				
North Atlantic.....	5	13	56.54	.2434
South Atlantic.....	3	24	55.54	.2641
United States.....	8	37	55.89	.2568

OCCUPATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
<i>Clothing Workers (Factories)</i> —Continued				
Buttonhole-makers, machine, fe- male:				
North Atlantic.....	3	22	54.91	.1304
South Atlantic.....	2	13	52.85	.1066
North Central.....	6	33	55.39	.1085
South Central.....	2	13	54.08	.1223
United States.....	13	81	54.64	.1504
Cutters, hand, male:				
North Atlantic.....	14	472	52.13	.3663
South Atlantic.....	2	94	53.62	.2974
North Central.....	9	236	49.30	.4028
United States.....	25	802	51.47	.3690
Cutters, machine, male:				
North Atlantic.....	9	18	50.33	.4456
South Atlantic.....	3	36	53.89	.3700
North Central.....	7	168	48.07	.4384
United States.....	19	222	49.20	.4279
Finishers, female:				
North Atlantic.....	10	289	55.38	.1157
South Atlantic.....	4	278	57.92	.1089
North Central.....	8	297	54.75	.1288
South Central.....	2	46	54.52	.0939
United States.....	24	910	55.91	.1168
Pressers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	13	394	54.20	.2151
South Atlantic.....	4	137	59.21	.2151
North Central.....	9	219	54.64	.2578
South Central.....	2	13	54.46	.2153
United States.....	28	763	55.23	.2273
Sewing-machine operators, male:				
North Atlantic.....	13	609	54.95	.2191
South Atlantic.....	4	128	58.64	.2585
North Central.....	4	46	54.22	.3131
United States.....	21	783	55.51	.2311
Sewing-machine operators, fe- male:				
North Atlantic.....	12	714	53.76	.1309
South Atlantic.....	3	229	56.07	.1447
North Central.....	9	474	55.84	.1065
South Central.....	2	195	53.90	.1176
United States.....	26	1,612	54.72	.1417
<i>Cotton Workers (Factories)</i> Carding machine tenders, male:				
North Atlantic.....	17	377	59.18	.1234
South Atlantic.....	10	105	65.12	.0869
South Central.....	3	31	60.97	.1256
United States.....	30	513	60.51	.1160
Spinners, frame, male:				
North Atlantic.....	8	134	58.82	.1199
South Atlantic.....	5	44	65.91	.0914
South Central.....	1	7	66.00	.0530
United States.....	14	185	60.78	.1106
Spinners, frame, female:				
North Atlantic.....	16	2,317	59.04	.1120
South Atlantic.....	10	553	65.49	.0778
South Central.....	3	208	63.71	.0666
United States.....	29	3,078	60.51	.1028
Spinners, mule, male:				
North Atlantic.....	11	300	59.37	.1978

OCCUPATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
<i>Cotton Workers (Factories)</i> —Continued				
Weavers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	15	2,059	58.47	.1689
South Atlantic.....	9	592	65.41	.1134
South Central.....	2	106	65.72	.1153
United States.....	26	2,757	60.24	.1549
Weavers, female:				
North Atlantic.....	15	3,700	58.83	.1481
South Atlantic.....	9	518	65.68	.0962
South Central.....	3	242	62.47	.0934
United States.....	27	4,460	59.83	.1391
Hod-carriers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	84	2,426	45.99	.3228
South Atlantic.....	33	604	48.96	.2451
North Central.....	87	2,392	47.21	.3194
South Central.....	25	350	52.29	.2038
Western.....	40	520	45.18	.4650
United States.....	269	6,292	47.02	.3192
<i>Iron and Steel (Factories)</i> Bar, hot straighteners, male:				
North Atlantic.....	12	84	62.56	.2015
South Atlantic.....	2	27	60.00	.1571
North Central.....	6	54	66.67	.2545
South Central.....	2	14	72.00	.1366
United States.....	22	179	64.15	.2057
Bar, rollers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	12	35	63.63	.7441
South Atlantic.....	2	9	60.00	.6342
North Central.....	7	29	71.72	.9820
South Central.....	2	8	72.00	.9401
United States.....	23	81	66.95	.8364
Bar, roughers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	12	84	65.17	.3868
South Atlantic.....	2	18	60.00	.3512
North Central.....	10	111	61.87	.5227
South Central.....	2	18	72.00	.3324
United States.....	26	231	63.71	.4451
Bessemer, bottom-makers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	7	20	68.70	.3141
South Atlantic.....	3	7	77.14	.2239
North Central.....	5	12	66.00	.3430
South Central.....	2	7	65.14	.1790
United States.....	17	46	68.74	.2874
Bessemer, steel pourers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	7	26	57.38	.5077
South Atlantic.....	3	6	80.00	.4597
North Central.....	5	17	50.82	.7088
South Central.....	1	2	66.00	.4229
United States.....	16	51	58.20	.5658
Hot-blast men, male:				
North Atlantic.....	11	70	84.00	.1813
South Atlantic.....	2	12	84.00	.1597
North Central.....	7	36	84.00	.1759
South Central.....	5	16	84.00	.1547
United States.....	25	134	84.00	.1748
<i>Lumber</i> Laborers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	5	209	59.67	.1679
South Atlantic.....	9	702	60.57	.1392
North Central.....	27	2,471	60.17	.1747
South Central.....	17	1,758	60.05	.1477
Western.....	8	1,943	60.00	.2092
United States.....	66	7,143	60.12	.1735

OCCUPATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
<i>Lumber—Continued</i>				
Sawyers, band, male:				
North Atlantic.....	4	11	60.00	.5136
South Atlantic.....	2	4	63.00	.5932
North Central.....	26	62	60.26	.5030
South Central.....	12	19	60.00	.5658
Western.....	8	26	60.00	.4632
United States.....	52	122	60.23	.5082
Marble polishers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	19	139	48.85	.2785
South Atlantic.....	9	49	54.78	.1943
North Central.....	14	149	55.56	.2120
South Central.....	16	75	56.88	.1907
Western.....	9	22	48.36	.3662
United States.....	67	434	53.18	.2355
Painters, male:				
North Atlantic.....	66	1,671	47.35	.3722
South Atlantic.....	32	569	49.64	.3427
North Central.....	63	1,515	47.45	.3918
South Central.....	24	399	48.90	.3451
Western.....	25	408	45.45	.5011
United States.....	210	4,562	47.64	.3842
Plumbers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	73	833	46.12	.5069
South Atlantic.....	29	245	48.92	.4728
North Central.....	64	612	46.54	.5192
South Central.....	28	216	47.85	.5111
Western.....	21	310	44.86	.7376
United States.....	215	2,216	46.54	.5392
Printers (Book and Job)				
Bookbinders, male:				
North Atlantic.....	23	220	53.39	.3471
South Atlantic.....	17	71	54.17	.3016
North Central.....	41	463	53.76	.3169
South Central.....	17	80	53.53	.3167
Western.....	14	69	49.86	.3889
United States.....	112	903	53.38	.3285
Compositors, male:				
North Atlantic.....	47	793	50.77	.3602
South Atlantic.....	23	220	52.61	.3203
North Central.....	48	638	51.13	.3443
South Central.....	19	191	52.60	.3364
Western.....	18	120	49.33	.4237
United States.....	155	1,962	51.19	.3521
Compositors, female:				
North Atlantic.....	12	84	53.33	.2306
North Central.....	9	23	53.22	.2950
United States.....	21	107	53.31	.2445
Electrotypers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	8	85	52.25	.3807
North Central.....	9	73	52.74	.3511
Western.....	4	21	49.43	.4816
United States.....	21	179	52.12	.3805
Linotype operators, male:				
North Atlantic.....	19	190	49.32	.4580
South Atlantic.....	10	29	51.59	.4122
North Central.....	20	86	48.84	.4664
South Central.....	4	14	48.00	.4712
Western.....	8	31	48.19	.5552
United States.....	61	350	49.24	.4654
Press-feeders, male:				
North Atlantic.....	37	372	52.48	.2116
South Atlantic.....	20	107	54.01	.1585
North Central.....	46	519	53.77	.1906
South Central.....	18	137	53.05	.1615
Western.....	18	105	49.27	.2392
United States.....	139	1,240	52.94	.1951

OCCUPATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
<i>Printers (Book and Job)—Continued</i>				
Press-feeders, female:				
North Atlantic.....	13	145	54.43	.1284
South Atlantic.....	12	44	54.00	.1155
North Central.....	10	61	54.00	.1494
South Central.....	7	27	53.78	.1016
United States.....	42	277	54.20	.1284
Proof-readers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	22	93	49.92	.4174
South Atlantic.....	8	14	53.64	.3226
North Central.....	15	21	52.57	.4003
Western.....	6	8	48.00	.5168
United States.....	51	136	50.60	.4109
Proof-readers, female:				
North Atlantic.....	15	30	51.13	.3086
North Central.....	12	18	52.61	.2907
United States.....	27	48	51.69	.3019
Stitchers, book, female:				
North Atlantic.....	17	66	53.56	.1146
South Atlantic.....	4	21	53.43	.0834
North Central.....	20	98	53.85	.1212
South Central.....	5	18	53.67	.1114
Western.....	6	23	48.26	.1714
United States.....	52	226	53.14	.1201
Printers (Newspaper and Publishing)				
Compositors, male:				
North Atlantic.....	47	820	47.09	.4995
South Atlantic.....	22	279	47.20	.4707
North Central.....	44	629	47.24	.5156
South Central.....	19	235	48.52	.4994
Western.....	17	242	46.66	.6045
United States.....	149	2,205	47.25	.5120
Linotype operators, male:				
North Atlantic.....	46	799	46.74	.5524
South Atlantic.....	22	254	44.94	.5531
North Central.....	43	615	47.36	.5296
South Central.....	19	217	47.71	.6499
Western.....	17	229	45.62	.6535
United States.....	147	2,114	46.68	.5668
Pressmen, male:				
North Atlantic.....	47	410	46.58	.4636
South Atlantic.....	22	71	48.25	.3705
North Central.....	43	362	50.67	.4150
South Central.....	18	33	52.61	.4678
Western.....	17	78	49.17	.4517
United States.....	147	954	48.68	.4374
Stereotypers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	44	259	45.84	.5324
South Atlantic.....	19	54	46.78	.4045
North Central.....	40	186	48.45	.4463
South Central.....	17	32	49.19	.4278
Western.....	17	54	49.83	.4843
United States.....	137	585	47.31	.4831
Stone-masons, male:				
North Atlantic.....	41	321	47.75	.4780
South Atlantic.....	9	96	51.73	.4687
North Central.....	32	224	48.02	.5269
South Central.....	6	33	49.18	.4720
Western.....	12	145	44.72	.6237
United States.....	100	819	47.81	.5158

OCCUPATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Average hours per week	Average wages per hour
<i>Streets and Sewers (Contract Work)</i>				
Laborers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	38	5,166	57.64	.1731
South Atlantic.....	18	1,352	54.74	.1680
North Central.....	40	4,147	58.10	.2073
South Central.....	17	1,748	58.51	.1645
Western.....	15	2,191	50.69	.2784
United States.....	128	14,604	56.56	.1971
<i>Municipal Work</i>				
Laborers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	21	9,023	48.65	.2313
South Atlantic.....	10	2,439	50.55	.1848
North Central.....	22	9,748	48.22	.2260
South Central.....	9	1,126	51.72	.1713
Western.....	8	1,210	48.00	.2715
United States.....	70	23,552	48.78	.2235
Structural ironworkers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	19	830	45.25	.5353
South Atlantic.....	7	130	51.37	.4389
North Central.....	24	947	52.74	.4395
South Central.....	4	56	55.40	.3138
Western.....	8	142	51.15	.4203
United States.....	62	2,105	49.67	.4730
<i>Tobacco (Cigars)</i>				
Bunch-makers, machine, female:				
North Atlantic.....	8	359	53.69	.1611
North Central.....	3	140	52.67	.1717
United States.....	11	505	53.39	.1642
Cigar-makers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	14	914	49.11	.3396
South Atlantic.....	8	2,371	59.92	.3015
North Central.....	14	434	47.34	.3125
United States.....	36	3,719	55.80	.3122
Cigar-rollers, hand, male:				
North Atlantic.....	6	169	51.93	.2566
South Atlantic.....	2	47	55.15	.2100
North Central.....	4	62	49.84	.2557
United States.....	12	278	52.01	.2485
Cigar-rollers, hand, female:				
North Atlantic.....	10	667	54.77	.1796
South Atlantic.....	3	253	56.87	.1523
North Central.....	8	252	50.72	.1943
South Central.....	1	26	46.00	.1283
United States.....	22	1,198	54.17	.1758
<i>Woolen and Worsted Goods</i>				
Carders:				
North Atlantic.....	24	222	58.65	.1214
Card strippers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	13	80	57.64	.1323
Combers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	6	142	59.04	.1232
Combers, female:				
North Atlantic.....	4	149	56.83	.0953
Dyers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	24	486	59.23	.1396
Loom-fixers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	26	268	58.43	.2557
Spinners, frame, female:				
North Atlantic.....	8	572	58.28	.1070
Spinners, mule, male:				
North Atlantic.....	22	326	58.55	.2029
Weavers, male:				
North Atlantic.....	27	1,460	58.71	.2024
Weavers, female:				
North Atlantic.....	27	2,222	58.17	.1693

of labor per week in 1906 as compared with the average for the ten years from 1890 to 1899 in each of the 41 industries covered by this report:

INDUSTRY	Wages per hour. Per cent of in- crease	Hours per week. Per cent of de- crease
Agricultural implements.....	29.3	3.4
Bakery, bread.....	27.4	8.2
Blacksmithing and horseshoeing.....	19.9	5.4
Boots and shoes.....	20.4	3.7
Brick.....	19.1	1.3
Building trades.....	40.2	9.1
Candy.....	18.9	(1)
Carpets.....	13.9	1.9
Carriages and wagons.....	15.8	3.5
Cars, steam-railroad.....	18.5	4.1
Clothing, factory product.....	15.4	3.3
Cotton goods.....	39.5	1.7
Dyeing, finishing, and printing textiles.....	8.0	.3
Electrical apparatus and supplies.....	22.0	6.0
Flour.....	12.5	2.4
Foundry and machine shop.....	17.9	5.2
Furniture.....	25.6	4.4
Gas.....	3.8	3.5
Glass.....	22.3	1.4
Harness.....	21.6	3.4
Hats, fur.....	25.2	7.8
Hosiery and knit goods.....	26.4	1.8
Iron and steel, bar.....	35.7	2.1
Iron and steel, Bessemer converting.....	33.8	8.5
Iron and steel, blast-furnace.....	14.1	(1)
Leather.....	9.2	.7
Liquors, malt.....	27.8	12.1
Lumber.....	23.7	2.9
Marble and stonework.....	21.3	6.3
Paper and wood pulp.....	21.1	6.9
Planing-mill.....	20.6	3.6
Pottery.....	12.9	.2
Printing and publishing, book and job.....	25.9	9.3
Printing and publishing, newspaper.....	18.4	4.6
Shipbuilding.....	17.7	4.1
Silk goods.....	9.9	2.0
Slaughtering and meat-packing.....	15.2	(2)
Streets and sewers, contract work.....	39.8	6.7
Streets and sewers, municipal work.....	14.9	9.0
Tobacco, cigars.....	31.1	.3
Woolen and worsted goods.....	24.0	1.4
All industries.....	24.2	4.6

¹ Increase.

² Not reported.

In studying these tables of wages, the explanation at the beginning must always be remembered. *They are only true of the more highly organized industries.*

Yet, according to the census (vol. "Employees and Wages," p. 616), 11 per cent of the male workers over sixteen years of age in the New England cotton-mills receive less than \$300 per year. Dr. Peter Roberts says that 60 per cent of the workers in the anthracite coal region do not receive \$450 per year ("Anthracite Coal Communities," p. 346). Robert Hunter says that the mass of unskilled workers in the North receive less than \$460 a year and in the South less than \$300 ("Poverty," p. 53).

In computing the figures for the summary for the U. S., each industry has been given a weight in proportion to the amount of wages paid therein, as shown by the U. S. census of 1900. This was deemed to be the most equitable method of making allowance for the greater or less importance of the several industries. The agricultural implement industry is an important industry, but by no means so great as the building industry of the country; therefore allowance for the importance of each industry was deemed necessary, and the most satisfactory method of weighting is believed to be the weighting in proportion to the wages paid in the several industries. In com-

The following table shows the per cent of increase or decrease in wages per hour and in hours

puting this weighted average the relative number or index for a year for each industry was multiplied by the wages paid in each industry, respectively, as shown by the U. S. census of 1900, expressed in the nearest \$100,000. The products were then added and the sum divided by the total wages paid in the industries represented.

The following table shows the relative weight accorded to each industry:

INDUSTRY	Weight
Agricultural implements.....	225
Bakery, bread.....	279
Blacksmithing and horseshoeing.....	180
Boots and shoes.....	592
Brick.....	219
Building trades.....	1 2, 127
Candy.....	109
Carpets.....	111
Carriages and wagons.....	298
Cars, steam railroad.....	1, 194
Clothing.....	794
Cotton goods.....	867
Dyeing and printing textiles.....	127
Electrical apparatus and supplies.....	202
Flour.....	177
Foundry and machine shop.....	1, 822
Furniture.....	426
Gas.....	124
Glass.....	271
Harness.....	107
Hats, fur.....	2 151
Hosiery and knit goods.....	244
Iron and steel.....	1, 208
Leather.....	226
Liquors, malt.....	258
Lumber.....	1, 046
Marble and stone work.....	287
Paper and wood pulp.....	207
Planing-mill.....	327
Pottery.....	177
Printing and publishing.....	842
Shipbuilding.....	248
Silk goods.....	210
Slaughtering and meat-packing.....	339
Streets and sewers.....	395
Tobacco, cigars and cigarettes.....	409
Woolen and worsted goods.....	448
Total.....	17, 273

¹ Includes census figures for carpentering, masonry, painting and paper hanging, and one half of roofing, architectural iron, electrical construction, and tinsmithing.

² Includes census figures for wool hats.

³ Estimated from wages paid in the District of Columbia.

[Relative numbers on basis of average for 1890-1899 = 1000.]

YEAR	Employees	Hours per week	Wages per hour	Full-time weekly earnings per employee	Retail prices of food weighted according to family consumption	Hourly wages	Purchasing power measured by retail prices of food, of—
1890.....	94.8	100.7	100.3	101.0	102.4	97.9	98.6
1891.....	97.3	100.5	100.3	100.8	103.8	96.6	97.1
1892.....	99.2	100.5	100.8	101.3	101.9	98.9	99.4
1893.....	99.4	100.3	100.9	101.2	104.4	96.6	96.9
1894.....	94.1	99.8	97.9	97.7	99.7	98.2	98.0
1895.....	96.4	100.1	98.3	98.4	97.8	100.5	100.6
1896.....	98.6	99.8	99.7	99.5	95.5	104.4	104.2
1897.....	100.9	99.6	99.6	99.2	96.3	103.4	103.0
1898.....	106.4	99.7	100.2	99.9	98.7	101.5	101.2
1899.....	112.1	99.2	102.0	101.2	99.5	102.5	101.7
1900.....	115.6	98.7	105.5	104.1	101.1	104.4	103.0
1901.....	119.1	98.1	108.0	105.9	105.2	102.7	100.7
1902.....	123.6	97.3	112.2	109.2	110.9	101.2	98.5
1903.....	126.5	96.6	116.3	112.3	110.3	105.4	101.8
1904.....	125.7	95.9	117.0	112.2	111.7	104.7	100.4
1905.....	133.6	95.9	118.9	114.0	112.4	105.8	101.4
1906.....	142.9	95.4	124.2	118.5	115.7	107.3	102.4

The foregoing table shows for the years 1890 to 1906 the relative wages per hour, the relative hours of labor per week, the relative number of employees covered by the report in the establishments investigated, the relative retail prices of food, and the relative full-time weekly earnings per employee and relative purchasing power of hourly wages and of full-time weekly earnings per employee as measured by retail prices of food.

The relative numbers shown are percentages, the base (100.0) being the average for the ten years 1890 to 1899.

AGRICULTURAL WAGES

Farm Laborers

(From United States Bulletin of Department of Labor, No. 29)

WAGES	Vermont	Pennsylvania	North Carolina	Texas	Iowa	Oregon
Wages per month, without board, by the year, 1899.....	26.36	21.74	11.96	17.54	26.33	29.64
With board.....	17.05	13.84	8.05	12.41	18.38	21.09
Wages per day in harvest, without board, 1899.....	1.74	1.51	.94	1.16	1.75	1.82
With board.....	1.41	1.20	.79	.93	1.47	1.47
Wages outside of harvest for day, without board.....	1.30	1.15	.60	.90	1.40	1.35
With board.....	1.00	.84	.46	.68	1.11	1.00

AVERAGE WAGES OF FARM LABORERS IN THE UNITED STATES

(From Bulletin of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, "Wages of Farm Labor in the U. S.")

YEAR	PER MONTH		PER DAY OF ORDINARY LABOR		PER DAY IN HARVEST	
	Without board	With board	Without board	With board	Without board	With board
1890....	\$18.33	\$12.45	\$0.92	\$0.68	\$1.30	\$1.02
1902....	22.14	16.40	1.13	.89	1.53	1.34

B. OTHER COUNTRIES

Various Estimates

Perhaps the most recent book which at all adequately discusses the question of wages from an international standpoint is Dr. Arthur Shadwell's "Industrial Efficiency," a comparative study of industrial life in England, Germany, and America (1906). He comes to the conclusion that (vol. ii., chap. viii.) so-called "average wages" reached by averaging skilled and unskilled wages in varying degrees are so misleading that "the wage of the unskilled laborer who occupies the same position in every country" is the safest basis for international comparison, and finds the following facts:

DAILY WAGE OF UNSKILLED DAY LABOR. Winter, 1902-3 (in industrial centers)

	Actual	Average	Per cent
England.....	\$0.75-1.00	\$0.87	100.0
Germany.....	.62-.75	.68	78.6
United States....	.75-1.75	1.25	142.8

WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR IN LEADING OCCUPATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN EUROPE, 1890 AND 1903
(Compiled from the Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor for July, 1904)

	YEAR	WAGES PER HOUR					HOURS PER WEEK				
		United States	Great Britain	Germany	France	Belgium	United States	Great Britain	Germany	France	Belgium
Blacksmiths.....	1890	\$0.2677	\$0.1652	\$0.1175	\$0.1474	.....	59.41	54.00	62.00	60.34	.....
	1903	.2902	.1740	.1237	.1629	.....	50.65	53.67	59.90	60.19	.....
Boiler-makers.....	1890	.2594	.1595	.0986	.1417	\$0.0742	59.25	54.00	64.00	63.00	60.00
	1903	.2848	.1719	.1123	.1455	.0753	56.24	53.67	60.00	61.50	60.00
Bricklayers.....	1890	.4316	.1757	.1103	.1277	.0700	53.22	52.67	57.50	63.00	62.00
	1903	.5471	.2062	.1328	.1325	.0845	47.83	51.83	56.50	63.00	62.00
Carpenters.....	1890	.2713	.1690	.1025	.1544	.0713	55.94	52.67	59.41	60.00	64.87
	1903	.3594	.2028	.1301	.1544	.0712	49.41	50.17	55.30	60.00	64.73
Compositors.....	1890	.3980	.1572	.1065	.1207	.0788	53.15	54.33	57.40	60.00	60.00
	1903	.4467	.1795	.1411	.1303	.0955	49.81	50.67	51.08	60.00	54.00
Hod-carriers.....	1890	.2259	.1217	.0675	.0965	.0471	52.78	52.67	59.75	66.00	92.00
	1903	.2863	.1250	.0849	.0965	(1)	47.98	51.83	59.50	63.91	(1)
Iron-molders.....	1890	.2540	.1678	.1009	.1119	(1)	59.51	54.00	60.00	60.00	(1)
	1903	.3036	.1787	(1)	.1310	.0692	50.80	53.67	(1)	60.00	60.00
Laborers, general...	1890	.1507	.0948	.0641	.0965	.0524	59.02	54.17	59.98	60.00	63.00
	1903	.1676	.1019	.0797	.0965	.0549	50.13	52.50	50.36	60.00	63.00
Machinists.....	1890	.2413	.1534	.0973	.1256	.....	59.52	54.00	64.00	61.90	.....
	1903	.2709	.1677	.1310	.1326	.....	56.12	53.67	60.00	61.50	.....
Painters, house....	1890	.2680	.1554	.0934	.1231	.0603	55.23	54.33	56.50	60.00	66.00
	1903	.3450	.1774	.1194	.1255	.0667	48.89	51.00	56.25	60.00	66.00
Plumbers.....	1890	.3464	.1757	.0946	.1501	.0793	54.33	50.00	59.75	63.00	60.00
	1903	.4371	.2027	.1148	.1501	.0784	48.97	49.17	50.68	54.00	60.00
Stone-masons.....	1890	.3722	.1774	.1103	.1404	.0700	54.54	51.00	59.75	66.00	62.00
	1903	.4486	.2078	.1328	.1448	.0845	49.54	50.17	56.50	66.00	62.00

¹ No data obtained.

The wages and hours of labor shown for the United States are for blacksmiths in the foundry and machine-shop industry.

The wages and hours of labor shown for the U. S. are for carpenters in the building industry.

The wages and hours of labor shown for the U. S. are for compositors, newspaper.

The wages and hours of labor shown for the U. S. are for iron-molders in the foundry and machine-shop industry.

The wages and hours of labor shown for the U. S. are for laborers in the building industry.

The wages and hours of labor shown for the U. S. are for machinists in the foundry and machine-shop industry.

He finds this general proportion approximated in several skilled trades, for instance, in the metal trades, and concludes that in general German wages are about four fifths and American wages seven fifths of English wages, tho (see EXPENDITURES) he thinks that for skilled labor (not in general) the higher cost of living in the U. S. makes up for the higher wages as compared with England, tho not as compared with Germany. German wages, however, he considers to be somewhat rapidly on the increase.

III. ARE REAL WAGE CONDITIONS IMPROVING?

This is one of the most difficult questions to settle and is very variously answered by different authorities according to the point of view:

A. THE FAVORABLE VIEW

Most conservative writers maintain that, however poor the condition of the wage-worker is to-day, he is at least far better off than ever before in the world's history. Mr. John Rae adduces evidence in his "Contemporary Socialism" (1st ed., p. 390) "to show how greatly improved the working-class standard of living now is from what it was 200 years ago in the good old times Socialist writers like to sing of." He says:

If poverty were increasing with the increase of wealth, it would show itself either in an increase of pauperism or in a decline in the general standard of living among the laboring classes or in a fall in the average duration of life, and these symptoms would be most acute in the countries that are the most wealthy and progressive. To prove that these symptoms of increasing poverty do not exist, he quotes Sir M. Hale and Gregory King, writers of the seventeenth century, to show that in their day one out of every ten, or, including

children, one out of every six, received alms. To-day Mr Rae says it is only one out of thirty. Wages at that time could not support the laborer. Everything was higher then except butcher meat, but half the population had meat only twice a week, and a fourth only once. The laborer lived chiefly on bread and beer, and bread was as dear as now. Fuel, light, and clothing were all much dearer.

For the United States, Carroll D. Wright similarly argues the improved condition of the wage worker. In his "The Industrial Evolution in the United States," and in his article "Wages" in "Johnson's Cyclopaedia," he sums up the wage history of the U. S. substantially as follows:

In 1633 the Massachusetts Bay Colony, by the action of the general court, made it a rule that carpenters, sawyers, masons, bricklayers, tilers, joiners, wheelwrights, mowers, and other master workmen should not receive more than 2s. a day, the workman to pay his own board; but should he elect to board with his employer, then he was to receive 14d. a day. The rates of inferior workmen were to be fixed by the constable. Skilled tailors were to be paid 12d. a day, poorer ones 8d. At the close of the seventeenth century common laborers were paid 2s. a day, as they had been forty years before. At the close of the colonial period laborers on farms were paid 40 cents a day; butchers, 33½; carpenters, 52; ship and boat builders, about 90; shoemakers, 73; blacksmiths, 70. Prices were uneven; there was 40 common market. Wheat might bring at one place 5s., at another 10s; \$1. Mr. Wright thinks, could then buy one bushel of winter wheat, one gallon of common molasses, a bushel of barley or of rye, one and a third bushels of corn. A common grade of white flour was \$16 per barrel. Butter, cheese, and meats were cheaper than now. Sugar, tea, and coffee were dearer than now. Common necessities were cheap.

After the colonial period wages slowly rose. Laborers received in 1790, 43 cents a day; in 1800, 62½ cents; from 1800 to 1810, 82 cents per day; from 1810 to 1820, 90 cents; from 1820 to 1860, from 87½ cents to \$1. Carpenters in 1790 were paid less than 60 cents per day; in 1800, over 70 cents; in 1810, \$1.09; in 1820, \$1.13; from 1830 to 1840, \$1.40 in the northern states. Cotton-mill operatives received until 1830, 44 cents per day;

Colonial Period.

just prior to 1840, 90 cents, and from 1840 to 1850, \$1.03 per day. Woolen-mill operatives were paid higher prior to 1830, being paid \$1.12. In 1840 carpenters were paid \$1.50 per day in New York, and in 1891, \$3.50. Bricklayers and their helpers received \$1.75 and \$1 respectively in 1851, and \$4 and \$2.50 in 1891. Locomotive engineers and firemen received \$2.14 and \$1 in 1840, and \$3.77 and \$1.96 in 1891, these figures being taken from actual pay-rolls. The great crises of 1837 and 1857 deprest wage-rates, which did not recover before 1860. Comparing wages in 1860 and 1880, Mr. Wright uses the above-referred-to Aldrich Senate Report,

Early Part of this Century

calling it "a most excellent one, and indicates the general course of wages better than any other statement yet made." According to this, he says: "Wages stood at 87.7 per cent in 1840 as compared with 100 per cent in 1860; in 1866 they stood at 152.4 per cent and in 1891 at 160.7." "To be more correct, however," says Mr. Wright, "the rates should be taken in accordance with the importance of each industry relative to all industries. . . . On the latter basis wages have increased 68.6 per cent since 1860 and 86.1 per cent since 1840. . . . It is fair to say that wages in the leading industries of the country are 80 per cent at least higher than they were in 1840. Very many wages are double what they were at that date."

Of prices Mr. Wright says: "With this increase there has been in every direction a decrease in the working-time of each day, and a general decrease in the cost of living, taking all articles into consideration."

Present

The decrease in the cost of living, however, has not been equal to the increase in wages. Rents are much higher, and so are meats and some other articles; but taking the wholesale prices of 223 of the leading articles of consumption, it is found that there has been a decrease since 1860 of about 6 per cent."

B. THE UNFAVORABLE VIEW

The belief that American wages have steadily risen is largely based on the Aldrich Senate Report of 1893. Now, this report is believed by many scholars to be utterly unreliable. Dr. Spahr, in his "Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States," argues the utter worthlessness of its conclusions, and says (p. 103):

The statisticians employed to summarize the returns were to a hurtful extent in sympathy with the political aim of the investigation. This criticism in no degree applies to Mr. Joseph D. Weeks, whose work is in the highest degree conscientious and intelligent. But Mr. Weeks's conclusions are not embodied in the committee's comprehensive summary for "all" occupations. It is this summary that has spread so much misinformation throughout the country. Some of the more serious errors in the report are apparent upon a casual examination. When any one at all familiar with the course of wages in recent years takes up the report, he is astonished to see that the wages of clerks in stores have risen out of all proportion to wages in other industries. In the metal works, as he would expect, currency wages are reported to have fallen since 1873; so, too, in the cotton factories; but in stores, where the invasion of women and girls is believed to have deprest wages to an unusual extent, he finds it reported that an advance of nearly 40 per cent has taken place. If, to understand the anomaly, he takes the trouble to consult the original data, he discovers that for the metal works and cotton factories the returns covered many establishments and many hundreds of employees, while for stores the returns covered but one dry-goods store and one grocery, employing together less than thirty clerks. Yet the committee, in its table of "simple averages for all industries," made the uninvestigated industry count as much as either of the thoroughly investigated ones. And the committee did not stop here. Despite this assumed rise of nearly 40 per cent in the wages of clerks, the table of "simple averages" still showed that currency wages had fallen 4 per cent since 1873. Thereupon the committee proceeded to make a table of "weighted averages," assuming that the incredible advance of 40 per cent in wages had been received by all the clerks in the country, and that since these outnumbered the employees in metal works and cotton-mills put together, therefore the returns for less than thirty clerks ought to outweigh those for more than 1,500 metal workers and more than 3,000 cotton operatives. By this means currency wages in 1891 were made to rise 1 per cent above the level in 1873.

A False Re- port

To cut short the criticism, in order to get at the facts reported, it is necessary to throw away the work done by the committee's experts, and return to the original reports made by the employers.

Accepting the returns of the report itself, Dr. Spahr shows that real wages, instead of rising

since 1873, fell materially down to 1891, and in 1894 were 20 per cent lower than in 1891. The only industries in which wages rose between 1873 and 1891, according to the returns gathered by the report, were in the manufacture of ale, beer, and porter; the making of carriages and wagons; in the case of the clerks of the two dry-goods and grocery stores mentioned above; in the making of paper, of spice, and of woollens. In the report itself the facts showing the fall of wages in the cotton and metal industries alone cover 686 pages, while the facts which the experts have magnified to overbalance the fall in wages cover only eleven pages.

Again, admitting that wages are higher to-day than early in the nineteenth century, which no informed scholar denies, it does not follow that the laborer's real economic status is improved. Early in the century, life was simple, wages were low, hours were long. But the workman who was faithful had a practical security of work. He often lived in a little home of his own whose garden could supplement his low wage. To-day his wage is all, and he has no security of work. The problem of the unemployed is the pressing problem of the present situation. If hours were long early in the century, the worker working at his little cobbler's bench or in a little shop, where some one could read aloud, had much more real opportunity to develop his own individuality than to-day, tho working at shorter hours, in crowded factories amid machinery driven at its utmost speed. Real freedom and economic status, more than wages, therefore, must be taken into consideration before we can admit advance. As for comparison with a remoter past, Mr. Rae, as quoted above, argues that the workingman is vastly better off to-day than "200 years ago, in the good old times Socialist writers like to sing of"; but no Socialist writer sings of 200 years ago. By exactly picking his dates, Mr. Rae seems to prove progress for the working classes. Hale and King, whom Mr. Rae quotes, wrote in the last part of the seventeenth century. Two hundred years before that and fifty years after that Mr. Rae would have found a very different state of things. In the fifteenth century, before the English laborer had been driven off from the land, and was still under a form of feudal tenure, and yet no longer a serf, he was in what Mr. J. E. Thorold Rogers has called the "golden age of England." In the first part of the eighteenth century, when there was a revival of handicraft and machinery was not developed and monopolized, wages were higher than they were either immediately before or immediately after. It is to these times rather than to the seventeenth century that Socialist writers are apt to revert. And for the view that compared with these periods the present condition of the wage-earner is not so favorable, they have good authority.

As for Great Britain, comparing conditions in 1837 and 1897, Sydney Webb says in "Labor in the Longest Reign":

If we might sum up in one general impression the different facts as to comparative wages, we should, I think, have to come to this conclusion: While the skilled male craftsman has largely increased his income, and a practically new class of responsible and fairly well-paid laborers and machine-minders has come into existence, there exists now a greater sum, tho a smaller proportion of hopeless destitution than at any previous time. It appears, at any rate, highly probable that in 1897 there are positively more people in Great Britain who are existing at or near starvation wages than there were in 1837, altho their number bears a small proportion to the whole.

Mr. Charles Booth tells us, in the effective "eloquence unadorned" of his columns of statistics, that some 32 per cent of the whole four millions of London's population fall within his four classes of "poverty," earning not more than a guinea per week per family. It is difficult to believe that, even in 1837, the percentage of persons at a corresponding low level can have been greater. It is practically certain, remembering the great increase in the total population, that at no previous time were the actual numbers more than at present. It has been reserved for our own prosperous time to produce the spectacle of over a million of people within one city living "in poverty." And when we examine closer into Mr. Booth's appalling details, and begin to realize that out of this huge residuum nearly a third are actually below what can be called even full subsistence for a London family, we shall begin to feel that our boasted progress since 1837 has not, after all, taken us very far. The 300,000 Londoners who fail to get even 18s. a week per family, and live in "chronic want," can never have been poorer. Their actual number in the much smaller city of 1837 cannot have been so great. And if we take into account the slums of our other great cities, and realize that we have in our midst a class of at least a million persons, besides the million at any one time in receipt of poor-law relief, who live in "chronic want" of even the necessities of life, we shall begin to understand how very partial, after all, has been our progress.

It is often assumed that this huge residuum which is existing in our midst at starvation wages is made up entirely of unskilled laborers, women plying the needle, and drunkards and wastrels of all kinds. But this is not the case. The unskilled laborer, indeed, is morally entitled to full subsistence, tho he does not always get it; but even men with a trade are sometimes little better off. We find to-day numerous small classes of skilled craftsmen in large towns whose weekly earnings do not amount to a pound a week.

Professor Rogers is not blindfold to the conditions of the past, yet in a carefully balanced paragraph he says ("Six Centuries of Work and Wages," chap. vi.):

The life of our ancestors, tho laborious, was not without its hopes. All the necessities of life in ordinary years, when there was no dearth, were abundant and cheap, and even in dear years the margin of wages or profits over the bare wants of life was considerable enough to fill up the void, even tho the laborer had to subsist for a time on some cheaper food than wheaten bread. Meat was plentiful; poultry found everywhere; eggs cheapest of all. The poorest and meanest man had no absolute and insurmountable impediment put on his career, if he would seize his opportunity and make use of it.

I am well aware that in many particulars he was far behind his descendants in the conveniences and comforts of life. . . . I am alive to the fact that what were once the luxuries of the very few have now become the habitual comforts of the many, and that enterprise has scoured the earth to make these and newer luxuries abundant and cheap. I know that owing to the spread of knowledge, the adaptation of industry, the energy of invention, and the

Progress

extension of trade, the population of England and Wales is tenfold what it was six centuries ago; that trim gardens, magnificent mansions, noble parks, rows of banks and houses, vast and splendid cities, occupy sites which were covered by squalid hovels or frequented by wild boars, curlews, and bitterns, or were marsh fens and wild moors. I can see, without being reminded, that the most lofty and subtle pleasures of literature are now common and profuse, and that the world of civilization is so strong that there seems no possible danger of its becoming destroyed by a new incursion of barbarians, not even of those barbarians whom it creates. . . . I do not need to be told that the wealth of London is such that a single block of buildings pays a higher rent to its fortunate owner than was derived from the whole customs of the port in the days of the Plantagenets and Tudors, that in a few hours a loan could be raised in London sufficient to equip and provision an army more numerous than all the men at arms were in medieval Europe, and this probably without deranging the course of trade or materially interfering with the functions of credit. And I suspect that when we are invited to consider all these things and more of the same nature, as the prodigious strength of modern governments, the boundless resources of modern societies, the priceless collections of art and letters, the ceaseless activities of enterprise and the ever-increasing discrepancies of science, it is fancied that a complete answer is given to those who entertain misgivings because they believe there is a reverse to the picture, another side to the shield, which these triumphant eulogies on modern progress would have us conceal or forget. . . . It may be that the progress of some has been more than counterbalanced by the distresses and sorrows of many, that

Reverse Picture

the opulence and strength of modern times mock the poverty and misery which are bound up with and surround them. . . . It may be well the case, and there is every reason to fear it is

the case, that there is collected a population in our great towns which equals in amount the whole of those who lived in England and Wales six centuries ago, but whose condition is more destitute, whose homes are more squalid, whose means are more uncertain, whose prospects are more hopeless than those of the poorest serfs of the Middle Ages and the meanest drudges of the mediæval cities.

In another passage (*idem*, chap. xix.) he thus sums up the economic history of the English laborer in the following words:

I have shown that from the earliest recorded annals, through nearly three centuries, the condition of the English laborer was that of plenty and hope; that from perfectly intelligible cause it sunk within a century to so low a level as to make the workman practically helpless, and that the lowest point was reached just about the outbreak of the great war between king and Parliament. From this time it gradually improved, till in the first half of the eighteenth century, tho still far below the level of the fifteenth, it achieved comparative plenty. Then it began to sink again, and the workman experienced the direst misery during the great continental war. Latterly, almost within our own memory and knowledge, it has experienced a slow and partial improvement.

Some still more pointed passages from Mr. Rogers's work are as follows:

I am convinced that at no period of English history for which authentic records exist was the condition of manual labor worse than it was in the forty years from 1782 to 1821, the period in which manufacturers and merchants accumulated fortune rapidly, and in which the rent of agricultural labor was doubled (chap. ii.). I have stated more than once that the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth were the golden age of the English laborer, if we are to interpret the wages which he earned by the cost of the necessities of life (chap. xii.). I contend that from 1563 to 1824

Conspiracy

a conspiracy, concocted by the law, and carried out by parties interested in its success, was entered into to cheat the English workman of his wages, to tie him to the soil, to deprive him of hope, and to degrade him into irremediable poverty (chap. xiv.). We have been able to trace the process by which the condition of English labor had been continuously deteriorated by the acts of government. . . . It was first impoverished by the issue of base money. Next it was robbed of its gild capital by the land thieves of Edward's regency. It was next brought in contact with a new and more needy set of employers, the sheep masters, who succeeded the monks. It was then with a pretense, and perhaps with the intention of kindness, subjected to the quarter sessions amendment, mercilessly used in the first half of the seventeenth century, the agricultural laborer being still further impoverished by being made the residuum of all labor. The agricultural laborer was then further mulcted by inclosures, and the extinction of those memorial rights of pasture and fuel which he had enjoyed so long. The poor-law professed to find him work, but was so administered that the reduction of his wages to a bare subsistence became an easy process and an economical expedient (chap. xvii.).

Some of the working classes in London, and those who have been long educated in the machinery of labor partnership, have at last regained the relative rate of wages which they earned in the fifteenth century, tho perhaps in some particulars the recovery is not complete (chap. xix.). I make no doubt the ordinary hardships of human life in England were greater and, I am sure, they were more general six centuries ago than they are now. Life was briefer, old age came earlier, disease was more deadly, the risks of existence were more numerous. But the extremes of wealth and poverty were by the fact of these common conditions less widely separated. Above all things, what is now characteristic of human life, that one half of the world does not know how the other half lives, a very moderate statement of the fact, was not true of the early ages of English progress. . . . The grinding, hopeless poverty under which existence may be just continued, but when nothing is won beyond bare existence, did not, I am convinced, characterize or even belong to mediæval life.

Grinding Poverty

Says Mr. Frederick Harrison:

To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent condition of industry were to be that which we behold, that ninety per cent of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or of so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in

places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution, that a month of bad trade, sickness, or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism. . . . This is the normal state of the average workman in town or country. (Mr. Frederick Harrison, p. 429, "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference," 1886.)

Nevertheless, the progress in many ways must not be overlooked.

H. N. Casson says of the U. S.: "The average laborer 100 years ago had fewer comforts and less consideration than a horse or dog has to-day. The laborer lived in a house of unpainted boards; he had sand on the floor instead of carpet, and his dishes were made of pewter instead of china. If he had fresh meat once a week he thought himself lucky. A good share of his wages was paid in rum and gin; then, when he got drunk, his employer had him arrested. Worst of all, it has been clearly proved that in some factories women and children were thrashed with a cowhide if the overseer caught them snatching a moment's rest."

As to progress in recent years the question is, if anything, still more difficult to answer in any general way. Undoubtedly statistics, so far as they go, show in most countries for the main industries some advance measured by the cost of living, tho no large advance, except for a few highly organized trades. But the question still remains whether such statistics are reliable. As shown in Section II. of this article such statistics are and must be usually based on returns from the larger establishments and the better organized industries. It therefore seems fair to say that they are not representative. Whether, therefore, in general real wages for the working classes have risen or not, measured by prices, is not proven and various minds will answer the question in various ways. General averages as to wages are almost worthless. If in a factory there are eighty men earning each only \$1 a day and twenty especially skilled workers earning each \$6 a day, the average in that factory would be \$2 a day, and yet a mere statement of the average would utterly conceal the true facts. In America in almost every trade a few workmen receive very high wages, and so American averages of wages conceal the real wages, often very low, paid to a large share of our workers. Again the worth of wages depends on the cost of living. It is generally thought that wages of late years have risen; yet the report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the prosperous State of New York says, for the year ending Sept. 30, 1901: "It therefore seems safe to say that, despite the more regular employment and higher wages now enjoyed by the working people, their economic condition is little better than it was four years ago, save that they now work shorter hours." Again, income depends not only on the amount a man receives per day, but the number of days in a year he has work. Yet this simple fact is continually forgotten in comparing wages in different countries and trades. One dollar a day all the year round is better than \$4 a day once a week. Once more statements as to wages are continually vitiated by the bias of opinion of those who interpret or collect the data upon which they are based. Reformers often estimate wages lower than they are, to show the need of reform. Conservatives and supporters of whatever political administration is in power, and this unfortunately includes almost all official statisticians, are tempted to statements as roseate as possible. The belief that American

wages have steadily risen in recent years has been till recently largely based on the Aldrich Senate Report of 1893. Yet this report is believed by most scholars to be utterly unreliable. Dr. Spahr, in his "Present Distribution of Wealth in the U. S.," argues the utter worthlessness of its conclusions to-day. Accepting the returns of the report itself, Dr. Spahr shows that real wages, instead of rising since 1873, fell materially down to 1891, and in 1894 were twenty per cent lower than in 1891.

On the other hand, most statisticians, as we have said, do figure out a small rise of wages. For the U. S. the following table is among the best:

RELATIVE MOVEMENTS OF WAGES AND WHOLESALE PRICES

YEAR	Wholesale prices ¹	City wages (in gold) ² occupations ³	Wages 192 occupations ³	Wages of farm labor- ers (gold) per month without board ⁴
1869.....				104.8
1870.....		84.64		
1871.....		94.00		
1872.....		96.26		
1873.....		92.13		
1874.....		90.40		
1875.....		88.11		92.9
1876.....		85.65		
1877.....		88.21		
1878.....		90.66		
1879.....		91.12		88.3
1880.....		91.94		
1881.....		94.59		
1882.....		96.16		101.7
1883.....		97.05		
1884.....		97.83		
1885.....		97.15		96.6
1886.....		97.15		
1887.....		97.93		
1888.....		98.52		98.0
1889.....		98.82		
1890.....		99.31		98.6
1891.....	95	100.00	100.00	100.0
1892.....	90	100.59	100.30	
1893.....	90	99.94	99.32	102.6
1894.....	82	97.98	98.06	95.4
1895.....	81	97.19	97.88	95.1
1896.....	77	96.60	97.93	
1897.....	73	96.11	98.96	
1898.....	79	95.62	98.79	104.2
1899.....	77		101.54	108.7
1900.....	90		103.43	
1901.....	88			

¹ Bureau of Economic Research.

² Bulletin, Sept., 1898.

³ Bulletin, July, 1900.

⁴ Department of Agriculture, No. 22, Miscellaneous Series, 1901.

For years 1901-1906 see p. 1266.

Concerning recent rise or fall of wages in Great Britain the annual report of the (English) Labor Department on "Changes in Rates of Wages and Hours of Labor in the Kingdom" (1905) summarizes the principal data contained in the returns for the ten-year period, 1896 to 1905. Since the number of agricultural laborers, seamen, and railway employees affected by these changes is not known, they are not included in the general tables, but are treated separately in the report.

The table covers a period of five consecutive years of increasing wages, followed by five consecutive years of decreasing wages. A comparison of the net results of these two periods shows that the total increase exceeds the total decrease by £208,734 11s. (\$1,015,806). The wage loss for the year 1905, calculated from the date on

which the various changes became operative, amounts to £114,000 (\$554,781), or an average loss for each person affected by reduction of wages of 9s. 2d. (\$2.22).

The table below shows for each year, by industries, the number of persons affected by changes in rates of wages, and the net amount of weekly increase or decrease as compared with the previous year for each year, 1902 to 1905.

There was somewhat of a decline in wages paid agricultural laborers in England and Wales and in Scotland, while in Ireland reports showed very little change in the wages paid this class of labor.

Wages of seamen engaged on steamships, as compared with 1904, showed a slight decrease. Wages on sailing vessels showed no change. The average wages paid able seamen on steamships in 1905 were 80s. 5d. (\$19.57) per month, as compared with 80s. 6d. (\$19.59) in 1904. Firemen and trimmers were paid 85s. 2d. (\$20.72) per month in 1904, and 85s. 1d. (\$20.70) in 1905. The men receive food in addition to the wages named.

Concerning agricultural wages, according to a report on "Wages, Earnings, and Conditions of Employment of Agricultural Laborers in the

United Kingdom" (Labor Department, 1905), the following table gives the facts:

[The averages here shown relate to able-bodied male adults. They do not include the earnings of stewards, bailiffs, foremen, or casual laborers. All computations are based on the census returns for 1901.]

COUNTRY	ORDINARY AGRICULTURAL LABORERS				All classes of agricultural laborers, including ordinary laborers and men in charge of animals, 1902
	1898	1902	Increase in 1902, as compared with 1898		
			Amount	Per cent	
England .	\$4.0757	\$4.2379	\$0.1622	3.98	\$4.4407
Wales....	4.0149	4.2784	.2635	6.56	4.1973
Scotland.	4.4205	4.7246	.3041	6.88	4.6840
Ireland. .	2.4739	2.6158	.1419	5.74	2.6563

According to the figures shown in the report, the average value of the food consumed weekly by a farm laborer, his wife, and four children is 13s. 6½d. (\$3.30) in England, 15s. 2½d. (\$3.70) in Scotland, and 10s. 5¼d. (\$2.55) in Ireland.

NUMBER OF PERSONS AFFECTED BY CHANGES IN RATES OF WAGES, AND NET AMOUNT OF INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (−) IN WEEKLY WAGES, 1902 TO 1905

INDUSTRIES	Number of persons affected by changes in rates of wages ¹				Net amount of increase or decrease in weekly wages as compared with preceding year							
	1902	1903	1904	1905	1902	1903	1904	1905	1902	1903	1904	1905
Building.....	15,575	4,638	10,829	11,747	+	\$4,506	+	\$1,479	—	\$4,302	—	\$5,051
Coal mining.....	735,524	752,190	658,390	200,740	—	359,498	—	158,103	—	152,292	—	65,557
Other mining (iron, etc.).....	7,121	9,361	10,753	7,628	+	1,217	—	2,088	—	2,584	+	1,849
Quarrying.....	6,733	3,160	2,701	9,184	+	1,489	—	1,080	—	448	—	5,606
Pig iron, and iron and steel manu- facture.....	50,343	23,492	60,097	63,836	+	4,064	—	5,236	—	16,751	+	11,826
Engineering and shipbuilding.....	32,822	74,680	31,094	48,119	—	11,772	—	20,833	—	12,721	—	8,443
Other metal trades.....	15,357	1,934	1,973	401	+	706	—	866	—	204	—	83
Textiles.....	2,107	1,001	3,939	311,437	+	691	+	88	—	530	+	48,251
Clothing.....	3,112	3,496	333	60	+	1,416	—	418	+	131	+	68
Glass, etc., trades.....	86	6,386	7,318	1,630	+	49	—	2,920	—	4,005	—	711
Other trades.....	10,555	7,610	4,986	4,282	+	920	—	968	—	404	+	1,548
Employees of public authorities.....	7,871	8,650	8,245	29,759	+	2,930	+	2,492	+	3,197	+	11,354
Total.....	887,206	896,598	800,658	688,889	—	\$353,282	—	\$186,517	—	\$190,913	—	\$10,555

¹ Including persons whose wages were changed but were the same at end of year as at beginning.

NUMBER OF PERSONS AFFECTED BY CHANGES IN RATES OF WAGES, AND AMOUNT OF INCREASE OR DECREASE, 1896 TO 1905

YEAR	Number of changes	INCREASE		DECREASE		NET CHANGES	
		Persons affected	Total weekly rise of wages	Persons affected	Total weekly reduction of wages	Persons affected ¹	Net weekly increase in wages
1896	1,607	379,975	\$163,745	167,357	\$34,692	605,404	\$129,053
1897	1,518	\$60,707	159,920	13,855	6,500	597,444	153,330
1898	1,403	1,000,240	396,618	11,865	3,828	1,012,110	392,790
1899	1,588	1,170,937	440,018	1,132	506	1,172,060	439,512
1900	1,413	1,109,284	1,028,835	23,010	13,733	1,132,386	1,015,102
1901	960	429,715	198,503	489,318	571,214	928,926	² 372,711
1902	470	91,812	25,921	789,891	379,203	887,206	² 353,282
1903	443	21,327	7,502	874,721	194,019	896,598	² 186,517
1904	412	16,054	5,849	784,604	196,762	800,658	² 190,913
1905	386	319,304	79,489	249,586	90,044	688,889	² 10,555

¹ Including persons whose wages were changed but were the same at end of year as at beginning.

² Decrease.

WAGES OF SUPERINTENDENCE: It is often forgotten that the employers of labor usually, tho not always, do important work themselves. They furnish to an industry the most important work of superintendence, of planning the work, of obtaining the raw material, of providing the plant and machinery—in a word, of managing the business. This work is almost always of the extreme importance. Especially under sharp competition, management is sometimes nine tenths of the element of success. It demands usually large and varied talents, concentration of thought, attention to small details, and yet ability to run the business as a whole. It demands long hours and continuous responsibility. The employee who works even long hours, when his hours are over is free. The employer is often never free. He sometimes works all day and worries all night. His work, therefore, is often long and exacting, as well as of the utmost importance. He is, as such, a skilled wage-worker, and what he earns as such (not as a mere capitalist, but as performing the work of superintendence) is money earned by hard labor, and may be, as it is often, called the wages of superintendence. It is often high wages, but even so is often wholly earned. Socialists do not object to wages of superintendence. They recognize the importance of superintendence and its value in production, only they would have it performed for the community and not for private stockholders. The very same men, they say, who do such work to-day for private firms could do it under socialism for the people, as, indeed, does occur when a railroad goes into the hands of a receiver.

WAGNER, ADOLF HENRI GOTTHILF: Political economist; born at Erlangen in 1835. Studying at the University of Heidelberg, he became in 1858 professor in the Commercial College of Vienna, and then at Hamburg, Dorpat, Freiburg, and since 1870 at Berlin. He is prominent as a leader in the historical school of Germany, and particularly as a Socialist of the Chair (*q. v.*), and a sympathizer with German Christian socialism (*q. v.*). He is best known for his studies in finance and his general economic treatise. Among his works are "Die Geld und Kredit theorie der Peelschen Bankacte" (1862); "System der deutschen Zettelbank-Gesetzgebung" (1873); "Lehrbuch der politischen Oekonomie" (1872).

WALD, LILLIAN D.: Founder and head of Henry Street Settlement; born Cincinnati, Ohio, 1866; educated in private schools, New York Hospital Training School, special courses in Women's Medical College, etc. Established system of non-sectarian nursing in conjunction with social settlements, on a district plan which covers the whole of Manhattan and the Bronx; originated for New York public-school nurse system under municipal pay and control; has taken active part in State and National Child Labor Committee work. She has been identified with trade-union movement and on the National Board of Women's Trade-Union League since its establishment. Miss Wald is identified with many of the movements for social and educational equalization; has been an occasional contributor to *Charities and the Commons*, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, and the *American Journal of Nursing*. Address: 265 Henry Street, New York City.

WALDSCHMIDT, JOHANN: Editor of *Alkoholismus*; born 1854 at Dortmund, Germany. After completing his medical studies was for some time assistant physician in a public asylum. Devoted several years to the comparative study of brain anatomy. Thereupon established a private asylum for the treatment of the insane in which he held for nine years the position of director. Since 1899 has been member of the municipal government of Charlottenburg, and is at the present time chairman of the Municipal Health Committee, founded in 1900 for the Berlin District Association against the abuse of alcoholic beverages, the Walfrieden sanitariums near Furstenwalde on the Spree; Administration Council appointed Dr. Waldschmidt their representative with special charge of the inspectorate of the sanitariums. Established in the same year the magazine *Der Alkoholismus*; member of board of directors of German Association Against Abuse of Intoxicating Liquors; member for German lands of the Federation of Sanitariums for Cure of Drunkenness. Author: "Duties Toward Drunkards," "Alcohol and Accidents," "Medical Assistance to Drunkards," "The Care of Drunkards in Prussia," etc., etc. Address: Nikolassee, near Berlin, Germany.

WALKER, AMASA: Political economist; born Woodstock, Conn., in 1799. Educated in public schools, he became a merchant in Boston in 1825, and gained prominence in the construction of the early railroads, and also in the antislavery and temperance reforms. Professor of political economy in Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, 1842-49; in the Massachusetts Legislature, as a member of the House in 1848, and of the Senate in 1849; Secretary of State, 1851-52. In Congress 1862-63, and lecturer on political economy at Amherst College, 1861-66. Died at North Brookfield in 1875. Author: "The Science of Wealth," and other works.

WALKER, FRANCIS AMASA: Political economist; born Boston, 1840, the son of Amasa Walker (*q. v.*). Graduated at Amherst College in 1860, studied law at Worcester, but entered the army in 1861 as sergeant-major. Steadily promoted, he became brevet brigadier-general in 1865. Wounded at Chancellorsville, he was captured at Ream's Station, and confined at Libby Prison, where his health became shattered. After the war he was teacher at Williston Seminary, 1865-68; editor of the Springfield *Republican*, 1868-69; chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department at Washington, 1869; superintendent of the ninth United States census, 1870; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871-72; professor of political economy and history in the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College, 1872; superintendent of the tenth U. S. census, 1880; and president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston, 1881, which position he held till his death in 1897. He is best known in economics as the main originator of the theory that wages depend upon production, for his Ricardian views of rent, and his advocacy of international bimetalism. He is considered by many, such as Dr. Ingram, as among the ablest of American economists. Author: "The Wages Question"; "Money"; "Political Economy"; "Land and Its Rent"; "The Making of a Nation"; "International Bimetalism."

WALKING DELEGATE, THE, is the paid secretary of a trade-union. His duties usually are to pay out the sick and out-of-work benefits of the union; to see that they are only paid to those really entitled to them; to visit the sick members; to care for the burial of members who have died; to try and secure work for members out of work (thus often having an office and acting as an employment bureau); to investigate troubles between members and employers; to try and secure redress from the employers if the case is found to need it; to report to the union if the employers will not grant redress—to advise the union whether or not it is advisable to strike; if the union votes to strike, to give the signal to the members when to strike and to take charge of the strike.

It is this last duty which has made the name of the walking delegate so unpopular with employers. They see him give the signal to strike; at his signal they see their men lay down their work; the walking delegate visits the employer to represent the men; the employer not unnaturally thinks that the walking delegate, who appears to be, and often is, the leader of the union, is the person who has stirred up the evil, and that at his order his men have struck. He therefore thinks that his men are under the tyranny or at least the influence of this "paid agitator," and lays at his door most of the evil of the strike.

As a matter of fact, in no trade-union is a walking delegate ever allowed to order a strike. He is always the servant of the union, usually poorly paid, and can only give a signal when the union has voted to strike—never an order. English and American trade-unions are singularly democratic and jealous of authority. They never put themselves under a walking delegate.

Employers too often resent dealing with their men through a walking delegate; they say that they wish to deal with their men directly. They forget that any body of men has unquestioned right to deal through a representative. Corporations continually do so. Trade-unions do so because they have learned that an employee dependent upon an employer cannot face the employer as can a walking delegate who is independent of the employer. Hence the need in justice of employing a walking delegate to conduct such negotiations. Thomas S. Adams, in his "Labor Problems" (pp. 192-193), strongly dissents from "the doctrine that when a walking delegate or a union organizer goes into a factory or mine, and persuades the employees to strike, he is necessarily without real interest, and guilty of malicious interference. Doubtless there are cases in which the object of the walking delegate is simple blackmail. But in the great majority of instances his work is perfectly legitimate." The walking delegate's main duty, however, is to care for the sick and out-of-work. Strikes come but rarely; the sick and needy are always present.

Dr. Rainsford, of New York City, said some years ago concerning walking delegates:

I believe the labor leaders in the United States, taking them all in all, are just as good as the leaders in law or finance or society or politics. . . . I know a man who for years in this country has occupied one of the first positions as a labor leader. No word is too bad to be said about him by most of the press, and some of the colleges; and I know, as a matter of fact, that the man, with a large family of children, never drew but one half his salary during the whole time he held office, and put the other half back into the treasury of his organization. I know a man who, if my judgment amounts to anything, is one of the ablest men in the U. S.—a man who has great powers of tongue and great powers of organization, and a true, whole-souled man, and altho, alas! he is outside the Christian

Church, I venture to say, a large, whole-souled Christian, too. That man is at the head of an enormous federation in this country, and has never taken but \$2.50 a day, which is due to him from his trade, and he has never taken even his \$2.50 a day except when he was engaged in the active business of his federation; and when he has not been engaged in their business he has worked at his trade like anybody else. And I will tell you that this winter, with an old mother to support, that man walked the streets in the cold for three long weeks to get work (and there is no better workman at his trade), because boss after boss said, "Mr. So-and-so, you are upholding labor-unionism, and we won't give you work." That man walked for three weeks before he could get a job for \$2.50 a day, rather than give in and surrender his principles. I say that if our Lord and King were back on the earth, I believe from my soul that those men would be in His train.

Of recent years, it is true, the growing powers of the unions in certain trades has exposed the walking delegate, or "business agent," as he is now commonly called, to certain great temptations to which he has not always been superior. A man who has the power or influence to call or call off, to create or prevent a strike, involving thousands and thousands of men, and also thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars, can, if he will, traffic in that power. Those that know the trade-unions best are agreed that such "trade-union graft" is the exception, yet that it does exist and in the great cities in certain trades (see BUILDING TRADES) is not uncommon. In cases it has assumed colossal size and has done widespread harm to capital and labor. A notorious case is that of Samuel Parks (*q. v.*) in New York. Of this case, however, it should be said that it was exceptional and that it is an open question who was most to blame for his career, the employers or certain unions who blindly supported him because of his personal popularity even after his conviction. An article in *McClure's Magazine* for August, 1902, entitled "The Labor Boss," named a certain construction company which had made use of Parks in Chicago and brought him to New York under their pay. Certain it is, the article says, that strikes on their buildings were almost unknown, while the buildings of rival companies were continually delayed by strikes. The suggestion is made in the article that Parks was brought to New York to corrupt the building unions, in which he succeeded only too well. Whatever be the truth—and this article gives names and dates—it shows how intricate are the questions involved and how difficult the placing of the responsibility. That business delegates have abused their power is certain, but that as a class they are dishonest is certainly not the case, nor should organizations be blamed indiscriminately for the misdoings of occasional agents. The graft in trades-unions is certainly both in quantity and quality less than in most great capitalistic organizations.

WALLACE, ALFRED RUSSEL, D.C.L.: Scientist and Socialist; born 1823, Usk, Monmouthshire, England; educated at the grammar school, Hertford. From age of fourteen to twenty-one, with elder brother, was learning land surveying and architecture in various parts of England and Wales; was for two years English and drawing master at the Collegiate School, Leicester. Then spent two years surveying, etc., at Neath, Glamorganshire. Went in 1848 to the Amazon on a natural-history collecting expedition. In 1852, after shipwreck by fire in mid-Atlantic, returned home and spent the next two years in writing the story of his findings and adventures. Traveled, 1854-62, in Malay Archipelago from Malacca and Borneo to New Guinea, bringing home a large collection of birds, insects, etc. Has spent

the many years since in profound scientific and philosophic research, and in writing numerous books—of inestimable service to mankind. In 1890 became a Socialist. Dr. Wallace's socialism is founded on fundamental ideas of social justice. The methods he proposes are absolute "equality of opportunity" for every child born into the world; as this necessarily implies equality (not identity) of education, nurture, and a thorough equipment for an industrial life, the community must be the holder of all its land and capital. The method of transition he advocates is the resumption of all land and capital at the deaths of existing owners, their direct heirs to be adequately provided for. This he conceives to be the line of least resistance and not to involve any infraction of the fundamental principles of equity. Author: "Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro," "The Malay Archipelago," "Land Nationalization," "The Wonderful Century," "Man's Place in the Universe," "Essays, Scientific and Social," "My Life: a Record of Events and Opinions," "Is Mars Habitable?" and many works on natural history. Address: Broadstone, Wimborne, England.

WALLACE, JOHN BRUCE: Born in India in 1853, his father being a missionary there of the Presbyterian Church. Educated in Europe and at Queen's University, Ireland, he entered the Congregational ministry in 1878. In 1885, however, he renounced the regular ministry to devote himself to Christian socialism, and in 1887 began to publish a paper, *Brotherhood*, in Ireland. In 1891 he settled in London, and published *Brotherhood* there. In 1892 he became pastor of the Southgate Road Church ("The Brotherhood Church"), and has since been active in various brotherhood movements. Address: Letchworth, Herts, England.

WALLAS, GRAHAM: Publicist, and member of the London County Council; born at Sunderland, May 31, 1858. The son of a clergyman, he, after having attended Shrewsbury School from 1871-77, devoted himself to classical studies at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, from 1877-81, and took second class in *Litteræ Humaniores*; he taught classics from 1881-90; became university extension lecturer, and has since lectured to large audiences. From 1886-1904 he was a member of the Fabian Society; of the London School Board from 1894-1904; chairman of the School Management Committee, 1897-1904; and member of the Technical Education Board of the London County Council, 1898-1904. He has been lecturer in the London School of Economics since 1896, and is a member of the National Liberal Club. Wallas is author of "Life of Francis Place," 1897; and of a number of various essays. Address: 27 Royal Crescent, W. London.

WALSH, STEPHEN: Member British Parliament, of the Labor Party for Ince, S. W. Lancashire; born 1859; left an orphan; educated at Kirkdale Industrial Schools. He began work in 1874 as a miner at Ashton-in-Mackerfield, and continued till 1889. Having become a trade-unionist, he organized the branch of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation. Was member of the Ashton Town Council for eight years. In 1901 he removed to Wigan as miners' agent, and was elected to Parliament in 1906. Address: 8 Swinley Road, Wigan, England.

WAR (see also **MILITARISM**). The following are estimates of the cost of recent wars:

	Cost	Loss of Life
England-France, 1793-1815.....	\$6,250,000,000	1,900,000
Crimean War, 1854-56.....	1,525,000,000	485,000
United States Civil War, 1863-65.	3,700,000,000	656,000
Franco-German, 1870-71.....	1,580,000,000	290,000
Russo-Turkish, 1876-77.....	950,000,000	180,000
United States Spanish War, 1898.	1105,000,000	2,910
Boer War, 1900-01.....	1,000,100,000	90,898
Russo-Japanese War, 1904-05.....	2,250,000,000	555,900

1 The United States alone.

These figures are only the estimates of the direct cost. The indirect cost to the industrial and economic life of a nation is often vastly more. Ancient wars were probably neither so costly or destructive, altho probably far more destruction took place in ancient times as a result of war than in modern, because wars were so constant. The cost of modern wars tends to diminish them.

WARD, JOHN: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Stoke-on-Trent; born 1866. Worked as a navvy on the Manchester Ship Canal, and served in the Soudan, 1885. He became a member of the Social Democratic Federation, and was arrested in Trafalgar Square, 1886. In 1889 he founded the Navvies' Union. He is a member of the Executive Council of the National Democratic League; he was elected to Parliament in 1906, chiefly by the Labor vote. Address: The Navvies, 129 Elmsleigh Road, East Hill, Wandsworth, London, S. W.

WARD, LESTER FRANK: Geologist, botanist, philosopher, but chiefly sociologist; born at Joliet, Ill., June 18, 1841. He received his early education in Illinois till 1860, and in Towanda, Pa., till 1862. He then served in the federal army and after the war entered Columbian (now George Washington) University, Washington, D.C., where he graduated in 1869, and from the law school of that institution in 1871, receiving the additional degrees of M.A. in 1872, and LL.D. in 1897. For seven years he worked in the Treasury Department, was successively assistant geologist, geologist, and from 1881 to 1905 paleontologist of the United States Geological Survey. During all these years the broader aspects of evolution appealed to him, and he devoted most of his leisure time to sociological studies. In 1906 he accepted a call to the professorship of sociology at Brown University. Author of numerous papers and several works on botany and paleontology. His principal sociological works are: "Dynamic Sociology," 1883; "The Psychic Factors of Civilization," 1893; "Outlines of Sociology," 1898; "Pure Sociology," 1903; "Applied Sociology," 1906. Address: Brown University, Providence, R. I.

WARDLE, GEORGE JAMES: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Stockport; born 1865 near Burton-on-Trent; began work at eight years as half-timer in Keighley, Yorkshire, and as full-timer at thirteen; in the meanwhile he attended the Wesleyan day-school. At fifteen he became clerk on the Midland Railway, and continued till 1898, when he became editor of the *Railway Review*—the organ of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. He has written a number of pamphlets, and some poems; but is chiefly interested and instrumental in the eluci-

dation of social and labor problems. Was elected to Parliament in 1906. Address: 107 Brownlow Road, New Southgate, N. London, England.

WARNER, JOHN DE WITT: Free-trade writer; born 1851, Schuylcr County, N. Y.; graduated in 1872, Ph.B., from Cornell University, and in 1876, LL.B., from the Albany Law School. In 1871 was editor of *Ithaca Daily Leader*; from 1871-74 professor of Latin and German at Ithaca Academy; and from 1875-76 taught the same branches at the Albany Boys' Academy. Represented New York City in the Fifty-Second and Fifty-Third Congresses. Member of Fine Arts Federation, National Sculpture Society, and of the National Society of Mural Painters; president, 1901-3, of the Art Commission of the City of New York; member of Bar Associations of the city and the State of New York, and of the United States; trustee of Cornell University. Author of numerous articles on comparative mythology, free trade, income tax, coinage and currency, single tax, municipal operation, civic art, law reform, etc., etc. Address: 60 Wall Street, New York City.

WARNOTTE, DANIEL: Librarian of Labor Department, Brussels; born 1871 at Brussels; studied law and political science in the University of Brussels; made doctor of laws, 1893. In 1897 was appointed to the post he now occupies as librarian (*Office du travail*). Contributes to *Revue de droit International et de Législation Comparée*; and *Kritische Blätter für die Gesamten Sozialwissenschaften*, etc. M. Warnotte's views in political economy are for the largest exposition of individual activities under an efficient State control. Author: "La Question douanière en Angleterre"; collaborating with Dr. Poëls, "Législation Comparée des Accidents du travail au point de vue Médicale"; collaborating with M. H. Maut, "La loi sur le repos du Dimanche." Address: Rue Lambermont 2, Brussels, Belgium.

WARREN, JOSIAH: Philo-ophical anarchist; born near Boston, 1799. When Robert Owen founded the community of New Harmony (*q. v.*) Warren became interested and joined it. Its failure set him to thinking, and he came to the conclusion that in the community the individual had been made too little of; that the need was not more socialism, but more individualization; secondly, that cost was the true basis of price. (See *VALUE*.)

Warren determined to test the cost theory, and, about 1827, he started a store in Cincinnati, which he conducted for two years, doing business to the amount of \$150,000. See Warren's "Practical Details of Equitable Commerce" (now out of print). Business was not centralized as now, and the retailer realized large profits. Warren marked his goods with the cost and added 7 per cent for rent, fuel, etc., exclusive of the labor of himself and the employees. This 7 per cent was carefully computed, and was invariable, but it allowed no profit. A clock was kept in the store, and every customer was timed and charged so much an hour for the time of the salesman. The charge for time was reduced with the increase of business. Finally, Warren issued his own money in the shape of labor notes, which he exchanged for the labor notes of his customers. His notes became a popular circulating medium.

The experiment satisfied him, and he closed

his store, and later published his principal work, "True Civilization" (1846).

Warren next went to Ohio and started a community based on his ideas. He converted Stephen Pearl Andrews (*q. v.*). Later he founded Modern Times, a community on Long Island, but neither community prospered. He then lived a sort of hermit life, partly in Princeton, Mass., and died at Charlestown in 1874. He is considered by the philosophical anarchists, with Proudhon, the founder of their system of thought. (See *ANARCHISM*.)

WARWICK, FRANCES EVELYN, COUNTESS OF: Socialist; born 1861. The countess is a member of the Social Democratic Federation, and tho a prominent personage and leader in society, she is both sympathetically and practically identified with many of the larger public movements of the time. She is one of the Poor Law Guardians, and both at Warwick Castle and at Easton Lodge has established a complete system for the nursing of the sick and the welfare of those in need. Foundress of a college at Studley Castle, Warwickshire, for training the daughters of professional men in horticulture, dairy, bee, and poultry keeping. She has also established on the Essex estate a science and technical school for boys and girls in the rural districts of Essex; and at Warwick, a home for crippled children who are admitted free and for an unlimited length of stay. President of Essex Needlework Guild, and of many other societies. Author: "Warwick Castle and its Earls." Address: Warwick Castle, Warwickshire, England.

WASHINGTON, BOOKER TALIAFERRO: Principal of Tuskegee Institute; born near Hale's Ford, Va., "about 1857 or 1858"; graduated from Hampton Institute, 1875; A.M., Harvard in 1896; LL.D., Dartmouth College in 1901. His most important work was the founding, on July 4, 1881, of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute for the Training of Colored Young Men and Women, at Tuskegee, Ala., the fame of which is everywhere. Established in 1893 the Tuskegee Negro Conference for the purpose of giving information concerning the actual condition of the masses of Negro people in what is known as the Black Belt of the South; in 1900, with a view to stimulating the enterprises of Negroes along business and industrial lines, he organized the National Negro Business League. Author of "The Future of the American Negro"; "Sowing and Reaping"; "Up from Slavery"; "Story of My Life and Work"; "Character Building"; "Working with the Hands"; "Tuskegee and its People"; and many articles in magazines and elsewhere. Address: Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

WASHINGTONIAN MOVEMENT: This celebrated moral-suasion crusade had its origin in the reformation of a Baltimore drinking club of six men—W. K. Mitchell, a tailor; J. F. Hoss, a carpenter; David Anderson and George Steers, blacksmiths; James McCurley, a coachmaker, and Archibald Campbell, a silversmith. They were induced to change their habits by the address of a temperance lecturer, and signed the following pledge (April 6, 1840): "We, whose names are annexed, desirous of forming a society for our mutual benefit, and to guard against a practise—a pernicious practise—which is injurious to our health, standing, and families, do pledge our-

selves, as gentlemen, that we will not drink any spirits or malt liquors, wine, or cider."

They took the name of "The Washington Temperance Society," and were familiarly known as "Washingtonians." By the end of 1840 this Baltimore organization had 700 members; and under the leadership of John H. W. Hawkins, the most prominent Washingtonian agitator, the crusade spread to other cities and states. Its force was spent by 1843, but the energy developed by it was of great and lasting benefit to the general temperance cause.

WATER-WORKS: Establishments for procuring a plentiful supply of pure water to cities and towns. (For municipalization of water-works, see article PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.)

The first water-works in the United States were built at Boston, in 1652, by the Water-Works Company; the second at Bethlehem, Pa., in 1761. By 1800 the number had increased to sixteen, of which only the one at Winchester, Va., was owned by the municipality. By 1825 there were thirty-two plants, all but five being owned by private companies or individuals. A rapid increase in the municipalization of water-works took place between 1825-55, the percentage changing from 15.6 to 45.3. For ten years there seemed to be a standstill, then the number of works grew rapidly, from 162 in 1865 to 422 in 1875; of the latter number 53.8 per cent were municipal. From 1875-90 the number of works rose from 422 to 1,878, of which only 42.9 per cent were municipal. By 1896 the total number had increased to 3,196, of which 53.2 per cent were municipal. This percentage shows a zigzag line. But on the whole public ownership of the water-works has greatly increased, since 205 plants were changed from private to municipal during the century, while only twenty changed from public to private.

In 1905 there were, including the large cities, nearly 60 per cent municipally owned water-works in the U. S. "The Municipal Year Book" for 1902 had reports from 1,475 plants, divided as follows: 776 municipal; 661 private; 33 both municipal and private; 14 joint; 3 did not reply; and 47 omitted this item in their report.

Of the thirteen largest cities in the U. S., all but one, San Francisco, own their water-works; and of the thirty-eight cities with a population of 100,000 in 1900, all but eight own them: San Francisco, New Orleans, Omaha, Indianapolis, St. Joseph, Scranton, Paterson, and New Haven; two of these—New Orleans and Omaha—are favorable to the change.

The reasons for the changes from private to public are the following: (1) Private ownership was found to be profitable to individuals rather than wholesome to the cities. (2) During the years when municipal ownership went backward in the U. S. (from 1875-90), promoters had discovered the value of franchises, and they secured them from the ignorant city fathers for almost nothing; investors built the plants, and the private owners sold out to the city at high figures—thus making a profit either way. (3) With a higher education and a somewhat higher honesty in civic matters, people became aware of the fact that a matter of such importance as water-supply—on which the health of a city primarily depends—should not be left to the discretion of private individuals, since the temptation to make it a matter of profit was always

lurking in the background. Cities began, therefore, to supply and control their own water—with satisfactory results on the whole. (4) Many advocates of municipal ownership of public utilities saw an opportunity here to illustrate that the public could own and operate these utilities efficiently; they used, consequently, all legitimate means to bring about a change of ownership. (5) The experience of most cities with municipal ownership encouraged others to follow their example.

The fact that water-works are almost the only example of municipal ownership in the U. S., and that the experiment has, with few exceptions, been successful, is an encouraging sign of improved honesty in public affairs.

The average rates charged private consumers by 430 companies, as shown by the "Manual of American Water-Works" for 1889-90, were 43 per cent higher than those charged by 318 cities for the same service. Many of these water-works are very profitable.

For New York City, Mayor Strong, in his message concerning the Department of Public Works (1897), makes the following report from the Bureau of Water-Register:

"For the first time in the history of the city the revenue collected last year from water rents was more than enough to reimburse the city for the entire outlay of the Department of Public Works, which is taken from taxation. To express it in another way, our water rents paid for road pavements, street lighting, care of and repairs to the entire water system, care of and repairs to public buildings, salaries, wages, and all other administrative expenses."

The report of the Water Department of Chicago for 1897 shows that the receipts were \$3,226,000 and the operating expenses \$285,000, leaving net earnings of \$2,941,000. The investment in the Chicago Water-Works, according to the *New York Sun*, was \$28,000,000, so that, besides interest on bonds for this amount, the net profits are \$1,500,000. The public also receives free water in its parks, streets, and public buildings. (For water-works in Europe, see articles BERLIN; BIRMINGHAM; GLASGOW; LONDON; PARIS.)

REFERENCES: M. N. Baker, *The Manual of American Water-works*, 1897; Folwell, *Water-Supply Engineering*, 1900; Turnaure and Russell, *Public Water Supplies*, 1901.

WATSON, HON. JOHN CHRISTIAN: Member of Parliament for Bland, New South Wales; leader of Federal Parliamentary Labor Party and some time Prime Minister of the Commonwealth. Born Valparaiso, April 9, 1867; became a printer. Member of Legislature of New South Wales, 1894-1901. He first came into prominence as a labor leader when he acted as chairman of the New South Wales Labor Conference, which framed the famous pledge and formed the solidarity of the Labor Party. President of the Trades and Labor Council of Sydney, 1893-94, and president of the Australian Labor Federation, 1895; has been leader of the Federal Labor Party since 1901, and Prime Minister and treasurer of the Commonwealth, April to Aug., 1904. Address: Parliament House, Melbourne.

WATSON, THOMAS E.: Ex-Populist Congressman; born at Columbia, Ga., 1856; studied two years at Mercer College, taught school, and was admitted to the bar in 1875; he practised law in Thomson, Ga.; was a member of the legislature, 1882-83; member of Congress, 1891-93; and re-

sumed practise of law in 1895. As a member of Congress he secured on Feb. 17, 1893, the passage of the first resolution passed by Congress for the appropriation of money toward free rural delivery of the mails. The Populists nominated him vice-presidential candidate in 1896; the People's Party presidential candidate in 1904. He had been engaged in newspaper work several times as editor and owner; and so he began the publication of *Tom Watson's Magazine* in New York, 1905, from which he withdrew in order to establish the *Jeffersonian Magazine* in Atlanta, Ga. He is author of "The Story of France," 1898; "Life of Thomas Jefferson," 1900; "Life of Napoleon," 1902; "Bethany, a Study and Story of the Old South," 1904. Address: Thomson, Ga.

WAXWEILER, ÉMILE: Director of Solvay Sociological Institute, Brussels; born in the late sixties in Belgium; educated at University of Ghent; devoted himself exclusively to the study of economical and social subjects. In 1893 came to study industrial and labor problems in the United States. Returning to Belgium, was given charge of newly created Bureau of Commerce and Industry in the city of Ghent. Later he was appointed to the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the kingdom of Belgium, and completed the census of Belgian industries, which was begun in 1896. Since 1897 professor of the School of Social Science at the University of Brussels, he lectures on political economy, sociology, and statistics. In 1895 was sent by the Belgian Government to study the Sunday-rest problem in Switzerland; he obtained in 1897 first award for the international prize founded by the Musée Social of Paris. In 1901 he was appointed director of the Solvay Sociological Institute at Brussels. Author: "American High Wages"; "Profit-Sharing"; "Outlines of Sociology." Address: Sociological Institute, Parc Leopold, Belgium.

WAYLAND, FRANCIS: Former president of Brown University; economist; born New York, 1796; graduated at Union College in 1813. Studied medicine, but later entered the Baptist ministry. Tutor at Union College, 1817-21; pastor of the First Baptist Church in Boston, 1821-26; president of Brown University, 1827. He died in 1865. His sociological writings are: "Elements of Moral Science" (1835); "Elements of Political Economy" (1837).

WAYLAND, JULIUS A.: Publisher of *The Appeal to Reason*; born Versailles, Ind., 1854; attended the village school for about one year; learned the trade of printing in the village office; then bought the local newspaper and published it for a period of five years; moved to Harrisonville, Mo., where for two years he published the *Cass News*; moved to Pueblo, Col., engaging in the business of printing, publishing, and real estate. In 1890 was converted to socialism; moved to Greensburg, Ind., and there in 1893 started *The Coming Nation*; 1894 removed the plant to Ruskin, Tenn., and commenced a colony. After a year's residence left both paper and colony to establish at Kansas City *The Appeal to Reason*. In 1896 the *Appeal* was moved to Girard, Kan., where it has since been published under the direction of its founder. Mr. Wayland believes in the common ownership of all the means of production and distribution, democratically managed. Address: Girard, Kan.

WEALTH: We consider this subject under four heads: I. Definitions; II. Statistics of Wealth; III. The Concentration of Wealth; IV. Is the Concentration of Wealth Increasing or Decreasing?

I. DEFINITIONS

Wealth is usually defined in economic science as "useful or agreeable things which possess exchangeable value" (Mill). Of this definition Mill says ("Political Economy," "Preliminary Remarks"):

Things for which nothing could be obtained in exchange, however useful or necessary they may be, are not wealth in the sense in which the term is used in political economy. Air, for example, tho the most absolute of necessities, bears no price in the market, because it can be obtained gratuitously; to accumulate a stock of it would yield no profit or advantage to any one; and the laws of its production and distribution are the subject of a very different study from political economy. But tho air is not wealth, mankind are much richer by obtaining it gratis, since the time and labor which would otherwise be required for supplying the most pressing of all wants can be devoted to other purposes. It is possible to imagine circumstances in which air would be a part of wealth.

Senior's definition of wealth, quoted by Jevons ("Theory of Political Economy," p. 175), is the same, that wealth consists of "those things and those things only which are transferable, are limited in supply, and are directly or indirectly productive of pleasure or preventive of pain."

On the other hand, many reform writers identify wealth with well-being on the ground that it is impossible to divorce immaterial factors from material factors, and still be true to the facts of life. John Ruskin, e. g., argues that no article is useful except to those who can use it. Hence he says:

Wealth, therefore, is "the possession of the valuable by the valiant"; and in considering it as a power existing in a nation, the two elements, the value of the thing and the valor of its possessor, must be estimated together. Whence it appears that many of the persons commonly considered wealthy are in reality no more wealthy than the locks of their own strong boxes are, they being inherently and eternally incapable of wealth, and operating for the nation, in an economical point of view, either as pools of dead water and eddies in a stream (which, so long as the stream flows, are useless, or serve only to drown people, but may become of importance in a state of stagnation, should the stream dry); or else as dams in a river, of which the ultimate service depends not on the dam, but the miller; or else as mere accidental stays and impediments, acting not as wealth, but (for we ought to have a corresponding term) as "illth" causing various devastation and trouble around them in all directions; or lastly, act not at all, but are merely animated conditions of delay (no use being possible of anything they have until they are dead), in which last condition they are nevertheless often useful as delays and "impedimenta," if a nation is apt to move too fast.

Some writers on reform distinguish between riches and wealth. Says G. Bernard Shaw in the "Fabian Essays":

It is sometimes said that during this grotesquely hideous march of civilization from bad to worse, wealth is increasing side by side with misery. Such a thing is eternally impossible; wealth is steadily decreasing with the spread of poverty. But riches are increasing, which is quite another thing. The total of the exchange values produced in the country annually is mounting perhaps by leaps and bounds. But the accumulation of riches, and consequently of an excessive purchasing power, in the hands of a class, soon satiates that class with socially useful wealth, and sets them offering a price for luxuries. The moment a price is to be had for a luxury, it acquires exchange value, and labor is employed to produce it. A New York lady, for instance, having a nature of exquisite sensibility, orders an elegant rosewood and silver coffin, upholstered in pink satin, for her dead dog. It is made; and meanwhile a live child is prowling barefooted and hunger-stunted in a frozen gutter outside. The exchange-value of the coffin is counted as part of the national wealth; but a nation which cannot afford food and clothing for its children cannot be allowed to pass as wealthy because it has provided a pretty coffin for a dead dog.

II. STATISTICS

A. The United States

STATE OR TERRITORY	Total	Real property and improvements ¹	Live stock	Farm implements and machinery	Manufacturing machinery, tools, and implements	Gold and silver coin and bullion	Railroads and their equipment	Street-railways, shipping, water-works, etc. ²	All other ³
Continental United States.....	\$107,104,211,917	\$62,341,492,134	\$4,073,791,736	\$844,989,863	\$3,297,754,186	\$1,998,603,303	\$11,244,752,000	\$1,840,546,909	\$8,462,281,792
North Atlantic division.....	38,301,608,078	23,149,815,959	566,049,125	161,158,186	1,600,070,678	753,335,468	3,230,781,000	2,375,949,882	6,464,447,780
New England.....	8,823,325,592	5,506,508,204	123,877,528	38,379,411	477,157,900	131,255,994	578,383,000	449,891,836	1,517,891,719
Southern North Atlantic.....	29,478,282,486	17,643,307,735	123,171,597	122,778,775	1,182,932,718	622,079,474	2,052,398,000	1,920,058,040	4,946,550,661
New York.....	14,769,042,207	9,151,979,081	189,662,043	58,806,350	486,774,713	412,832,428	1,898,222,000	1,151,475,505	2,419,290,137
New Jersey.....	3,235,019,973	1,900,273,091	32,319,327	9,796,532	180,212,427	40,893,293	1,333,508,000	204,130,498	534,456,805
Pennsylvania.....	11,473,026,306	6,591,955,583	160,190,227	54,175,943	515,945,038	108,833,753	1,420,068,000	570,452,040	1,992,869,119
South Atlantic division.....	7,936,882,061	4,346,882,107	282,103,181	59,613,692	283,066,221	207,421,221	994,035,000	323,872,985	1,438,988,554
North Central division.....	40,806,972,958	23,995,607,095	2,087,449,242	403,735,358	911,871,716	675,516,675	4,340,413,000	1,477,359,809	7,042,768,090
South Central division.....	10,052,467,548	5,159,113,197	793,450,775	127,946,778	230,359,388	283,537,670	1,186,851,000	377,868,401	1,921,303,600
Western division.....	9,992,581,271	5,690,013,776	404,739,755	62,541,815	291,566,182	128,798,269	1,484,672,000	395,535,712	1,624,773,762
Rocky Mountain.....	2,958,660,074	1,400,264,108	202,735,190	18,512,915	58,304,591	32,677,627	673,054,000	78,874,718	484,228,075
Basin and Plateau.....	1,004,805,427	537,338,340	31,935,092	3,703,999	12,786,145	12,786,145	202,420,000	25,934,814	168,469,931
Pacific.....	6,019,215,770	3,752,433,238	150,699,473	38,324,901	130,477,440	85,888,630	609,192,000	290,813,420	902,670,050

¹ Exclusive of railroads, street-railways, telegraph and telephone systems, privately owned water-works, and privately owned central electric light and power stations, which in certain states are classed as real property.

² Including telegraph and telephone systems, privately owned electric light and power stations, Pullman and private cars, and canals.

³ Including products of agriculture, manufactures, and mining; imported merchandise, clothing and personal adornments; and furniture, carriages, and kindred property.

For the progress and per-capita wealth of the U. S. at various dates, see article PROGRESS. Says Dr. Josiah Strong ("Social Progress," 1904):

Mr. Mulhall wrote in 1895: "The merchandise transported by rail in the U. S. is shown by official returns to be double the amount of land-carriage (at least by railway) of all the other nations of the earth collectively." What a comment on our industrial and commercial activity, that the 70,000,000 people of the United States transport by rail twice as much merchandise as the remaining 1,400,000,000 of mankind! In 1895 we had 802,000 miles of telegraph wire—enough to encircle the earth thirty-two times, or to cross the continent 267 times.

The energy or working power of the nation, including hand, horse, and steam power, was equal, in 1895, to 129,306,000,000 foot-tons daily; that is, was equal to lifting that number of tons one foot every day. Our working power is more than twice as great as that of Great Britain, and is nearly equal to that of Great Britain, Germany, and France combined.

With this power directed chiefly to the creation of wealth, it is not strange that we are growing rich more rapidly than any other people. Our wealth in 1820 was less than \$2,000,000,000. In twenty years it had doubled, and in forty years it had increased eightfold. During the thirty years following, from 1860 to 1890, we created and accumulated \$49,000,000,000—\$1,000,000,000 more than the entire wealth of Great Britain; and, notwithstanding the great increase of population, our wealth per capita doubled during this interval.

The wealth of the Old World is the accumulation of many centuries, but ninety-four per cent. of ours has been created and accumulated since 1840; and we are now increasing it at the rate of \$8,000,000 a day.

From the labor standpoint, labor receives but a small proportion of this wealth. The following is an estimate made from census returns by the "International Institute of Social Service" (Socialist):

The total value of production in 1900, \$24,500,000,000; the total value of labor power used in production, \$5,815,000,000; therefore the share of productive labor in its product as it appeared in the census year 1900 was 23.74 per cent, or less than one quarter. As shown, by industries:

1. The total value of the various products of agriculture, the forests, the mines, the quarries, the fisheries, manufacture and the hand trades, including transportation and distribution, was \$24,500,000,000.

2. The number of wage-workers (men, women, and children from ten to fifteen years of age) reported in the census as employed in the above-named industries, also of those engaged in the transportation and distribution of the products, and including all the necessary labor of accountants, clerks, salesmen, saleswomen, etc., was 15,134,000. Their total earnings were \$4,129,000,000.

3. The number of farmers, farm tenants, small manufacturers, artisans, shopkeepers, and others actually performing productive work was 5,110,000. The value of their labor power, liberally estimated at rates notably higher than the average of men's wages for the same class of work, was \$1,626,000,000; all above this value being obviously "surplus-value," or profit, which they got, not as workers, but as owners of capital in the forms required by their respective occupations.

Therefore, to productive labor went 23.74 per cent of its product, and to exploiters of productive labor, 76.26 per cent of its product.

B. Great Britain

The following statistics are a portion of a Fabian Tract on "Wealth" (No. 5, tenth edition, June, 1906):

The annual income of the United Kingdom has been estimated by the following authorities:

Sir Louis Mallet, K.C.S.I. (India Office), 1883–1884, "National Income and Taxation" (Cobden Club), p. 23.....	£1,289,000,000
Prof. Leone Levi (King's College, London), <i>Times</i> , Jan. 13, 1885.....	1,274,000,000
Prof. A. Marshall (Cambridge University), "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference," p. 194 (Jan., 1885), upward of.....	1,125,000,000
Mr. Mulhall (1892), "Dictionary of Statistics," p. 320, income for 1889.....	1,285,000,000
Sir R. Giffen, "The Wealth of the Empire," <i>Journal of Royal Statistical Society</i> , vol. lvi., part iii., 1903.....	1,750,000,000
Mr. A. L. Bowley, M.A. (appointed teacher of statistics, University of London), <i>Economic Journal</i> , Sept., 1904; income for 1903.....	1,800,000,000
Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, M.P., "Riches and Poverty"; income for 1904.....	1,710,000,000

The gross assessments to income tax have risen (1881-82 to 1901-2) by £265,542,486 (Inland Revenue Report, 1897-1898, C.—4,474 and Cd.—1,717). Allowing for a corresponding rise in the incomes not assessed and in the wages of manual labor, we may estimate the income for 1901-2 at not less than £1,800,000,000. The population in 1901 being nearly 41,500,000 (Cd.—1,727), the average annual income is about £43½ per head, or £174 per adult man.¹ In 1840 it was about £20½ and in 1860 £26½ per head (Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics," p. 245).

The total profits from the ownership of lands, houses, tithes, etc., as assessed for income tax in 1901-2, was £238,231,937; the rents of mines, quarries, iron-works, gas-works, water-works, canals, fishings, shootings, markets, tolls, etc., amounted to £40,988,572 ("Inland Revenue Report," 1902-3, Cd.—1,717). Many of these are notoriously far from being fully assessed. The total "rent" of the United Kingdom must therefore amount to at least £290,000,000, or nearly one sixth of the total produce.

The profits of public companies, foreign investments, railways, etc., assessed to income tax in the United Kingdom in 1901-2 amounted to £260,274,742. The interest payable from British public funds (rates and taxes) was, in addition, £22,757,110, and from Indian, colonial, and foreign governments, £88,126,796 ("Inland Revenue Report," 1901-2, Cd.—1,717).

We have, however, to add the interest on capital employed in private undertakings of manufacture or trade. This is included with "wages of superintendence," in business profit, both for the purpose of the income-tax returns and in ordinary speech. Sir R. Giffen estimated it, in 1884, apart from any earnings of personal service, at £89,000,000 ("Essays in Finance," vol. ii, p. 403). Allowing for the increase since then, the total amount of interest cannot therefore be less than £360,000,000.

Adding hereto the rent mentioned in the preceding section, we have a total of £650,000,000 for rent and interest together.

But those who enjoy the vast unearned income just mentioned cannot all be accurately described as the "idle rich," tho they would forego none of it by refusing to work. If they are disposed to increase it by leading active lives, they can do so; and most of them adopt this course to some extent, especially those whose share is insufficient for their desires.

The numbers and total income of this large class cannot be exactly ascertained. It includes workers of all grades, from the exceptionally skilled artisan to the Prime Minister, and from the city clerk to the President of the Royal Academy.

Division of Wealth

It is convenient for statistical purposes to include in it all those who do not belong to the "manual-labor class." If we take the "rent of ability" to have increased in the same proportion as the assessments to income tax this prosperous body may be estimated to receive for its work as profits and salaries about £460,000,000 annually.

The total amount of rent, interest, profits, and salaries was estimated some years ago as follows:

Prof. Leone Levi, <i>Times</i> , Jan. 13, 1885.....	£753,000,000
Prof. Alfred Marshall, "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference," p. 194 (1885).....	675,000,000
Sir R. Giffen, "Essays in Finance," vol. ii, p. 467 (1886).....	720,000,000
Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics," p. 246.....	818,000,000
Mr. A. L. Bowley, <i>Statistical Society's Journal</i> , vol. lviii, part 2, p. 284 (1891).....	912,000,000

Since these estimates were made the wealth of the country has grown greatly, and on the basis of the increase in gross assessments to income tax, we estimate that the total drawn by the legal disposers of what are sometimes called the "three rents" (of land, capital, and ability) amounts at present to about £1,110,000,000 yearly, or just under two thirds of the total produce.

The total amount of wages was at the same time estimated by the statisticians:

Prof. Leone Levi (as above).....	£521,000,000
Prof. A. Marshall (as above).....	500,000,000 ²
Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics," p. 320.....	467,000,000
Sir R. Giffen, "Essays in Finance," vol. ii, p. 467.....	550,000,000
Mr. J. S. Jeans, <i>Statistical Society's Journal</i> , vol. xlvii, p. 631.....	600,000,000
Mr. A. L. Bowley (as above).....	699,000,000

¹ In 1843 the total was (for Great Britain only) £95,284,497; in 1855 (for the United Kingdom) £124,871,885.

² These estimates, which are based on average rates of wages, multiplied by the number of workers, assume, however, reasonable regularity of employment, and take no account of the fact that much of the total amount of nominal wages is reclaimed from the workers in the shape of rent. Much must, therefore, be deducted to obtain their real net remuneration.

Allowing for the increase since these estimates were made we may safely say that the manual-labor class receives for all its millions of workers only some £690,000,000.

Rent.....	£290,000,000
Interest.....	360,000,000
Profits and salaries.....	460,000,000
Total (that is, the income of the legal proprietors of the three natural monopolies of land, capital, and ability).....	1,110,000,000 ¹
Income of manual-labor class.....	690,000,000
Total produce.....	£1,800,000,000

C. Other Countries

COMPARATIVE WEALTH OF COUNTRIES

Estimated by Mulhall, in 1896, in millions of dollars

COUNTRIES	Farms	Railways	Buildings	Merchandise	Sundries	Total
Austria.....	8,985	1,855	3,595	1,835	6,290	22,560
Belgium.....	1,770	375	875	590	1,330	4,940
Danubian states.....	2,540	180	680	415	1,315	5,130
France.....	15,465	3,315	10,795	3,005	15,870	48,450
Germany.....	12,540	2,775	8,775	3,385	12,785	40,260
Greece.....	545	30	155	75	305	1,110
Holland.....	1,475	230	890	520	1,285	4,400
Italy.....	6,995	920	2,515	1,115	4,255	15,800
Norway and Sweden.....	2,660	270	1,105	585	1,860	6,480
Portugal.....	820	115	385	160	575	2,055
Russia.....	13,550	1,745	5,095	2,575	9,160	32,125
Spain.....	6,060	540	1,400	740	3,140	11,900
Switzerland.....	860	220	455	245	680	2,960
United Kingdom.....	10,385	4,925	12,460	4,025	27,235	49,030
Europe.....	84,650	17,495	49,170	19,270	86,115	256,700
United States.....	20,710	11,330	22,230	7,815	19,695	81,750
Canada.....	1,555	930	725	515	1,320	5,045
Australia.....	1,960	695	870	440	1,415	5,380

Later Estimates ("Social Progress," 1906, p. 221)

United States.....	\$110,000,000,000
Great Britain and Ireland.....	58,200,000,000
France.....	50,800,000,000
Germany.....	48,000,000,000
Russia.....	35,000,000,000
Austria-Hungary.....	20,000,000,000
Italy (Nitti).....	13,000,000,000
Belgium.....	6,800,000,000
Spain.....	5,400,000,000
Netherlands.....	4,500,000,000
Portugal.....	2,500,000,000
Switzerland.....	2,400,000,000

For a comparison of the world's wealth in the nineteenth and preceding centuries, we of course have no exact data, but may refer to Mr. Gladstone's well-known estimate that all the wealth which could be handed down to posterity, produced during the first eighteen hundred years of the Christian era, was equaled by the production of the first fifty years of the nineteenth century, and that as much more was produced during the next twenty years. If this is a reasonable estimate, as it would seem to be, it is safe to say that for the enrichment of the world there has been more than three times as much wealth produced during this one century as during the eighteen centuries preceding.

III. IS WEALTH CONCENTRATING?

TWO VIEWS

Those who deny any concentration of wealth do not deny that in the U. S. and Great Britain the rich are getting richer, but they assert that the poor are also getting richer, and on the whole gaining on the rich. Perhaps the strongest argument for this view in the U. S. has been made by Edward Atkinson in a series of articles in the *Century* (vol. xxxiv.), quoting census and other

¹ In this connection it may be mentioned that the total income of the charities of the United Kingdom, including endowments, amounts to £10,040,000, or one per cent of the foregoing total; £2,040,000 of this, it may be added, is expended upon Bible societies alone (Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics," p. 112). The total cost of poor relief in 1901-2 was £15,395,642.

reports to show that on the whole wages are rising and prices falling, while, on the other hand, rates of interest are falling, so that the poor are getting an ever-increasing share of an ever-increasing product, while the rich have to invest larger amounts of capital at an ever-decreasing rate of interest.

Critics of this view show that until recently wages have not risen since 1873, and that the recent rise of wages has been accompanied by a rise of prices, some think sufficient to offset all rise in wages. Except where strong unions have raised the rate, it is asserted that wages, if raised at all, have risen very little. (See article "Wages.") As for falling interest, this is not denied, but this is no proof that profits and dividends have not risen.

The ordinary view that wealth is concentrating, to say the least, has strong support. Dr. Spahr, in his "Present Distribution of Wealth" (1896), from an examination of the surrogate court records of thirty-six counties in New York State, outside of New York City, and applying the proportion to the nation at large, comes to the conclusion that seven-eighths of the families hold but one-eighth of the national wealth, while one per cent of the families hold more than the remaining ninety-nine per cent. He constructs the following table:

ESTATES	Number	Aggregate wealth	Average wealth
The wealthy classes, \$50,000 and over...	125,000	\$33,000,000,000	\$264,000
The well-to-do classes, \$50,000 to \$5,000...	1,375,000	23,000,000,000	16,000
The middle classes, \$5,000 to \$500...	5,500,000	8,200,000,000	1,500
The poorer classes, under \$500.....	5,500,000	800,000,000	150
	12,500,000	\$65,000,000,000	\$5,200

Professor Mayo-Smith has attempted to challenge Dr. Spahr's conclusions, but with small success. (See Professor Ely's "Evolution of Industrial Society," chap. vi., 1903). Says Dr. Spahr:

Since the completion of this study, a volume has appeared that must set at rest all question as to extreme moderation of the estimates reached. Part ii. of the "Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1894" publishes the inventoried probates for the entire State of Massachusetts during the three years 1889, 1890, and 1891. Altho the estates for which no inventories are filed are, as a rule, the largest, the following concentration of property is exhibited: . . . the estates of \$50,000 and over aggregated fifty-five per cent of the total amount of property, while estates less than \$5,000 aggregated but eleven per cent of the total.

It must be remembered, too, that Mr. G. K. Holmes, expert on wealth statistics for the tenth census, found that 0.3 per cent of the people owned 20 per cent of the wealth; 8.97 per cent of the people 51 per cent of the wealth; and 91 per cent of the people only 29 per cent of the wealth.

In Great Britain the strongest argument that wealth is not concentrating has probably been made by Sir R. Giffin, president of the English Statistical Society. See his "Progress of the Working Classes," and for an answer to this see C. B. Spahr's "Present Distribution of Wealth," pp. 15-18. A more popular argument has been made by Mr. W. H. Mallock in his "Classes and Masses." He does not deny that there are absolutely more poor to-day in England than formerly, but contends that there are not so many

relatively to the population, while that the great advance of numbers has been of the middle class. If one limits the wealthy to the very wealthy, none contend that they have grown in numbers; it is only contended that they have grown in wealth, and this contention Mr. Mallock dodges. For the facts involved see the preceding page.

Concentration of power, however, no one denies, especially in the U. S. We give some typical and authoritative quotations:

Who controls the United States?

In *The World's Work* for Dec., 1903, Mr. Sereno S. Pratt undertakes to answer this question. He says in brief—we condense his words:

One twelfth of the estimated wealth of the U. S. is represented at the meeting of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation.

They represent as influential directors more than 200 other companies. These companies operate nearly one half of the railroad mileage of the U. S. They are the great miners and carriers of coal. The leading telegraph system, the traction lines of New York, of Philadelphia, of Pittsburgh, of Buffalo, of Chicago, and of Milwaukee, and one of the principal express companies, are represented in the board. This group includes also directors of five insurance companies, two of which have assets of \$700,000,000. In the Steel Board are men who speak for five banks and ten trust companies in New York City including the First National, the National City, and the Bank of Commerce, the three greatest banks in the country, and the head of important chains of financial institutions. Telephone, electric, real-estate, cable, and publishing companies are represented there, and our greatest merchant sits at the board table.

What the individual wealth of these men is, it would be impossible and beside the point to estimate; but one of them, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, is generally esteemed to be the richest individual in the world. But it is not the personal, but the representative, wealth of these men that makes the group extraordinary. They control corporations whose capitalizations aggregate more than \$9,000,000,000—an amount (if the capitalizations are real values) equal to about the combined public debts of Great Britain, France, and the U. S. It is this concentration of power which is significant. There were at the time of the last statement 69,955 stockholders in the Steel Corporation. But the control of this corporation is vested in twenty-four directors, and this board of directors is guided by the executive and finance committees, which in turn are largely directed by their chairmen, who are probably selected by the great banker who organized the corporation and in a large part sways its policy.

In 1897 it was estimated that the stocks of the railroads in the U. S. were held by 950,000 persons. Since then there has been an immense increase in the number of stockholders, while at the same time the concentration of control has gone on rapidly, so that less than a dozen men control the property owned by more than a million of shareholders.

The Pennsylvania Railroad has 34,500 owners, but is controlled by a handful of capitalists, among whom two or three constitute the dominating force.

The manufactures of the U. S. are owned by 708,623 individuals, the capital represented being \$9,831,486,500, an average of \$12,463 to each person; a very fair division of wealth. But the more important of these companies—those whose output is largest and whose influence on the markets is most powerful—are under the control of a comparatively small number of men.

Of the banking power of the U. S., nearly one half is in New York and the other Eastern states. Of the aggregate of loans made by the national banks on Sept. 15, 1902, amounting to \$3,280,127,480, the amount outstanding in the banks of New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, the three central reserve cities, was \$877,934,942.

Examinations show that concentration of control of these great city banks has gone so far that a comparatively small group of capitalists possesses the power to regulate the flow of credit in this country. In the last analysis it is found that there are actually only two main influences, and that these are centered in Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller. It is possible to express in approximate figures the extent of the Morgan influence. It is as follows:

Insurance companies, assets.....	\$1,063,000,000
Banks and trust companies, deposits.....	630,000,000
Railroad capitalization, par value.....	2,447,171,300
United States Steel Corporation, par value.....	1,528,000,000
International Mercantile Marine, par value.....	195,000,000
General Electric, par value.....	45,000,000
International Harvester, par value.....	120,000,000
Other industrials, par value.....	240,000,000

\$6,268,171,300

¹ Quotations by courtesy of *The World's Work*. Copyright, Doubleday, Page & Co.

Mr. Moody in his "Truth About the Trusts" has the following to say of the Standard Oil or Rockefeller group of financiers:

These men either entirely control or make their influence felt to a marked degree in all the greater trusts. They are in fact the real fathers of the trust idea in this country, and, of course, have always been the controlling factors in that most far-reaching and successful of all trusts, the Standard Oil Company. This latter corporation, with a par value capitalization of \$97,500,000, absolutely dominates the oil industry of the U. S., supplying 84 per cent of the domestic demand of oil, and over 90 per cent of the export demand. Furthermore, it produces in the neighborhood of 200 different by-products of oil, and in nearly all of these latter industries there are said to be large profits which contribute to an important extent in making up the enormous earnings of the trust. The dividends of the Standard Oil Trust are more than \$40,000,000 per year, and its net profits are reported to exceed over \$60,000,000 per annum.

But it is not merely in oil and its allied industries that the Rockefeller interests are dominant. They are the controlling factors in the Copper Trust and the Smelters' Trust, and are also closely identified with the mammoth Tobacco Trust, which now practically encircles the globe. Furthermore, while not entirely dominant, they are interested in and display a marked influence in the great Morgan properties, such as the United States Steel Corporation. In the hundreds of smaller industrial trusts, the Rockefeller interests are also conspicuous in many ways.

Coming to the franchise aggregations, we find that everywhere the Standard Oil influence is most prominent. The Rockefeller interests practically dominate the entire public service aggregations of Greater New York, represented by over \$725,000,000 of capital; they are allied in interest with the well-known United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, which is itself the leading corporation of the famous Philadelphia or Widener-Elkins group, and which dominates the public utility interests in a number of the largest centers of population in the U. S., and in addition controls the lighting interests of a score or more of the smaller American cities.

And turning to the steam-railroad field, we find that the Standard Oil interests are one of the conspicuous factors and are steadily increasing their influence there. One of the

Rockefeller Interests

greater groups (the Gould-Rockefeller) is, of course, directly dominated by them; but, as a matter of fact, the Standard influence is felt quite forcefully in all the railroad groups, and this influence is showing a steady growth throughout the entire steam railroad field. It is now freely predicted in Wall Street that the next decade will see the Rockefeller interests the single dominating force in the world of railway finance and control.

The great Rockefeller alliances in the railroad and industrial fields are supplemented and welded together, as it were, through the New York city financial interests of the group. Their banking influence is of very great importance, and their ramifications are far-reaching and of great effectiveness. Thus, the Standard Oil chain of banking institutions, headed by the great National City Bank, with a capital and surplus of \$40,000,000, and deposits exceeding \$200,000,000, includes also the Hanover National Bank, the Second National Bank, the United States Trust Company, the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, the Central Realty Bond and Trust Company, and a number of smaller institutions. Some of these banks (particularly the National City) have strong dominating influences with the larger banking institutions of other great cities. The Standard interests are also closely allied with great life-insurance companies, such as the Equitable and the Mutual of New York.

The Morgan group of industries and transportation companies is, next to the Standard Oil interests, by far the most important. In fact, the only gigantic interests or groups which can in any sense be considered as on the same plane are the Rockefeller and Morgan groups. There are, it is true, a number of other large groups in special lines, but these two are the only distinctively great interests that dominate immense areas in all lines, steam transportation, public service, industrial, financial, banking, insurance and so forth. The great Morgan enterprises in the industrial world are the Steel and Shipping Trusts, the Electrical Supply Trust, the Rubber Trust, and a score or more of smaller aggregations. In the public utility field the Morgan interests dominate a series of lesser enterprises, but have never been so conspicuous in these lines as have the Rockefeller financiers.

But it is in the railroad world that the Morgan influence makes its greatest claim for public attention. The Morgan group of steam-railroad properties embraces over 47,000 miles

Morgan Interests

of lines, or nearly twice the mileage of any other one group; and its capitalization exceeds \$2,265,000,000, a sum far in excess of that of any of the other five groups, and, in fact, amounting to nearly 25 per cent of all the group railroad capital of the U. S. The Morgan railroad properties are nearly all located in growing sections of the country, and there is probably a very small proportion of worthless and unprofitable mileage

embraced in the various Morgan systems. Another feature about the Morgan group is that in most cases the lines embraced absolutely dominate certain sections of the country; such as, for instance, the entire South and the great Northwest.

The Morgan domination, like the Standard Oil, makes itself felt through the means and influence of large metropolitan financial institutions and great banks, such as the National Bank of Commerce, First National Bank, Chase National Bank, and Liberty National Bank. The great life-insurance companies, such as the New York Life, and trust companies, such as the Mercantile, Guaranty, and Central Trust, are generally rated as being at least partially under the Morgan control.

It should not be supposed, however, that these two great groups of capitalists and financiers are in any real sense rivals or competitors for power, or that such a thing as "war" exists between them. As a matter of fact, they are not only friendly, but they are allied to each other by many close ties, and it would probably require only a little stretch of the imagination to describe them as a single great Rockefeller-Morgan group. It is felt and recognized on every hand in Wall Street to-day that they are harmonious in nearly all particulars, and that instead of there being danger of their relations ever becoming strained, it will be only a matter of a brief period when one will be more or less completely absorbed by the other, and a grand close alliance will be the natural outcome of conditions which, so far as human foresight can see, can logically have no other result.

Around these two groups, or what must ultimately become one greater group, all the other smaller groups of capitalists congregate. They are all allied and intertwined by their various mutual interests. For instance, the Pennsylvania Railroad interests are on the one hand allied with the Vanderbilts, and on the other with the Rockefellers. The Vanderbilts are closely allied with the Morgan group, and both the Pennsylvania and Vanderbilt interests have recently become the dominating factors in the Reading system, a former Morgan road, and the most important part of the anthracite coal combine, which has always been dominated by the Morgan people. Furthermore, the Goulds, who are closely allied with the Rockefellers, are on most harmonious terms with the Moores of the Rock Island system and the latter are allied in interests quite closely with both the Harriman and the Morgan group. The Rockefeller and Morgan group (which may be regarded as one) therefore really constitute the heart of the business and commercial life of the nation.

Professor Gustav Schmoller (*Bulletin de l'Institut international de Statistique*, Rome, 1896, No. 17, vol. ix.) comes to the conclusion that wealth has not concentrated much more in England than in Rome, Venice, Augsburg, etc. In Germany he finds, roughly speaking, 2 per cent of the wealth in the upper classes, 54 per cent in the middle classes, and 44 per cent in the lower classes.

WEBB, BEATRICE: Economic writer; daughter of Richard Potter, some time president of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, etc.; born 1858. A pupil of Herbert Spencer, she studied working-class life in Lancashire and East London; in 1885 joined Mr. Charles Booth in his social investigations, and contributed articles, on the docks, the tailoring trade, and the Jewish community, to *Life and Labor of the People*. In 1888 she gave her experience in sweating-dens to the House of Lords Committee on Sweating. In 1891 she published "The Cooperative Movement in Great Britain." In 1892 she married Sidney Webb (q. v.). Between that date and the present, she has collaborated with her husband in five extensive works on Trade Unionism and Local Government. (See **WEBB, SIDNEY**.) She is a member of the Fabian Society (London). In 1906 she was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law.

WEBB, SIDNEY: Economist, author, barrister at law, LL.B. (London University); born 1859 in London; educated in Switzerland and Germany; entered English civil service in 1878, filling places in the War Office, Inland Revenue and Colonial offices, from which he retired in 1891.

Lecturer on public administration at London University; chairman of the governors of the London School of Economics and Political Science in that university. A leading member of the London Fabian Society, since 1883, elected in 1902 for Deptford to the London County Council, on which he still sits, and in which he has filled the offices of chairman of Local Government Committee and chairman of the Technical Education Board. From 1900 a member of the Senate of the reorganized London University, and chairman of the Board of Studies for Economics and Political Science. Member of Royal Commission on Trade Union Law, 1903-4. Author: In collaboration with his wife, Beatrice Potter (*q. v.*), "History of Trade Unionism" (1894); "Industrial Democracy" (1897); "Problems of Modern Industry" (1898); "The Parish and the County" (1906); "The Manor and the Borough" (1907); and alone, "Socialism in England" (1889); "The London Programme" (1891); "Labor in the Longest Reign" (1897); "London Education" (1904); and in conjunction with Harold Cox, "The Eight Hours' Day" (1891). Address: 41 Grosvenor Road, Westminster Embankment, London.

WEITLING, WILHELM: A pioneer of German socialism; born Magdeburg in 1808. Became a tailor, but later traveled through Germany, declaring that he had been converted to communism by the reading of the New Testament; preached a Utopian socialism, mainly fashioned after the ideas of Fourier and Cabet. In 1847 went to America, but returned to Germany at the Revolution of 1848. Later went again to America, and formed a Socialist society in New York City called the Arbeiterbund. Interested himself for four years in a socialistic colony situated in Wisconsin, but remained mainly in New York, living as a clerk, but devoting himself to reform, inventions, and science. His constructive idea was a federation of the families of the world, with leaders chosen by acclamation, who should divide the products of labor, giving to all a fixt share, and to those who produced more than the average certain luxuries, on condition of their being soon consumed to prevent accumulation. Died in 1874. Author: "Die Menschheit wie sie ist, wie sie sein sollte"; "Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit"; "Das Evangelium eines armen Sünders."

WELLS, DAVID AMES: Economist; born 1828 at Springfield, Mass.; graduated at Williams College, 1847; Lawrence Scientific School, Cambridge, in 1851. Engaged for the next ten years in scientific pursuits and inventions in chemistry. Visited in 1862 and 1867 Europe on commissions of the United States Government; 1866-70 U. S. Special Commissioner of Revenue. In 1872 became university lecturer on political economy at Yale College. Mr. Wells prepared fifteen important reports for the Government of the U. S. and numerous papers for scientific associations both in Europe and America. He is best known, however, for his able advocacy of free trade, civil-service reform, and gold monometalism. He died in 1898. Author: "The Creed of the Free Trader" (1875); "Robinson Crusoe's Money" (1876); "Practical Economics" (1886); "Economic Changes" (1889); "Relation of the Tariff to Wages" (1888).

WELLS, HERBERT GEORGE: Novelist, sociologist; born Bromley, Kent, England; educated at a private school, at Midhurst Grammar School, and Royal College of Science, where he received first class honors in zoology, B.Sc. Associate of the International Institute of Sociology; honorary life member National Union of Shop Assistants. Mr. Wells has wrought nobly for the cause of socialism in England, giving it always the valuable support of his pen, especially in his many novels of socialistic interest and bearing. Member of the Fabian Society. Author: "Anticipations"; "The Discovery of the Future"; "Mankind in the Making"; "The Food of the Gods"; "A Modern Utopia"; "New Worlds for Old"; "The Days of the Comet"; "The Future in America." Address: Spade House, Sandgate, Kent, England.

WESTCOTT, BROOKE FOSS: Bishop, Christian Socialist; born near Birmingham in 1825. Educated at Trinity College, where he was successively scholar, fellow (1849), and professor of divinity (1876). Was also at different times assistant master at Harrow, a canon of Peterborough and of Westminster, chaplain to the queen and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was consecrated Bishop of Durham in 1890. At one time was president of the Christian Social Union (*q. v.*). Besides numerous writings on Biblical and religious subjects he wrote "Social Aspects of Christianity" and "The Incarnation and Common Life." Died in 1901.

WESTERGAARD, HARALD LUDVIG: Danish professor of political economy; born 1853 at Copenhagen, Denmark; studied mathematics and political economy at home and abroad. In 1883 appointed as extraordinary professor of statistics and political economy at the University of Copenhagen. In 1886 appointed ordinary professor in the chair he still occupies. Dr. Westergaard has chiefly been engaged in studies concerning the theory of statistics, life-insurance, and vital statistics. Corresponding member of British Economic Association; honorary member of Royal Statistical Society; member of Royal Commission to consider workmen's unemployment and invalidity. He is greatly interested in matters of labor legislation. In 1898 founded a Christian Social Union. Author: "Die Lehre von der Mortalität und Morbilität," "Grundzüge der Theorie der Statistik," and, in cooperation with Rubin, "Statistik der Ehen," besides several investigations published in German and English journals of economy. Address: Scherfigsve 3 Str., Copenhagen, Denmark.

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS, THE: A federation of miners west of the Mississippi, organized in Butte, Mont., in 1893. It is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, early in its history declared for political socialism, and, occasioned perhaps by the unsettled life of the western miners, has developed into the most radical and turbulent of the labor organizations of the United States. It has been accused of practising, aiding, and countenancing every form of violence and crime in its struggles against the capitalist owners of the mines, charges on the other hand vehemently denied by its partizans, with counter-charges of conspiracy, crime, and violence on the part of the capitalists. A brief

summary of representative views will be found below:

I. A MEDIUM VIEW

In an interesting and informed article in the *Outlook* (May 19, 1906), Mr. William Hand makes the following statements:

The western mines are full of long-limbed, frank-eyed men who have adventured themselves far and wide upon the face of the earth. There are eastern miners who were black-listed after leading unsuccessful strikes. There are cowboys grown tired of the trail. There are farmers who preferred prospecting to plowing. There are city men who burst the bars of their cages to breathe the open air of the West. These adventurous characters, going out into a new country and plunging into the virgin, everlasting hills, where it would seem that at last all men would stand on the same footing, have suddenly discovered that amid these primitive surroundings the modern industrial system is not only found, but is found at its worst.

No one would try to find a parallel anywhere else on earth for the reckless unscrupulousness and maddening insolence of the corporations of the Rocky Mountain States. And practical anarchism among corporations is always a strong promoter of theoretical socialism among trade-unions. If the latter is too theoretical, it at least cannot be said that the former is not sufficiently practical.

The fact is that the members of the Citizens' Alliance and the members of the Western Federation of Miners are brothers under their skins. They come in the main from exactly the same breed. Two men go out prospecting. They come from the same town in Ohio. Their claims are half a mile apart. One man strikes gold. The other doesn't. One man becomes a millionaire, and a member of the Mine-Owners' Association. The other becomes a workingman and a member of the Western Federation. When you look at a group of mine-owners and then at a group of Western Federation officials, you are struck with their native resemblance to each other and with their common Americanism. They were all of them American adventurers before they became employers and employees.

Practically identical in breed, the mine-owners and the miners are practically identical in temperament. They transact their affairs on both sides with an untrammelled recklessness which is appalling, but which, if the distinction be admitted, savors of anarchy rather than illegality. . . . The lawlessness of the Rocky Mountains is the lawlessness of men not yet reduced to order. . . .

The least farcical of all the trials in connection with these outrages was that which followed the attempt at train-wrecking on the Florence & Cripple Creek Railroad. Here there was a "confession" by a man named McKinney. McKinney said he had committed the deed in company with certain unionists. On cross-examination he was forced to admit that he was a detective in the employ of agents of the Mine-Owners' Association. This does not mean that the mine-owners themselves were cognizant of his employment. On further cross-examination McKinney was forced further to admit that he had been ordered to secure the wrecking of a train for the purpose of discrediting the Federation. The cases against the men accused by McKinney were at once dismissed. But McKinney himself was never tried. S. D. Crump, attorney for the Mine-Owners' Association, went on his bond.

At the same time it would be absurd to say that there is not a possibility that in certain cases the responsibility may rest upon profligate and abandoned members of the Western Federation. There are such men in the mines of the West, and they are accustomed to deeds of violence in personal disputes, in business disputes, and in trade-union disputes. All that can be said with certainty is that there has as yet been no proof.

II. THE LABOR VIEW

The following is a summary of the general labor view:

The Western Federation of Miners have neither committed nor countenanced murder, crime, illegality, nor any deeds of force, save such as were legal and to which they were driven by the conspiracy and illegal and criminal force used by the capitalists in their endeavor to break up the Federation. This is asserted of the Cripple Creek strikes of 1894 and 1904, of the Cœur d'Alene outrages (see CŒUR D'ALENE), of the explosions in the Victor and Independence mines, and particularly of the assassination of ex-Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho, Dec. 30, 1905.

According to their view of this case and of the resultant trial, it was a conspiracy of the Mine-Owners' Association or its agents—principally the Pinkerton Detective Agency—to break up the Western Federation of Miners, by the conviction of the leaders, among others, of Charles H. Moyer, the president of the Federation, and William D. Haywood, its secretary. The defense asserts that Haywood, Moyer,

and George Pettibone were illegally kidnapped, taken to Idaho in a special train by Pinkerton detectives and others, arrested there, confined in the Idaho state penitentiary, transferred to the Caldwell jail and finally to the Ada County jail at Boise. Meanwhile one Harry Orchard, a self-confessed gambler, murderer, and criminal, confessed to the dynamiting of Steunenberg, but implicated Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone, and others, as having aided in the outrage with money, etc. The labor view is that James McFarland, the Pinkerton detective, obtained the "confession" under scarcely veiled promises of immunity. After fifteen months' imprisonment, William D. Haywood was put on trial separately, May 9, 1907, and acquitted July 28th. It was held by the defense that Orchard's testimony was not supported, that there was practically no other evidence, and it was charged, on the contrary, that there was a conspiracy of the Mine Owners, who hired Pinkertons and others as spies to join the Federation, incite to violence, and then accuse the members of the Federation, or in any way break up the organization. This portion of the evidence was, however, thrown out by the judge as not bearing on the case. Moyer was released on \$25,000 bail, but Pettibone detained, tho the labor view is that the case is ended, by the discovery of timber frauds involving, they claim, ex-Governor Steunenberg and Senator W. E. Borah, the leading prosecutor.

III. CAPITALISTIC VIEW

An anonymous writer in *The Outlook* for July 7, 1906—anonymous because he considers it unsafe to give his name—states the capitalistic view. He says in brief:

The following extract is from a speech of Edward Boyce, president of the Federation, delivered at Salt Lake on May 8, 1897. He said: "Every union should have a rifle club. I strongly advise you to provide every member with the latest improved rifle, which can be obtained from the factory at a nominal price. This appeal met with a prompt response,

for five days later, on May 13th, Federation men entered the building at Mullan, Idaho, where the arms and ammunition of the state militia were stored, and forty-six rifles and 10,000 cartridges were stolen. No arrests followed. The County Commissioners of the county (Federation sympathizers) petitioned the governor to disband the militia companies because they were "a continuous menace to the peace and good order of the county." Shortly afterward a foreman of the Helena-Frisco mill, who had offended the Federation, was taken from his bed by masked men and murdered. No arrests followed.

Some officials of the Western Federation pretended to be indignant at these crimes; and yet it was discovered that 250 rifles and 50,000 cartridges were ordered by the union, on union letterhead, and paid for by a draft signed by President Vincent St. John, who was conducting the strike under the direction of Federation officials. Nowhere will be found an instance where any man has ever been expelled or suspended from membership in the Federation for this act or any other similar act; and how is it conceivable that Vincent St. John's course was not approved by the Federation since he shortly after was again at the head of a local union, altho a fugitive from justice and under indictment for murder?

To pass over the strike in Cripple Creek in 1894, conducted by the Western Federation, which surpassed any previous record in its catalog of crime, there comes again, beginning with 1899, in Cripple Creek, a series of assaults, dynamiting, and murders, which affrights humanity. These crimes, where names, dates, and all attending circumstances can be submitted, are numbered by scores and scores. The victims were uniformly men who were giving or had given offense to the Federation. The woman in the home was notified that if the husband persisted in whatever course he might be following, opposed to the Federation, some day he would not come home. Dynamite was hung by strings down chimneys in a home where a lesson was to be taught to a man prominent in prosecuting members of this organization for stealing ore, and his home demolished by the explosion which followed the fire started by his wife in preparation for supper.

From the foregoing it would seem to be clear enough why evidence has been almost impossible to secure for the conviction of the perpetrators of this interminable series of crimes against life, property, and personal liberty. It is to be noted in addition that this organization did not stop with the violence already enumerated as part of its system of defense against the consequences of its course, but in addition systematically aimed to control all local civil officers.

As an instance of the thoroughness with which they dominate a local field, the list of civil officers in the Cripple Creek District, the scene of their last activity, shows not a single officer outside of membership in the Western Federation of Miners authorized to make arrests, serve writs, or institute any other legal process. This, moreover, is entirely in keeping with the fundamental law of the organization.

No just appreciation of the situation which confronted the men [mine-owners] in the mining districts of the West is possible without a recognition of the fact that in the contests

which have occurred they have fought for personal and business freedom in a sense which no other men have during this generation. The contest was not in any large measure industrial. It was for freedom of speech and of the press; for the protection of "the present system of government."

WHATELY, RICHARD: Was born in London, England, in 1787. He studied at Oriel College, Oxford; became a Fellow of Oriel in 1811; was Bampton Lecturer for 1822; rector of Halesworth, 1822-25; Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, 1830-31; and appointed Archbishop of Dublin in 1831. He was prominent for carrying out the principles of the Roman Catholic Relief Act; was for twenty years the leading member of the Irish National Board of Education. He is also associated with "Broad Church" divinity. Besides numerous philosophic and religious writings, he published *Lectures on Political Economy* in 1831.

WHISKY RING: This was a conspiracy between United States revenue collectors and distillers, originating in St. Louis in 1872, spreading into many Western cities, and attaining great political power. Its aim was to defraud the government in the collection of the tax on distilled spirits. The method of defrauding was by the secret shipment of whisky reported as stored. In 1874 a discrepancy was discovered between the returns and shipments of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis and those of the revenue officers. Benjamin H. Bristow, Secretary of the Treasury, unearthed the fraud. A general seizure in three cities was made May 10, 1875. Property aggregating \$3,500,000 in value was seized, and 238 persons were indicted. When the papers in these cases were laid before President Grant, he indorsed one of them with the injunction, "Let no guilty man escape." O. E. Babcock, President Grant's private secretary, was implicated, but tho acquitted, his guilt was generally conceded. No charge was ever made implicating Grant, but his tenacity in supporting his friends, even when their guilt was evident to others, made it easy for the ring to put many obstacles in Bristow's way. In one case, even, documents were tampered with. Many convictions were obtained, among others that of the chief clerk of the Treasury, Avery.

WHITE CROSS SOCIETY, THE: The White Cross movement was begun, publicly, Feb. 14, 1883, at Bishop-Auckland, England, by the Bishop of Durham, Miss Ellice Hopkins being present and bearing a prominent part. The work was taken up in this country by the Rev. B. F. De Costa, D.D., then rector of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, New York City, aided by his young men, during the winter of 1883-84, and spread throughout the United States.

The principal purposes of this organization are:

- (1) To urge upon men the obligation of personal purity;
- (2) to raise the tone of public opinion upon the subject of morality;
- (3) to secure proper legislation in connection with morality.

The member promises by the "help of God" (1) to treat all women with respect, and endeavor to protect them from wrong and degradation; (2) to endeavor to put down all indecent language and coarse jests; (3) to maintain the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women; (4) to endeavor to spread these principles among my companions, and to try and help my younger brothers; (5) to use every possible means to fulfil the command, "Keep thyself pure."

The methods of the White Cross are of a varied character. All aim to fulfil its declared object: "By the full presentation of those spiritual truths which form distinguishing characteristics of Christianity, and demonstrate its unalterable hostility to every form of impurity." The methods do not favor so much the creation of new machinery as utilizing that already existing. (See SOCIAL PURITY.)

WHITE RIBBONERS. See WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

WICHERN, JOHANN HEINRICH: Founder of the Inner Mission (*q. v.*) in Germany; born April 21, 1808, in Hamburg. He was educated in his native city, and later visited the universities of Göttingen and Berlin to study theology. In 1832 he superintended a Sunday-school in Hamburg, and established the *Rauhe Haus* at Horn near by, the following year. The *Rauhe Haus* was a refuge for orphans, unemployed, poor, and otherwise needy people. In 1848 he suggested and formed the Central Committee for Inner Missions. In 1849 the Prussian Government entrusted him with the supervision of the 10,000 orphans of Upper Silesia—whose parents had died in a typhus epidemic—and in 1851 with the reform of jails and prisons. He was appointed a member of the highest ecclesiastical council in Prussia, 1859, and lived half the year in Berlin to attend to his numerous duties there in this new office. He took an active part in the organization of the society for sick and wounded soldiers, 1866 and 1870-71. Two years later he resigned his position in Berlin. Died 1891. He is author of "Die Mission der deutschen Evangelischen Kirche," 1849, 3d ed., 1889; editor of *Die Fliegenden Blätter aus dem Rauhen Hause*, 1844 until his death; *Der Dienst der Frauen in der Kirche*, 1858; *Die Behandlung der Sträflinge*.

WILBERFORCE, WILLIAM: Principal founder of the English Anti-Slavery Society; born at Hull, England, in 1759; educated under Methodist principles at Wimbledon and at St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1780 was elected to the House of Commons and became an intimate friend of Pitt, tho always voting independently. In 1787 he organized a society against vice; soon after was influenced by Clarkson toward his great lifework. In 1789 he first proposed the total abolition of the slave-trade, and in 1807 his bill was carried in the House of Commons and through the House of Lords. He still, however, labored for its victory in Parliament and without. In 1822 he shared in the founding of an antislavery society. He died in 1833, one month before the passage of the Emancipation Bill. (See SLAVERY.) He was interested in many other reforms, and published in 1797 "A Practical Review of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes Contrasted with Real Christianity."

WILKIE, ALEX.: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Dundee; born 1850; educated at the public schools of Leven. He was apprenticed to a shipwright at Glasgow, became secretary of the Glasgow Shipwrights in the early seventies, later general secretary of the Associated Shipwrights' Society. He is a strong Federationist, and became chairman of the Norwich scheme in 1894, and a member of the Trade-Union Congress Committee which brought about a federation of the trades. He has held a number of offices in the union, and was a member of the Labor Representation Committee. He has visited America twice as representative of the Federation of Labor, at Detroit, 1889, and as a member of the Moseley Commission in 1902; is a Freemason, an Odd Fellow, and a member of the City Council. He was elected to Parliament 1906. Address: 8 Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.

WILL, THOMAS ELMER: Economic writer and reformer; born 1861, Stone's Prairie, Ill.; earned money for education by teaching in country school; graduated Illinois Normal University, 1885; principal in village and city schools until 1888; student in University of Michigan, 1888-89; studied history and economics at Harvard; graduated as A.B. 1890. Specialized at Harvard in economic and social science, 1890-91. At end of year received his A.M.; 1891-93 was professor of history and political science in Lawrence University. During 1893-94 studied, lectured, and wrote in Boston. Was professor of economic science in Kansas Agricultural College, 1894-97, and 1897-99 was president of the college; 1900-1905 was in Chicago, at Ruskin College, Missouri, and in Wichita, Kan., teaching, lecturing, writing. In July, 1905, he entered the Census Office at Washington; and was transferred, April, 1906, to the editorial staff of the Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture, and since 1906 has been secretary of the American Forestry Association. Mr. Will, from 1890 to 1894, was a single taxer, but has gradually developed into socialistic views. Author: Several hundred magazine and newspaper articles and editorials relating to education, economics, politics, religion, and socialism. Address: 1311 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

WILLARD, FRANCES ELIZABETH: Founder of Woman's Christian Temperance Union; born Churchville, N. Y., 1839. Her parents removed to Oberlin, Ohio, in 1841, where they were students in the college until 1846. They then went to Wisconsin and founded "Forest Home," near Janesville, going to Evanston in 1858. Here Miss Willard graduated from the Women's College. In 1861 she became a teacher, beginning in the public school of her own town and ending as professor of English composition in the university. In 1868 she traveled abroad for nearly two years and a half. On her return she was made president of the Women's College in Evanston. In 1874 she began her temperance work as president of the Chicago W. C. T. U. She was also made secretary of the Illinois W. C. T. U., and in November of that year, at the first convention of the National W. C. T. U., became its corresponding secretary.

In 1878 Miss Willard became chief editor of the Chicago *Daily Evening Post*. In that year she was elected president of the National W. C. T. U.

In 1880, accompanied by the Misses Gordon, Miss Willard made a tour of all the Southern states, introducing a knowledge of the spirit and method of the White Ribbon movement.

In 1883 Miss Willard and her secretary, Miss Anna Gordon, visited every state and territory in the United States and several Canadian provinces, holding the first temperance conventions ever called together in several of the Western territories. In 1883, on her return from California, proposed to the National W. C. T. U. a plan for organizing the World's W. C. T. U., which was accepted, and a polyglot petition to all governments was sent out. This petition received 3,000,000 signatures and attestations in fifty languages.

In 1885 she urged upon the National W. C. T. U. Convention the importance of adding a Department of Social Purity work to those already

formed, which was done, and she was placed at its head. Petitions were then circulated in

Other Reforms

all parts of the U. S., asking for the better protection of women, and much has been gained in the way of legislation. She was made a member of the General Conference of the Methodist Church, to which she had belonged since her girlhood, but a ruling of the bishops prevented any recognition of this election. Was editor-in-chief of the *Union Signal*, official organ of the World's and National W. C. T. U., and corresponding editor of Lady Henry Somerset's paper, *The Woman's Signal* (London).

Miss Willard was also one of the founders of the National and International Women's Council and first president of the council.

Miss Willard's devotion to the cause of woman's suffrage and the Labor movement is well known; was the author of the "home protection" movement, which means the ballot for women as a method of temperance work; also of the expressive phrase "The do-everything policy of the W. C. T. U." She has often stated her platform in these words: "No sectarianism in religion, no sectionalism in politics, no sex in citizenship!" In economics she called herself a Christian Socialist. She built up the largest organization of women in the world. Universally mourned, she died, 1898. Author: "Nineteen Beautiful Years"; "Hints and Helps for the W. C. T. U."; "Women and Temperance, How to Win"; "Woman in the Pulpit"; "A Classic Town"; "Glimpses of Fifty Years"; "A Young Journalist"; and collaborated in "A Great Mother, the History of St. Courageous."

ISABEL SOMERSET.

WILLIAMS, J.: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Gower, Glamorganshire; born in 1861, he began work in the collieries, and became chief agent of the Western District Miners' Association, and has been general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of the South Wales Colliery Workers since 1890. He was elected to Parliament in 1906 by the votes of the miners. Address: Miners' Association Offices, Swansea, Wales.

WILLIAMS, TALCOTT: Journalist; born 1849 at Abeih, in Turkey; educated at Phillips Academy, Andover, and Amherst College, class of 1873; served on staff of *New York World* 1873-77; Washington correspondent of *New York Sun*, 1877-79; editorial writer for *Springfield Republican* 1879-81. Since 1881, editorial writer for the *Philadelphia Press*. A frequent contributor to literary and philosophical journals, Mr. Williams has wielded a large and powerful influence as well in literature as real life. Two colleges and two universities have dignified him with a doctorate in letters—Amherst and Hobart, Western Reserve and Rochester. In matters economic and social, he declares himself a believer in free contract, free competition, and free labor, subject to such restrictions in regard to child-bearing and child life as are necessary to maintain at its highest efficiency the reproductive agencies of the community. Such a régime, he believes, has steadily tended to diffuse wealth, to improve the condition of those who labor, and to increase the joy, the dignity, and the promise of the general mass of the people. Address: 916 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Temperance Work

WILMS, DR. HEINRICH: Mayor of Posen; born 1866 at Huenshoven, province of the Rhine, Germany; educated at the public schools, the high school, and in 1885 passed the entrance examinations for college; then studied law in Heidelberg, Munich, and Bonn; received, in 1888, as "Referendar" to the court; in 1893 was made "Assessor," and was for some time a judge at the court of Cologne. Appointed mayor's assistant at Bonn in the year 1895. During the three years he occupied this position he worked particularly in aid of the poor, gained admission of women to the city's Poor Department, obtained for them the same rights and duties as the male attendants had and the district superintendents of the poor. This was the first instance in Germany where women were accorded equal rights with men in charities aid organizations, and, curiously enough, Bonn remains to this day the only place where women workers as compared with men are not in the great majority. Accepted in 1899 the same position in Düsseldorf, with a special assignment to the work of improving the wharves of the Rhine. During this appointment was also honorary director of the Düsseldorf Exposition of Industries and Trades. Dr. Wilms was elected Mayor of Posen in 1903. Address: Posen, Germany.

WILSHIRE, GAYLORD: Editor of *Wilshire's Magazine* (Socialist); born Cincinnati, Ohio, 1861; entered Harvard College 1881, but did not graduate; in 1884 went into gold-mining in California; founded in 1889 at Los Angeles a weekly Socialist paper, *The Nationalist*; in 1890 ran for Congress as a Socialist; in 1891 he was Socialist Party's candidate for Attorney-General of New York. Went to England, and in 1893 at Manchester became candidate for Parliament of the Social Democratic Federation. Returning to California, was again candidate to represent the cause of the Socialist Party in Congress. In 1900 he founded at Los Angeles *The Challenge*, a Socialist weekly; in 1901 he moved the paper to New York City. Here *The Challenge* was debarred from the United States mails on the ground that it was merely an organ for the advertising of ideas and ideas so essentially personal to the editor, that therefore *The Challenge* was purely an advertising magazine. Mr. Wilshire then moved the magazine to Toronto, Canada, changing the name to its present title, and from there sent it freely everywhere throughout the U. S. until 1904, when he returned with his magazine to New York City. While in Toronto he was candidate for the Canadian Parliament, and on returning to New York in 1904 was made the Socialist Party's candidate for Congress. Mr. Wilshire is now President of the Beaver National Bank of New York City. Address: 200 William Street, New York City.

WILSON, JOHN: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Mid Durham; born in 1837, he began work at the age of ten in Durham, later in American mines; and was instrumental in forming the Miners' Association in 1869; became its treasurer in 1882, financial secretary 1890, and corresponding secretary in 1896. He was a member of Parliament for Houghton-le-Spring division in 1885-86, and has been returned for Parliament by his present constituency continuously since 1895. In 1906 the miners, assisted by the Liberals, elected him again. Address: 1 North Road, Durham, England.

WILSON, JOSEPH HAVELOCK: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Middlesborough; born 1858 at Sunderland; he became a seaman, and founded the National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union in 1887; was imprisoned during the Cardiff strike in 1891. He was elected to Parliament in 1906, but sat for his district from 1892-1900. The laborers with the assistance of the Liberals elected him. Address: Maritime Hall, West India Dock Road, London, E. England.

WILSON, WILLIAM TYSON: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for West Houghton, S. E. Lancashire; elected 1906; born near Windermere, Westmoreland. He was apprenticed to a joiner and carpenter at Hawkeshead, and worked at the trade in Barrow, Bury, and Bolton. In 1877 he joined the trade society, and has since been in office almost continuously. Was a member of the executive council in 1893-95; became chairman in 1897, and been continued since. He was one of the founders of the Bolton Building Trades Federation, and assisted in the prevention of a lockout in the building trades 1899. He was chairman of the employees' committee which met the National Federation of the Master Builders' Reconciliation Boards for the building trades. In 1895 and since he has been instrumental in bringing about various conferences of his union with the master builders, the result of which was the establishment of conciliation boards and the effective prevention of strikes in the building trades. He has represented his union at several conferences of the Trade-Union Congresses, and those of the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federations. His interests center chiefly in the organization of the skilled working men. Address: 248, Oxford Grove, Bolton, England.

WINKELBLECK, KARL GEORGE: German Socialist writer; born 1810 in Ensheim, near Mayence. He became a professor of chemistry, but in 1843, traveling to study technological subjects, he met in Norway a German artisan and became interested in what he heard and saw of the sufferings of the working classes. The result was his book, "Untersuchungen über der Organization der Arbeit oder System der Weltökonomie," 1851-55, written under pseudonym of Carl Marlo, and now recognized as one of the ablest statements of German socialism. He died in 1865.

WISE, HON. BERNHARD RINGRASE, K.C.: Some time State Attorney-General of New South Wales, Australia; born Sydney, Feb. 10, 1858; editor *Rugby*, Queen's College, Oxford; president of the Oxford Union and Athletic Club, 1880. Called to bar in England, 1883; appointed Queen's Counsel, 1898; elected to Legislature, New South Wales, 1887-89 and 1891-94; Attorney-General in Parkes Ministry and in Lyne government, 1899-1901. Took active part in free-trade movement and in movement for Australian Federal Union; member of the National Convention which framed Commonwealth Constitution, 1897-1898. Author of Bankruptcy Act and Industrial Arbitration Act. Identified with prison reform and founded the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Association. Author of "Industrial Freedom." Address: Australian Club, Sydney.

WOLFF, HENRY WILLIAM: Chairman of the International Cooperative Alliance; born Dec. 30, 1840, at Leeds, England. After being educated at a private school he studied for some years at the universities of Bonn and Heidelberg. Later he traveled extensively on the Continent in order to finish his education and to inquire into social and industrial conditions. On his return to England he advocated social reforms in his writings, and took a prominent part in the founding of the International Cooperative Alliance, which has extended its work over twenty-five countries. He believes that social betterment can be brought about by the breaking down of class distinctions, by leveling up by means of moral and educational influences, and by self-help. Author: "People's Banks—A Record of Social and Economic Success"; "Cooperative Banking—Its Principles and Its Practise"; "Agricultural Banks"; "People's Bank Manual"; "Village Banks"; "Cooperative Credit Banks"; "Employer's Liability—What Ought It to Be?" Address: Reform Club, London, S. W., England.

WOLOWSKI, LOUIS FRANCOIS MICHEL RAYMOND: Social economist; born Warsaw, 1810. He studied in Paris, but took part in the Polish Revolution of 1830. He became professor of law in the Conservatoire des Arts and Métiers at Paris in 1839, and sat in the Constituent Assembly in 1848. His best-known works are: "De l'Organisation du Travail" (1843); "L'Or et l'Argent" (1870). Died at Gisors, France, in 1876.

WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION: The National and the World's Unions are organizations of women for the protection of the home, the abolition of the liquor traffic, and the triumph of Christ's golden rule in custom and in law.

The National W. C. T. U. is the lineal descendant of the Woman's Temperance Crusade of 1873-74, when in fifty days the liquor traffic was swept out of 250 towns and villages. The logic of events soon forced the women to enlarge the circle of their work until it included "not only mental suasion for the man who thinks and moral suasion for the man who drinks, but legal suasion for the drunkard-maker and prison suasion for the statute-breaker." The National W. C. T. U. of the United States was organized Nov. 18, 19, and 20, 1874, in Cleveland, Ohio. It is organized in every state and territory in the nation, including the District of Columbia and Hawaii, and locally in about 10,000 towns and villages. There are 350,000 members

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and men are admitted as honorary members. The national motto is: "For God and Home and Native Land." The watchwords are: "Agitate, Educate, Organize." The badge is a small bow of white ribbon. The lines of work are: (1) Organization. (2) Preventive. (3) Educational. (4) Evangelistic. (5) Social. (6) Legal. Under these six heads are grouped forty departments, each one under the charge of a national superintendent. Following the suggestion of Miss Frances E. Willard, who was president from 1878 to 1898, the National W. C. T. U. worked for scientific temperance instruction in the public schools and secured mandatory laws for it in every state; and in the territories and the District of Columbia through congressional legislation. The W. C. T. U. has been the chief factor in state campaigns for statutory prohibition South as well as North,

and for constitutional amendments. It aided very materially in securing the antievent amendment to the army bill, which prohibits the sale of intoxicating liquors in all army posts. It keeps a superintendent of legislation in Washington during the entire session of Congress to look after reform bills. Congressman-elect Roberts, the polygamist, was prevented from taking his seat in the U. S. Congress by petitions and protests largely gathered by the W. C. T. U. It has been an important factor in the Smoot investigation and is creating public sentiment which it is believed will result in a national constitutional amendment prohibiting polygamy. It has obtained antigambling and anticigarette laws. It has secured many laws for the protection of women and girls, raising the age of protection for girls in every state but two, and securing the appointment of police matrons in nearly all the large cities of the U. S. It has created public sentiment in favor of equal suffrage, equal purity for both sexes, equal remuneration for work equally well done, equal educational, professional, and industrial opportunities for men and women. It has a bureau of scientific research, and sends authoritative statements from prominent physicians who are in favor of medical temperance to practitioners throughout the U. S.; and appeals to publishers of newspapers asking them to discontinue the advertising of alcoholic and other harmful proprietary medicines. It distributes millions of pages of literature every year and fills thousands of columns in the daily and weekly newspapers. The National W. C. T. U. publishes two papers: *The Union Signal*, its official organ, and *The Crusader Monthly*, for young people, and the department of Scientific Temperance Instruction.

The World's W. C. T. U., founded by Miss Frances E. Willard in about 1883, is organized in fifty nations with a total membership of about half a million. It is the largest society composed exclusively of women and conducted entirely by them. It has held seven conventions: Boston, Mass., in 1891; Chicago, Ill., in 1893; London, England, in 1895; Toronto, Canada, 1897; Edinburgh, Scotland, 1900; Geneva, Switzerland, in 1902, and Boston in 1906. The World's Union has circulated a "Polyglot Petition" in all parts of the world, asking the governments to do away with the manufacture of and traffic in alcoholic liquors and opium and the legalization of impurity. It is the largest petition ever presented on behalf of any object and the most international in its proposed reforms. It has been presented to the President of the U. S., to Queen Victoria, and the Governor-General of Canada.

The officers of the National W. C. T. U. are: President, Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens; vice-president at large, Miss Anna A. Gordon; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Susanna M. D. Fry; recording secretary, Mrs. Elizabeth Preston Anderson; assistant recording secretary, Mrs. Sara H. Hoge; treasurer, Mrs. Harriet W. Brand. The officers of the World's W. C. T. U. are: President, the Countess of Carlisle; vice-president at large, Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens; honorary secretaries, Miss Agnes E. Slack, Miss Anna A. Gordon; honorary treasurer, Mrs. Mary E. Sanderson.

Miss Frances E. Willard originated the "Do Everything Policy" of the W. C. T. U., and often stated her platform in these words: "No sectarianism in religion, no sectionalism in politics, no sex in citizenship."

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

We believe in the coming of His Kingdom whose service is perfect freedom, because His laws, written in our members as well as in nature and in grace, are perfect, converting the soul.

We believe in the gospel of the Golden Rule, and that each man's habits of life should be an example safe and beneficent for every other man to follow.

We believe that God created both man and woman in His own image, and therefore we believe in one standard of purity for both men and women, and in the equal right of all to hold opinions and to express the same with equal freedom.

We believe in a living wage; in an eight-hour day; in courts of conciliation and arbitration; in justice as opposed to greed of gain; in "peace on earth and good-will to men."

We therefore formulate, and for ourselves adopt, the following pledge, asking our sisters and brothers of a common danger and a common hope, to make common cause with us, in working its reasonable and helpful precepts into the practise of every-day life.

I hereby solemnly promise, God helping me, to abstain from all distilled, fermented, and malt liquors, including wine, beer, and cider,¹ and to employ all proper means to discourage the use of and traffic in the same.

To confirm and enforce the rationale of this pledge, we declare our purpose to educate the young; to form a better public sentiment; to reform, so far as possible, by religious, ethical, and scientific means, the drinking classes; to seek the transforming power of divine grace for ourselves and all for whom we work, that they and we may wilfully transcend no law of pure and wholesome living; and finally, we pledge ourselves to labor and to pray that all these principles, founded upon the Gospel of Christ, may be worked out into the customs of society and the laws of the land.

In addition to the above the World's W. C. T. U. declares:

To this end we plead with all good women throughout Christendom to join with us heart and hand in the holy endeavor to protect and sanctify the home as that Temple of the Holy Spirit which, next to the human body itself, is dearest of all to our Creator, that womanhood and manhood in equal purity, equal personal liberty and peace, may climb to those blest heights where there shall be no more curse.

We ask all women like-minded with us in this sacred cause to wear the white ribbon as the badge of loyalty; to lift up their hearts with us to God at the noontide hour of prayer; to take as their motto, "For God and Home and Every Land," and to unite with us in allegiance to the foregoing declaration of principles and to the summary of our plans and purposes, as embodied in the preamble of our constitution adopted in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass., U. S. A., Nov. 11, 1891.

PREAMBLE

In the love of God and of humanity, we, representing the Christian women of the world, without distinction of race or color, band ourselves together with the solemn conviction that our united faith and works will, with God's blessing, prove healthful in creating a strong public sentiment in favor of personal purity of life, including total abstinence from the use of all narcotic poisons; the protection of the home by outlawing the traffic in alcoholic liquors, opium, tobacco, and impurity; the suppression by law of gambling and Sunday desecration; the enfranchisement of the women of all nations, and the establishment of courts of national and international arbitration which shall banish war from the world.

LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS.

WOMAN'S ECONOMIC POSITION IN GREAT BRITAIN: In Great Britain, as in all industrial countries, the work of women is paid, on the whole, at a less rate than the work of men. It is, however, extremely difficult (for reasons to be examined presently) to estimate how far, if at all, this difference is a direct consequence of difference of sex. There exists, unquestionably, a vague general impression, amounting in many minds to almost the dimensions of a maxim, that the wages of a woman "need not be" so high as those of a man. For this impression custom and the current notion that a man's wages represent a family income while a woman's represent only a personal income are, no doubt, largely responsible.

Differences due to the prevalence of such feelings are not, in the strict sense of the word, *economic* differences.

¹ State and local constitutions can include the words "as a beverage," if desired.

There is, however, another and more important cause of difference between the payments of men and women, respectively; and this cause, though arising primarily from social custom, becomes, in its secondary developments, really economic. This cause is the fact that in most industries women expect to cease from working at marriage. They expect, that is to say—and in the majority of cases the expectation is fulfilled—to follow their callings for only a very few years; they expect to be, and generally they are, rather transient than permanent workers.

Now, transient workers, even altho they may be inherently equally efficient, are of less value to an employer than permanent ones. Every change of hands involves a slight temporary waste of power, nor can any worker, in a short period of work, attain to the higher levels of skill and experience. Moreover, when a worker expects to be employed for only a few years it is not, financially speaking, worth her while to spend a large proportion of those years in being trained or taught. A girl who enters the labor market at fifteen and looks forward to leaving it at twenty-two, is naturally disinclined to spend seven years in apprenticeship—as her brother may be disposed to do, who expects to follow his calling for forty years or more. The more transient worker, therefore, is also the less trained. Thus it comes about that the less skilled branches of industry generally fall into the hands of women, not because women are naturally less capable, but because the probable course of their lives renders them unwilling to undergo prolonged training. This sort of specialization it is which makes any valid comparison between the wages of men and women, as such, almost impossible. Competition between a man and a woman engaged in precisely similar work is exceedingly rare. Where, however, occasional instances occur the woman will, almost invariably, receive less remuneration, even at a piece-work rate. Miss Irwin, secretary of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades, reports having seen the wage-book of a master printer in Scotland who employed both men and women as compositors and who entered and calculated the work of both according to the same piece-work scale. After adding up the several totals, however, he performed, in the case of each woman, a little sum in subtraction and handed to her two thirds of the amount "booked" to her credit. In the same way, when an employer exchanges a man-clerk whose salary has probably been £2 a week, for a woman-clerk, he will probably offer to the latter 14s. or 15s., altho he will often admit that the woman does the same work quite as well and gives less trouble. Perhaps that last clause may be, in some degree, an explanation. Women, as workers, are exceedingly apt to "give less trouble"; that is, to endure, without much protest, very unsatisfactory conditions of labor. And this docility, again, is partly due to the habit of regarding industrial work as merely a temporary condition.

While it is practically impossible to measure the share of these various influences in determining the well-nigh universal inferiority of women's remuneration, one fact may be noted which seems to indicate that the expectation of marriage is one of the most powerful. This is the fact that in occupations not habitually given up on marriage the remuneration of women approximates far more nearly to that of men. In

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Workers

the artistic and literary professions, indeed, payment varies not with the sex but with the individual. The same thing is true of the Lancashire cotton-weavers, who habitually continue to work after marriage. The Amalgamated Weavers' Association is a strong trade-union of men and women (about 80,000 women out of a total of about 120,000 members) and all the members are paid at the same piece-work rate.

Very different from the position of the highly skilled and well-organized women of Lancashire is that of the young unorganized workers in such a district as the East End of London. Young workers in the lowest departments of factory work are paid, not infrequently, as little as 5s. a week—a wage upon which it is entirely impossible for them to maintain themselves independently at any civilized level. The average wage of factory girls from fifteen to eighteen years old, in what are called the "unskilled" trades, appears to range from about 7s. to about 10s. per week. Workers over twenty years of age will generally earn rather more; but the woman in such trades who, not being a forewoman, receives as much as £1 per week is exceptional.

The payment of dressmakers seems somewhat higher; a "full-hand," in London, would receive 14s. and upward.

Female shop assistants (and also male shop assistants) generally "live in"; i. e., they are boarded and lodged on the premises of their employer. Their salaries and their hours, by which, of course, their salaries must be measured, vary greatly according to the character and standing of the shop in which they are engaged: £20, £25, or £30 per annum are very ordinary rates. To this nominal salary there will in many cases be additions, commissions on sales—especially of certain specified goods—being not uncommon. On the other hand, fines are frequently inflicted for every breach of an extensive code of rules; and in a good many houses the diet is so Spartan that the "young people" are often obliged to make additions to it at their own expense. In this calling the difference between the remuneration of men and of women is far less than in many others.

Among clerks, whose work appears to have no clear dividing line of sex, this difference is perhaps at its greatest. Instances are not infrequent of responsible posts being offered to thoroughly competent young women at the rate of 12s. to 14s. per week. In one such case the young woman was to be bookkeeper and cashier to a well-known and wealthy firm and many thousands of pounds would have passed through her hands in the year. Fourteen shillings per week was the payment allotted. No man would have been asked to undertake the work at less than 30s. a week. The reason of this great divergence is not very easy to fix; it seems probable, however, that clerkships and situations in restaurants, etc. (where also the attendants do not "live in"), attract a great number of girls living at home and partly maintained by relatives, that these girls, very foolishly, are content to accept what is called a "pocket-money wage," and that the competition of these parasitic workers determines a very low average of pay all round.

Domestic servants are relatively well paid, especially in London, where a general servant or a housemaid will receive from £18 to £25 a year, besides board and lodging; a parlor-maid, rather more; a good children's nurse, from £20 to £30.

A highly trained cook can command from £30 to £50—a salary higher than that of some resident teachers in boarding-schools. Altho domestic service is reported to occupy in London "about one third of the total unmarried women over fifteen," and altho it is by far the largest women's industry in the United Kingdom, the demand for competent servants is very much greater than the supply; and as the requirements in the way of skill grow continually higher, while the reluctance of workers to enter the calling does not apparently diminish, it seems likely that the discrepancy will be maintained and even become intensified. Eventually the pressure may probably be lightened by improved training on the one hand and on the other by a change in the methods of employment and an approximation of domestic service to the conditions of other industries that are found more acceptable to the workers.

Sick nursing, altho it has become a skilled calling with elaborate courses of training, with examinations and certificates, was, in the majority of cases, very ill paid until not very many years ago. In this instance the explanation lies partly in the idea that nursing the sick was rather a work of mercy than a means of livelihood and partly in the presence of middlemen who, while charging high fees to the public for the services of a trained nurse, paid very small salaries to the nurses. These middlemen were sometimes the authorities of hospitals who made money by hiring out their nurses and sometimes agencies admittedly commercial. Some years ago, however, nurses began to combine into agencies of their own, and this movement has steadily, tho not even yet very largely, raised the general average of their remuneration. There are probably few, if any, trained nurses, nowadays, who accept a salary of £25 per annum, with board and lodging when not "at a case." The minimum charge for the services of a trained nurse in a private house is generally two guineas (£2 2s.) per week besides board and lodging, so that a nurse who has a good connection and deals with her clients direct is decidedly better paid than any of the workers hitherto mentioned.

Education presents itself as a calling employing men and women in much the same kind of work. In the volume of statistics issued by the Board of Education in 1906 are to be found two tables showing the salaries of certificated teachers in public elementary schools. Of 13,618 head masters the average yearly salary was £160 9s. 5d.; that of 14,348 assistant masters, £114 8s. 10d. Of 17,539 head mistresses the average salary was £109 13s. 2d., and that of 32,428 assistant mistresses, £83 11s. 3d.

No head mistress received as much as £350 per annum, and only 14 as much as £300; while 164 head masters received over £350 (4 of these £500 or over) and 129 received between £300 and £350. One head master and 16 head mistresses were paid less than £50 a year. Of assistants no woman attained a salary of £200 per annum and only 69 women a salary of £150 and over; while no less than 285 were paid less than £50 a year. The men assistants receiving less than £50 numbered only 4; while 17 received upward of £200, one of these receiving £400—or £50 a year more than the best paid head mistress. It should be said that these figures are two years old and that both men and women are probably receiving rather more, but the proportionate rates remain much the same.

In the secondary schools under the London County Council the lowest salary for a head master is £400, and the highest £800; the lowest

salary for a head mistress £300 and the highest £600. The salaries of assistant masters range from £150 to £350 a year; those of assistant mistresses from £120 to £250. Very similar differences prevail throughout all branches of the teaching profession.

In journalism, in the various arts (painting, acting, literature, etc.), these discrepancies disappear. Some branches are extremely unremunerative but not more unremunerative for women than for men. The prizes in journalism, it is true, belong to men; no woman has yet succeeded in being appointed as editor of a large newspaper; but on the other hand the most profitable novels published in England at the present day are probably those written by two women. It appears, therefore, on the whole that the comparative underpayment of women is due principally to the fact that women generally do not continue to pursue a definite calling after marriage. Of course women, like men, are liable, under a system of free competition, to be reduced to the barest subsistence level; but they are liable to this fate not as women but as workers happening to possess nothing in the nature of a monopoly.

Women also are more exposed than men to the competition of the parasitic worker, i. e., that of the partly supported worker who accepts less than a subsistence wage. This form of competition is often attributed to married women, but investigation seems to show that married women are particularly stout in resisting reductions. Married women, as an experienced employer has been heard to remark, know the value of money. It is rather young unmarried women who allow themselves to be paid at rates upon which they could not live, and especially young women of what is called in England the lower middle class, the daughters of clerks, of tradesmen in a small way of business, and of families whose weekly incomes are small but regular and not derived from manual labor. Among women teachers there is direct evidence that those who have some income of their own are firmer in demanding to be well paid than those who have no resource but their earnings—a paradox perfectly comprehensible after all, upon reflection.

That the Factory Acts have lowered the payment of women there is no evidence at all. A committee appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science investigated the point and came to this conclusion. What evidence there is points, indeed, rather in the other direction—as would naturally be supposed by any person who recognizes low wages as a direct result of unrestricted competition.

It appears probable that in trades not pursued by women after marriage there will always remain an average of payment lower than the general average payment of men's labor; but there is no reason in the nature of things why the difference should be a very great one; and there is very great reason indeed for hoping that the next ten years may bring a vast improvement in the general industrial training of women—a matter greatly neglected hitherto by parents and by public authorities. The lifting of the greatest possible number of women out of the unskilled and into the skilled class of workers is one of the best methods of diminishing the terribly severe competition that keeps so many working women in Great Britain on the brink of starvation.

CLEMENTINA BLACK.

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WOMAN'S ECONOMIC POSITION IN THE UNITED STATES: Woman's work has changed with economic changes. Previous to the introduction of machine industry, woman played perhaps a more important part in economic production than to-day, but was not a wage-worker. Industry was carried on largely in the home, each family being largely self-sustaining, doing its own spinning, weaving, brewing, cheese and butter making. Woman played naturally a large part in this life, but as wife or daughter or as household maid, not as a wage-worker in the modern sense.

With the development of the factory system, however, this was changed. Production was taken from the home, and woman in the home was left to do only domestic work, to become the domestic drudge. To an extent, however, she followed industry into the factory. The textile factories of England were full of women brought in from the rural districts, or with children sometimes brought from the almshouses. They worked cheaper than men and replaced men. Their pay was the cheapest, their surroundings the worst, the moral tone the lowest.

This created such a prejudice against factories that when later factories were developed in New England, from 1815-30, women could only be induced to work in them by offer of higher pay. Partly for this reason, therefore, and in part because popular education was very much farther advanced in America than in industrial England, factory life in the U. S. started on a higher level than in England. Girls from American homes in factory towns and the surrounding villages worked in the factories and maintained, as shown by *The Lowell Offering*, a high level of character. There was little opening, too, for women in other lines. Harriet Martineau, in 1840, found in America only seven employments open to women—teaching, needlework, keeping boarders, working in cotton-mills, in bookbinderies, type-setting, and household service.

But this gradually changed. The successes of American life developed a growing number of families whose daughters did not need to work for a living, and factory work became despised. Irish and other European and, later, French Canadian families came in to do factory work. On the other hand, growing ideals of woman's rights and woman's independence opened other spheres for women—the store, the office, the studio, and, later, the professions. Woman's admission to

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professional life was contingent upon her admission to institutions of higher education. In no respect has the century seen greater changes than in this. In the U. S. in 1803, of forty-eight academies or higher schools fitting for college in Massachusetts, only three were for girls, tho a few others admitted both girls and boys. The first female seminary was opened by the Moravians at Bethlehem, Pa., in 1749. The first female seminary to approach college rank was Mount Holyoke, opened at South Hadley, Mass., by Mary Lyon in 1836. Vassar College, the next, dates from 1865. In this movement the West led the East. Oberlin College was founded in 1833, open to both men and women. Harvard Annex, affiliated to Harvard University, was not opened till 1879.

This higher education led to professional life, tho in a few instances women entered professional careers in the U. S. at earlier dates. Mrs.

Women in Professions

Margaret Draper was connected with the *Massachusetts Gazette and News Letter* during the Revolutionary War. The first daily newspaper in the world is said to have been established and edited in London, Eng., by a woman, *The Daily Courant*, by Elizabeth Malet. In 1841 Mrs. Lydia Maria Child edited the *Anti-Slavery Standard*.

In medicine the pioneer names are Harriet K. Hunt, of Boston, who from 1822-72 practised medicine without a diploma, and, above all, Elizabeth Blackwell (*q. v.*), who, after a long struggle, received a diploma at Geneva, N. Y., in 1849. Mr. Gregory, of Boston, opened a so-called school of medicine for women in 1848, but the first adequate woman's medical institution was Miss Blackwell's New York Infirmary, chartered in 1854. Women from earliest times had been midwives and nurses; but the New England Hospital first announced the training of nurses in 1863. By 1886 there were twenty-nine training schools for nurses.

In law Mistress Brut seems to have practised in Baltimore in 1647. After her the first woman lawyer in the U. S. was Arabella A. Mansfield, of Mount Pleasant, Iowa, who was admitted to the bar in 1864. By 1879, women were allowed to plead before the Supreme Court of the U. S.

In the ministry, after the preaching of Anne Hutchinson, in Boston, in 1634, of Lucretia Mott (*q. v.*) among the Friends, and Anne Lee among the Shakers in 1770, no women seemed to have preached till recent years, tho among the Primitive Methodists and similar bodies women always exhorted. Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell seems to have been the first woman ordained in the U. S. (in 1852, in the Congregational Church). (For statistics of women's occupations, see article OCCUPATIONS.)

Such is, in brief, the general survey of woman's industrial professional position during the nineteenth century. Perhaps woman's more industrial advance during the century has not been in the professions, but in commerce, as saleswomen, clubs, typewriters, etc. Here the change has been almost revolutionary. We come now to consider her industrial position.

For the U. S., Mr. Carroll D. Wright has summarized the facts as to woman's work and wages in chap. xvi. of his "Industrial Evolution in the U. S."

In 1850 there were 225,298 female and 741,671 male employees in manufacturing industries in the U. S.—i. e., women furnished 23.30 per cent.

In 1890 there were 757,065 females, which was only 17.21 per cent of the employees. Thus, in manufacturing, women play a relatively less important part than formerly—a larger proportion of their work doubtless being done by machinery. On the other hand, the number of occupations open to women has largely increased; and, taking all bread-earning occupations, the proportion of women to men is steadily gaining.

Mr. Wright argues in the above-mentioned chapter that women are not replacing men, but that men are being freed for other occupations, and that women are in part replacing the children to-day employed to a smaller extent in manufactories than formerly.

Woman in Industry

their employment being prevented by factory laws. This view, however, is not held by all. Mr. Wright says that in 1870 114,628 children of both sexes were employed in manufacturing industries, and formed 5.58 per cent of all employees, while in 1890 there were only 120,885 children, or only 2.57 per cent of the total number. But even on this showing, the actual if not the relative number of children had increased, so that women can scarcely be said to have replaced children, while under article CHILD LABOR will be found very serious evidence to show that the census estimate of the number of children employed is very considerably too low. In some states and in some industries child labor has been limited by legislation; but it is exceedingly doubtful if this is true of all portions of the country and all manufacturing industries. It must be remembered, too, that Mr. Wright's statement is only of the manufacturing industries. Taking the great number of children now employed in stores, or who sell papers, run errands, etc., in the cities, child labor in the U. S. has probably not been lessened and women can by no means be said to have replaced children. Mr. Wright further argues that they have not displaced men, because by the census reports a larger proportion of the male population is reported as having occupations in 1890 than in 1870. But having an occupation is by no means synonymous, unfortunately, with having work at one's occupation, which point the census fails to touch. The growing problem of unemployment (*q. v.*), therefore, leaves us still to ask if women working at cheaper wages have not replaced men working at higher wages.

Women's present economic situation in the U. S. is very hard to epitomize. In general their entry in growing numbers, in all branches of industry, especially the commercial (as saleswomen, cash girls, type-writers, etc.), is among the signs of the times. (For details, see OCCUPATIONS, p. 843.) In professional life, as saleswomen, secretaries, department heads, and even typewriters and stenographers, some (tho relatively few) earn comparatively high wages. Wages for skilled stenographers are not unfrequently from \$15 to \$25. But the vast majority of women earn scarcely one third of this (\$5-\$8). Details of wages of women will in many manufacturing industries be found under WAGES. (For the lowest paid work, see SWEATING SYSTEM.) The following table gives the condition in a prosperous state:

WOMEN'S WAGES IN 1900 IN EIGHTY-SEVEN INDUSTRIES IN MASSACHUSETTS

17 per cent of the grown women and 4 per cent of the grown men received under \$5 a week.

16 per cent of the grown women and 4 per cent of the grown men received \$5 to \$6 a week.
 20 per cent of the grown women and 7 per cent of the grown men received \$6 to \$7 a week.
 15 per cent of the grown women and 10 per cent of the grown men received \$7 to \$8 a week.
 12 per cent of the grown women and 14 per cent of the grown men received \$8 to \$9 a week.
 9 per cent of the grown women and 16 per cent of the grown men received \$9 to \$10 a week.
 7 per cent of the grown women and 18 per cent of the grown men received \$10 to \$12 a week.
 3 per cent of the grown women and 14 per cent of the grown men received \$12 to \$15 a week.
 1 per cent of the grown women and 4 per cent of the grown men received \$15 to \$20 a week.

According to an Ohio report for 1901, 6,920 women in the three largest cities earned \$4.83 a week, worked 57½ hours, paid \$2.44 for board and lodging, and saved 14 cents, 1,606 people depending on them for support. Quoted in "Getting a Living," p. 480.

In New York City 130,000 women work in 39,000 factories, young girls among them working twelve or fourteen hours per day.

WOMAN'S MOVEMENT, THE, IN EUROPE:

The movement for the improvement of woman's legal, industrial, and social condition in Europe is somewhat more recent than that in the United States and Great Britain. It began in 1865-66 with the formation of the so-called *Lette-Verein*, a society of women modeled after the "National Association for Social Science" of Lord Shaftesbury, and was named after its founder and first president, Wilhelm A. Lette. This society gave the impetus to a review of all the various relations of women in the social body.

INDUSTRIAL

The most pressing need was industrial, and the first woman's societies had purely practical ends in view. As woman came to compete with man, she found that she was not sufficiently equipped from an educational and technical point of view. After education had been provided for her, she found that she was still handicapped owing to certain legal obstacles. The woman's movement had to pass through these three stages: industrial, educational, and legal. The struggle for industrial woman emancipation cannot be given here; only recent facts.

Agricultural and house industries have always been open to women; the latter are, indeed, the special field where they can assist their husbands or make provision for their children without neglecting their family duties too much. But

Germany

the necessity of providing for themselves drove at first single women and later married ones into the factories and professions. The rapid increase in Germany of women wage-earners may be seen from the fact that from 1882 to 1895 it rose from 3,959,995 to 4,853,880; that is, 893,885, or 22.6 per cent. The percentage of women among all wage-earners was 25.7 in 1895. Most of them were employed in agriculture and allied occupations, 2,745,840; clothing, 713,021; textile industries, 427,961; commerce, 299,829; hotels, inns, and restaurants, 261,450; foodstuffs, 140,333; or 94.5 per cent in all. Insurance, with 569, had the smallest number. Many women were independent in their occupations, 1,069,007; of these 698,168 had their own establishments with a number of employees. The independent women were mostly actresses, teachers, deaconesses, sisters of various orders, midwives, supervisors in asylums, matrons, nurses, etc. The

women wage-earners under sixteen years numbered 10,728; those over sixteen years, 4,843,152. Of the latter, 2,861,148, or 59.1 per cent, were single or divorced; 935,623, or 19.3 per cent, widowed; 1,046,381, or 21.6 per cent, married. The percentage of single women was largest among domestic servants, 95.5.

In 1899 women were employed in factories in Germany as follows: under 14 years, 2,911; 14-16 years, 98,664; 16-21 years, 297,387; over 21 years, 501,021. Textile industries gave employment to 393,739 of these total numbers.

Practically all occupations are now open to women in Germany, except the higher civil professions. Germany had in all 66,138 women teachers in 1895, against 151,825 men. The figures in 1882 were: women, 48,000; men, 128,000. Prussia had (1891) only 3,500 women teachers, or 11.9 per cent of the total teaching force in the elementary schools; these were, moreover, mostly sisters of Roman Catholic orders. Of all the teachers in elementary and *middle* schools there were 67,600 men, and 13,250 women, or 16.4 per cent—mostly in girls' schools. To this number must be added 7,000 male and 1,100 female supplementary teachers, e. g., gymnastics, cooking, etc. Women have, of course, charge of the departments of sewing, knitting, crocheting, etc. There were 39,500 of these teachers in Prussia. All Germany had (1895) 2,409 women in the railroad service, 498 in the postal and 7,628 in the telegraph service. Fifty women practised medicine in 1907, and one pharmacy.

Germany had, in addition to these regular wage-earners, 1,746,326 women who either give part of their time all the year round to work for wages, or worked at certain seasons only; 80 per cent of these women were found in agriculture in 1895. In 1907 Germany had 1,119,692 women workers in manufacturing establishments supervised by the State.

Austria had 4,304,581 women wage-earners in 1890, 50.8 per cent of whom were engaged in agricultural and allied occupations; 725,037 were employed in industries, trades, hotels and inns, supplying of foodstuffs, domestic service, mining, etc. About 20 per cent of the teachers in primary and grammar schools were women, chiefly sisters of Roman Catholic orders, and engaged principally in convent schools. The total number of women teachers in all schools was (1890) 22,988, against 53,895 men; in 1880: women, 15,000; men, 41,000.

France had (1891) 1,840,885 women wage-earners employed in agriculture and allied occupations; 1,427,322 were, moreover, engaged in various industries, trades, mining, etc.; and 571,000 in commerce. Paris has now a number of women coachmen. In the teaching profession the percentage of women is much larger than in Germany or Austria. In 1886 the women teachers numbered 67,000, as against 86,000 men; in 1891 the figures were 81,978 and 87,559, respectively. The women teachers were mostly in convent schools. This condition has changed greatly since 1905, when the latter were suppressed, but data are not obtainable.

Italy had in 1891 about 3,100,000 women engaged in agricultural pursuits; 1,993,567 in various industries, hotels, inns, domestic service, etc., in 1881. Of the latter number 1,196,743 were employed in textile industries, which seem to be monopolized by women, since their number

Other Countries

exceeds that of the men 8 to 9 times. In the teaching profession women exceed men in numbers, 46,887, against 32,908; or nearly 60 per cent of the total.

In Japan the number of women clerks has increased 800 per cent in 10 years.

Switzerland had in 1888 about 92,500 women employed in agriculture and similar occupations; 73,011 in factories of various kinds; 59,788 of the latter number were over 18 years old. In 1891 there were 3,108 women teachers, against 6,224 men in the primary and grammar schools; and 703 women in kindergartens. In the *middle* schools there were 192 women, as against 1,178 men, the former nearly all in girls' schools; in normal schools 70 women, as against 298 men. Geneva has a woman dentist since 1907, and a woman lawyer.

The wages of women are from one third to one half lower than those of men in all occupations in which the sexes compete. The reasons for this general condition may be found in the facts that woman entered the industrial struggle comparatively late; that she is more defenseless than man owing to a smaller ability for organization; and finally, that her needs, especially if single, are fewer than those of man, particularly if the latter is married.

The opening of trades and professions to women soon created a need and a demand for better educational facilities. These were technical, professional, and cultural.

In order to enable women to compete with men, particularly in occupations specially suitable to them, a number of so-called *Frauenarbeitschulen* were established. They are a sort of industrial schools for women. The branches taught are: sewing, dressmaking, knitting, needlework, crocheting, etc.; drawing, bookkeeping, correspondence, and commercial mathematics. The school at Reutlingen, Württemberg, is the oldest; it was established in 1868. Other similar schools soon sprang up; Württemberg had 19 in 1890 with 4,511 pupils; Bavaria, 26 with 2,252; Saxony, 11 with 1,081; Baden, 16 with 1,110. Prussia and the other German states have not been slow in adopting this system. France, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland—have numerous schools along these lines with the same curricula in the main. For nurses, deaconesses, teachers, and other vocations excellent technical schools have been established. The demand for special instruction, for instance, in nursing and allied branches, may be inferred from the fact that in 1895 Germany had 66,246 women who were engaged in vocations pertaining to hygiene, medicine, and nursing; Austria in 1890 had 14,662; Italy in 1881 had 15,204; France in 1891 had 17,737.

PROFESSIONAL

The medical profession is open to women in nearly all countries of Europe, but thus far the number of women physicians is small on the Continent. Russia had the largest number, 550 in 1887, as against 18,009 men. The profession of law is closed to them, except in a few countries.

Switzerland was the first country to do this in 1867 at Zurich. The women who availed themselves of this opportunity were, however, mostly foreigners, chiefly Russians. Gradually all the other Swiss universities followed the example of Zurich. In 1898-99 there were in all 937 women

at Swiss universities; 555 were matriculated, among whom 473 foreigners, and 382 auditors. According to studies they were divided as follows: medicine, 355; philosophical branches, 93; law, 7.

The university of Bern promoted Miss Fumarkin, Ph.D., Privat-Dozent, to a professorship in 1907.

France: Paris opened its university to women in 1868; at first as auditors, later as regular students—principally in medical courses, but now in some others, e. g., art and literature. French universities had 871 women in 1898; 66 per cent of these were Frenchwomen. In 1907 France had 2,500 women students in her universities: 124 in law; 796 in medicine; 1,105 in philosophy. Mrs. Curie was appointed Dozent at the Sorbonne.

Other countries soon followed: Sweden and Finland in 1870; Denmark, 1875; Italy, 1876; Belgium, 1880; Norway, 1884; Spain and Rumania, 1888; Greece, 1890; Hungary, 1895; Austria, 1896, as auditors, 1900 as matriculated students in medicine and pharmacy. The attendance has, however, been small, except in Finland.

Russia and Germany deserve special mention; the former, because women were admitted to medical lectures in 1876, and has established a special medical faculty for women in St. Petersburg in 1897; the latter because women have, as a rule, no legal status in universities. Baden admitted women at Heidelberg in 1891; at first as auditors, later for matriculation. Other German states followed. But they were admitted as auditors only to special courses, chiefly in medicine; they needed a special permit from the government, and the permission of the lecturer. In 1899 the Federal Council issued an order that women should be admitted to the practise of medicine and pharmacy, and that they should be permitted to matriculate in German universities. Nevertheless, many lecturers still refuse to admit them on the same footing as men. Coeducation is making good progress—in some *Real Schulen* there are 50 per cent girl students—and this must eventually react on the conservative attitude of the universities. At present the only solution seems to be the establishment of special medical courses for women as in Russia. In 1900-1 there were 1,029 women at German universities, 13 of whom received the doctorate.

Holland admits women to the courses and practise of pharmacy.

The cultural schools in Europe were needed for two reasons: (1) as a preliminary training, and (2) as a means to supply information and instruction on general lines. The last need arose first.

In order to meet it a number of German cities have established *Mädchen-Gymnasien*; that is, schools which combine the academy and college. Two of these, those at Berlin and Karlsruhe, have adopted the course of the corresponding schools for men and prepare for the universities; others follow a somewhat different course and give instruction more specially adapted to the cultural needs of women. Switzerland has coeducation in the *gymnasien*. Rome has established one for women.

According to the German civil code a woman is the equal of man as a private individual. She is allowed to own property, give bail, and be guardian; she may sue and be sued; and has full parental power over her legitimate children. She may take up nearly all occupations open to men, but she cannot be a judge or serve on a jury, or as

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Development

minister of religion. Practically the same rights and disabilities are accorded to her in all countries of Europe, except Turkey. In most parts of Germany and Austria women have the right of suffrage at communal elections, provided they own property and are single or widowed. In Sweden they may vote at provincial elections—if single and property-owners—and are eligible to offices in the poor relief departments, and, in Stockholm, to the school board. In Norway they may vote at school elections; in Finland at communal, municipal, and State. In Sweden, Finland, Rumania, and some cantons of Switzerland women may practise law; also in France since 1900. In nearly all countries they are admitted to the study and practise of medicine; but are confined to women and children in their practise. In Russia women physicians have the same chances with men in the appointment of positions at State hospitals and health departments. The legal disabilities of women are gradually removed in all countries on the Continent; e. g., they are allowed to organize and thus agitate more effectually for improving their conditions.

As a compensation for not having the ballot, and in recognition of their peculiar position, women are specially protected by the laws in certain respects, particularly when they are wage-earners. The federal laws of Germany of 1891 prescribe that women shall under no conditions work at night in mines; that a day's work in any industry shall not exceed 11 hours, and on Saturdays and days preceding holy days, 10 hours; that lunch hours must be 1 hour, and for mothers 1 hour and 30 minutes; that for two weeks before and four or six weeks after confinement they must not be employed; that in dangerous occupations special regulations shall be passed for their protection according to local needs. Germany has recently passed special laws against the employment of women as waiters in inns and certain hotels.

REFERENCES: Bartsch, *Die Rechtsstellung der Frau als Gattin und Mutter* (1903); Gnauck-Kühne, *Die deutsche Frau um die Jahrhundertwende* (1904); *Handbuch für Frauenbildung und Frauenberuf* (1904); Turgeon, *Le Féminisme français* (1902); Fenelon Gibson, *Employées et Ouvrières* (1906).

WOMAN'S POSITION IN HISTORY: In prehistoric times and among barbarous tribes, women have occasionally been honored more than in later periods. The savage queen has sometimes been recognized as the superior of the savage king. Women in the legendary or heroic period or Greek history occupy a distinctly higher place than in the classic period. The cause for this is undoubtedly that early in the history of man customs have not yet hardened into social laws, and the position accorded to women depended, therefore, less upon social ideas and more upon the character of women. All history shows the same. Women of beauty or of ability, therefore, can secure a comparatively high place.

Around woman, too, more than around man, develops the family and the home. (See FAMILY.) If society first formed around the mother, force was the first law, and woman was usually looked upon as a slave, and later as a slave or a toy. She was early exposed to all those revulsions of feeling that follow the gratification, among rude men, of the animal passion. Chastity on the part of women was at first to large extent a property

right. Men demanded it in their property; to far less extent was it considered a merit in themselves. Monetary customs show how far marriage has its basis in property considerations.

Greece was probably the first country to develop monogamy, and to place women on an established basis of honor and of love. The parting of Hector and Andromache, the fidelity of Penelope to Ulysses, the love of Alcestis dying for her husband, the filial piety of Antigone, the heroic death of Polyxena, the resignation of Iphigenia to her father, who would sacrifice her life to fulfil his vow, the joyous love of Nausicaa, are pictures of Grecian womanhood in the early age, which, Lecky says, "Rome and Christendom, chivalry and modern civilization, have neither eclipsed nor transcended." Yet the heroes of that age had concubines. Female captives were little respected. Woman was always regarded as the inferior of man.

Marriage was regarded in civic light as the means of producing citizens. Protected somewhat by the law, the Greek wife was by custom fettered exclusively to household circles.

The Greek *hetæra*, or courtesan, was, on the contrary, free to develop mind and body, and become the intellectual companion of man. Statesmen like Pericles and philosophers like Socrates honored the *hetæra* in public and in private. Says Lecky ("History of European Morals," vol. ii., chap. v.):

If we can imagine Ninon de l'Enclos at a time when the rank and splendor of Parisian society thronged her drawing-rooms, reckoning a Bossuet or a Fénelon among her followers—if we can imagine these prelates publicly advising her about the duties of her profession, and the means of attaching the affections of her lovers, we shall have conceived a relation scarcely more strange than that which existed between Socrates and the courtesan Theodota.

Courtezans were honored, too, in connection with religion. They were the voluptuous priestesses of Aphrodite. The form of Phryne, carved in gold, stood in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Schools of vice at Miletus, Tenedos, Lesbos, and Abydos were connected with the temples. In Pompeii a symbol of the male organ of generation seems commonly to have been stamped on bread as representing the sustainer of life. Nor must the sensuality of Greece and Rome be regarded as exceptional. (See PROSTITUTION.) Says Lecky (idem, chap. v.):

There has arisen in society a figure which is certainly the most mournful and in some respects the most awful upon which the eye of the moralist can dwell. That unhappy being whose very name is a shame to speak; who counterfeits with a cold heart the transports of affection, and submits herself as the passive instrument of lust; who is scorned and insulted as the vilest of her sex, and doomed for the most part to disease and abject wretchedness and an early death, appears in every age as the perpetual symbol of the degradation and the sinfulness of man. Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the efficient guardian of virtue. But for her the unchallenged purity of countless happy homes would be polluted, and not a few who, in the pride of their untempted chastity, think of her with an indignant shudder would have known the agony of remorse and despair. In that one degraded and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains, while creeds and civilizations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people.

In Rome, woman, except in the very earliest period, was given more legal rights than in Greece. Marriage was regarded in law and in social ideals as a contract between equals. This in the earliest period was overridden, it is true, by the terrible powers given to the father of the family (see

Primitive
Times

Rome

Legal
Standing of
Women

FAMILY); but this was gradually modified, and the Roman and Stoic exaltation of the individual was extended to the wife. "*Ubi tu Caius, ego Caia,*" the Roman wife could say. This conception of marriage as a contract between sovereign individuals led to easy divorce. The disintegration of marriage ties that set in is well known. (See FAMILY.)

The influence of Christianity on the legal and political status of woman has been much discussed. (See CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

Christianity Viewed from the standpoint of modern ideas, the Pauline conception of woman is distinctly low. "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord, for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church, and He is the Savior of the body. Therefore as the Church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything" (Ephesians, chap. v. 22-24). But St. Paul immediately added, "Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church and gave Himself for it." Marriage by the Church fathers, and, to some extent, even in the pages of the New Testament, is conceived of as best a weakness, a legal concession to the flesh.

Nevertheless, the ideas of the early Church must be compared not with our ideas, but with those of that day, and the purity of the Christian family and the honor paid to woman is as light itself compared with the darkness of the impurity of the pagan world.

Says Origen: "There is not a Christian community which has not been exempted from a thousand vices and a thousand passions" (*Contra Celsum*). (For the influence of Christianity on the Roman legislation in regard to woman, see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

Coming to woman's position in the Middle Ages, it appears the result of the blending of many influences, the laws of the Roman Empire,

Middle Ages the ideals of Christianity, the asceticism of the clergy, the traditions of the Germanic tribes, the romanticism of chivalry, and the lust of warlike men. (See MIDDLE AGES; FAMILY; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) The Germanic tribes honored woman, yet rather, as we have seen above, on the basis of savage equality than of legal status. Compared with the corruption of Rome, the purity of Germanic marriage struck Tacitus, and, through him and similar writers, has been much emphasized, but its purity did not begin to compare with that of early Christianity.

The influence of the Church in the Middle Ages was twofold. The influence of monasticism and asceticism on the ordinary life of woman was almost wholly bad. To conceive of marriage as sin was to give it over to sin. The terrible reactions of asceticism and the corruption developed by monasticism (*q. v.*) are well known. (See MIDDLE AGES.) Nevertheless, the nunneries did enable some women to escape the violence of the times and develop saintly lives.

In connection with this was the development of Mariolatry. The worship of the Virgin has probably more connection with the romantic and partly sensuous ideas of medieval chivalry than all writers are willing to admit. Yet no one can question its influence in part for good. Says Lecky:

It is also a striking illustration of the qualities which prove most attractive in women that one of whom we know nothing except her gentleness and her sorrow should have exercised a magnetic power upon the world incomparably greater than was exercised by the most majestic female patriots of paganism. Whatever may be thought of its theological propriety, there can be little doubt that the Catholic reverence for the Virgin has done much to elevate and purify the ideal of woman and to soften the manners of men.

Whence chivalry came no man wholly knows. It had a deep root in sensuality. No one can read the romances of the Middle Ages, the poetry of the minnesingers or the troubadours, without realizing this. Men cannot pay certain forms of respect to women without giving them, in their very adulation, the grossest insult. To praise a woman's weakness is to acknowledge it, and to show that one's ideal of womanhood is weak. To worship physical love is to confess to a low type of loving. The connection between chivalry and licentiousness is close. Nevertheless there was another root. Woman in the Middle Ages stood for the softening of war and violence and strife. When the knight knelt before his lady, he rose to a nobler manhood, and chivalry honored the source of the higher life.

The effect of the Protestant Reformation on the social status of woman was undoubtedly good, though not an unmixed good. Its greatest effect in this respect was to condemn celibacy, the false praise of virginity, and the condemnation of marriage. Second only to this was its effect in freeing woman from subjection to the confessor and the priest. The sanctity of married life, the inviolability of the home, are almost distinctively Protestant conceptions. Undoubtedly, with these enormous strides forward, certain evils came in. The tendency to secularize the marriage relation has to some extent tended also to commercialize it and to increase divorce. (See DIVORCE.) However, of this secularizing and liberalizing tendency has come the modern movement toward woman's rights. It has, however, only developed in our own century. Milton, in his day, makes Eve say to Adam ("Paradise Lost," Book iv.):

God is the law, thou mine;

To know no more is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.

Even Rousseau says:

Women are specially made to please men . . . all their education should be relative to men. To please them, be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to bring them up when young, to take care of them when grown up, to counsel, to console them, to make their lives agreeable and pleasant—these in all ages have been the duties of women, and it is for these duties that they should be educated from infancy. . . . Being incapable of judging for themselves (as to religion) they ought to accept the decision of their fathers and their husbands like that of the Church ("Émile," ch. v.).

In 1797 Charles Fox said in a speech:

It has never been suggested in all the theories and projects of the most absurd speculation, that it would be advisable to expend the elective suffrage on the female sex.

This brings us, however, to modern times. See various articles.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE: We present first a general statement of the position of woman's suffrage in the world.

I. PRESENT STATUS

In the United States women possess suffrage upon equal terms with men at all elections in four

states: in Wyoming, established in 1869; in Colorado, 1893; in Utah, 1895; and in Idaho, 1896.

In Kansas women possess school suffrage, established in 1861, and municipal suffrage, 1887.

In nineteen additional states women possess school suffrage: in Michigan and Minnesota, established in 1875; in New Hampshire and Oregon, 1878; in Massachusetts, 1879; in New York and Vermont, 1880; in Nebraska, 1883; in Wisconsin, 1885; in Washington, 1886; in Arizona, Montana, New Jersey, North Dakota, and South Dakota, 1887; in Illinois, 1891; in Connecticut, 1893; in Ohio, 1894; in Oklahoma, 1904.

Two additional states permit women to vote upon the issuance of municipal bonds: Montana, established in 1887; Iowa, 1894.

Louisiana gave all women taxpayers the suffrage upon all questions of public expenditure in 1898.

Either full or fractional suffrage for women exists in twenty-six states.

There are in Australia three distinct classes of suffrage: municipal, parliamentary, and federal.

Women were given municipal suffrage in New South Wales in 1867; in Victoria, 1869; in West Australia, 1871; in New Zealand, 1877; in South Australia, 1880; in Tasmania, 1884.

Parliamentary suffrage was extended to women of New Zealand in 1893; in South Australia, 1895; in West Australia, 1900; in New South Wales, 1902; in Tasmania, 1903; in Queensland, 1905.

In 1902 the first Federal Parliament extended the federal suffrage to all women in Australia upon the same terms as men. All women in Australia, therefore, upon the same terms as men, enjoy full municipal and federal suffrage, and the women of West Australia, South Australia, and New South Wales possess all forms of suffrage. The women of Victoria do not possess the parliamentary suffrage. New Zealand is not federated, and hence there is no federal suffrage there; women and men vote upon equal terms in all elections.

In the Isle of Man and Pitcairn Island women have full suffrage. In England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales women vote for all elective officers, except members of Parliament. In 1898 women engaged in commerce in France were given the right to vote for judges of the tribunals of commerce. In Sweden women vote for all elective officers, except representatives in Parliament; also, indirectly, for members of the House of Lords. In Norway all women, married or single, who receive a very small income, or whose husbands possess an income of the same amount, vote for all officers, including members of Parliament. In Russia women householders vote for all elective officers and on all local matters for which men are permitted to vote; in Finland, for all elective officers, and nineteen women now occupy seats in Parliament. Property-holding women in Westphalia, Schleswig-Holstein, and Brunswick may vote by proxy at local elections, and for members of provisional diets. Women who are land proprietors may vote in Bohemia by proxy for members of the Imperial Parliament and the local diet. In Saxony women vote on the same terms as men; married women by proxy, a single woman directly. Women have municipal suffrage in Moravia by proxy. In Austria-Hungary they vote by proxy for elective officers. In Croatia and Dalmatia women vote at local elec-

tions in person. In Italy widows with property vote by proxy for members of Parliament. In Prussia women vote by proxy at elections and for members of provincial diets, and in Luxembourg for municipal officers and members of the legislature also. In Switzerland women real-estate owners have local suffrage in the canton of Bern. In Rumania women taxpayers have municipal suffrage by proxy.

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Woman's Suffrage Alliance.*

(For United States and Great Britain, see special articles.)

In general the salient facts of the movement are set forth in *The North American Review* for September by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, who is widely known as a historian and advocate of the cause. The storm center of the movement at the present moment, says Mrs. Harper, is Great Britain; its most conspicuous triumph has been in Finland, where nineteen women have seats in the National Parliament; and in the U. S. the conditions it has to overcome "are harder and more complicated than in any other country." The two most important events marking this question as a world movement, we are told, were the meetings of the International Council of Women in 1904 and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen in 1906. The International Council of Women, which "comprizes seven or eight millions of the leading women in the various countries," has declared for strenuous efforts "to enable women to obtain the power of voting in all countries where a representative government exists." In fourteen countries the movement is organized and aggressive, and an international paper has been established for purposes of encouragement and propaganda. In New Zealand women have had the full franchise on exactly the same terms as men since 1893. In Australia since 1901 they have had the full federal suffrage and the right to sit in the National Parliament. Turning to Europe, Mrs. Harper points to the curious anomaly that in its two republics—France and Switzerland—"the cause of woman suffrage is more backward than in almost any of the other countries." In France, however, the "Catholics who have always stood inflexibly against giving political rights to women, are now saying that, if women had possess a vote, they would not have shown the indifference to the interests of the Church that men have, and Parliament would not have been able to bring about the separation of Church and State." In the Netherlands the movement "is well organized and advanced," and in Denmark it was greatly stimulated by the convention of the International Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen a year ago. But in actual results Denmark "is far behind the other Scandinavian countries, behind even its own colony of Iceland." In Germany a leading Catholic paper has recently declared that the laws of the Church do not forbid the enfranchisement of women, and that social and economic development make it desirable, and the strong Socialist party in that country has formally espoused the cause. In Russia "the desire for a voice in the government is strong among all classes of women, but especially among the peasants."

The headquarters of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association is Warren, Ohio. See page 806.

II. ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

(a) ARGUMENTS AGAINST IT

The arguments for woman suffrage are based partly upon the asserted natural rights of woman, partly upon the need of woman's influence in politics both to protect her own sex and to purify the increasingly important realm of political action; thirdly, upon the good results of woman suffrage where already tried. Upon the first point, says a leaflet published by the American Woman Suffrage Association:

The basic argument for woman suffrage is that women have as clear a title to the ballot as men have. It is urged that women are governed, but without their consent. From the Declaration of Independence is quoted: "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." In the support of the claim that the suffrage is a right of both sexes alike, the late George William Curtis said, in an address before the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1867:

"The rights which they [the fathers of the republic] declared to be inalienable are what are usually called natural as distinguished from political rights, but they are not limited by sex. A woman has the same right to her life, liberty, and property that a man has, and she has consequently the same right to an equality of protection that he has; and this, as I understand it, is what is meant by the phrase, 'the right of suffrage.' If I have a natural right to my life and liberty, I have the same right to everything that protects that life and liberty which any other man enjoys. I ask the same for every woman in this state.

"Our fathers answered the question of the best and surest protection of natural right by their famous phrase, 'the consent of the governed.' That is to say, since every man is born with equal rights, he is entitled to an equal protection of them with all other men; and, since government is that protection, right reason and experience alike demand that every person shall have a voice in the government upon perfectly equal and practical terms—that is, upon terms which are not necessarily insurmountable by any part of the people.

"I deny that the people of the State of New York can rightfully—that is, according to right reason and the principles of this government derived from it—permanently exclude any class of persons or any person whatever from a voice in the government, unless it can be clearly established that their participation in political power would be dangerous to the state."

Upon the second point, the need for woman suffrage, it is claimed that women cannot be adequately protected while men alone make the laws, and the denial of the franchise to women is denounced as a stigma degrading her to the same category with idiots, lunatics, and criminals. It is urged that woman's mind would be broadened and elevated by a study of public questions, and, further, that voting is the quietest, easiest, most dignified, and least conspicuous way of influencing public affairs. It is asserted that women need the ballot to protect their business interests and to acquire social and personal rights that are now denied them. It is claimed that woman suffrage would increase the strength of the home element in politics, secure the election of better men to office, and introduce higher moral standards into government.

(For evidence of the need of woman to protect her sex in legislation, see section 2 of this article, on "Woman's Present Legal Status." See also article AGE OF CONSENT.)

Concerning the results of woman suffrage, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, editor of the *Woman's Journal* of Boston, writes the *Voice* of Nov. 9, 1893, as follows:

"In England Mr. Gladstone is on record as saying the women have exercised municipal suffrage 'without detriment and with great advantage.' Lady Randolph Churchill and the band of highly conservative Englishwomen who published a 'remonstrance' against granting parliamentary suffrage to women, a few years ago, were careful to say that they had no objection to municipal suffrage, and even thought its responsibilities had exerted a beneficial effect on the character of women.

"In the states where women have school suffrage only, the vote of women has generally been small, as the vote of men is always small wherever the school committee are chosen at a separate election; but the women who have voted have been almost without exception of the intelligent and respectable class.

"The statement has been widely circulated that the vote for the Boston women for the school board is falling off. At the last school election in Boston 4,000 more women voted than at the previous election; and the women's vote for the past five years has averaged more than six times what it averaged for the five years previous."

In Wyoming full suffrage was extended to women by the legislature of that territory in 1869. The results proved so satisfactory that the law was continued upon the statute-book for twenty years. In 1889, the constitutional convention elected to frame a constitution for the new state of Wyoming, and embodied a woman's suffrage clause in the constitution by a five-sixths vote. The constitution containing this woman's suffrage clause was submitted to the people (the people in this case meaning both men and women), and was ratified by a very large majority. Wyoming was admitted to the union with this clause in its constitution by a vote of 132 to 119 in the House of Representatives and a vote of twenty-nine to eighteen in the Senate. The House of the Wyoming legislature of 1893, just before adjournment, passed by a unanimous vote the following concurrent resolution:

"Be it resolved by the Second Legislature of the State of Wyoming:

"That the possession and exercise of suffrage by the women of Wyoming for the past quarter of a century has wrought no harm and has done great good in many ways; that it has largely aided in banishing crime, pauperism, and vice from this state, and that without any violent and oppressive legislation; that it has secured peaceful and orderly elections, good government, and a remarkable degree of civilization and public order; and we point with pride to the facts that after nearly twenty-five years of woman suffrage not one county in Wyoming has a poorhouse, that our jails are almost empty, and crime, except that committed by strangers in the state, is almost unknown; and as the result of experience we urge every civilized community on earth to enfranchise its women without delay.

"Resolved, That an authenticated copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the governor of the state to the legislature of every state and territory in this country, and to every legislative body in the world; and that we request the press throughout the civilized world to call the attention of their readers to these resolutions."

Every governor of Wyoming for more than twenty years has testified that much good has resulted from woman suffrage.

More recent experience bears out, according to the woman-suffrage believers, these good results. The first legislature elected in Colorado after the granting of woman suffrage raised the age of consent from fourteen to eighteen, and gave a married woman an equal voice with her husband in regard to children. At the last election in Denver the women are credited with defeating the saloon element. A correspondent of the *Congregationalist* writes from Sydney, South Australia, under date of May 9, 1896, that it is generally conceded there that woman suffrage has made parliamentary elections more orderly. It is true that nowhere has woman suffrage introduced startling changes, but this is neither to be expected nor desired.

OBJECTIONS TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE ANSWERED

The main objections to woman suffrage are that (1) women are physically disqualified from participation in the actual work of government; that they are unfitted for service in the fire and police departments and for the work of paving and lighting streets, building roads, and other forms of public property; (2) home duties would prevent woman, even if she were physically able, from participating in the administration of law, chiefly in such capacities as police officer and juror; (3) woman suffrage would divide the husband and wife and leave the family no longer a social unit; (4) women are now virtually represented at the polls and in government.

To the first objection cited above the answer is

that what the voter needs is not personal knowledge of how to build sewers, construct aqueducts, run law courts, etc., but sufficient judgment and common sense to elect honest men to office to attend to these things. Women share in the results of these material things of government, and if the work has been badly performed, women suffer quite as much as the men, and therefore are entitled to a voice in the choosing of men who shall control these matters.

To the second objection answer is made that a woman need not cease to be domestic because she is also patriotic and takes an intelligent interest in public questions. Such a patriotic woman will be a more rational companion for her husband and a broader-minded mother for her children. Women owe the men of their families mental and spiritual companionship. In none of the states is the ability to bear arms or serve as juror or police officer regarded as a qualification for the suffrage. Not all male citizens, but only able-bodied male citizens, are subject to police duty. Women at home have as much time for voting as busy men, and they have more time for thought.

To the third objection reply is made that in matters of opinion and belief the unit must necessarily be the individual, not the family. The family ought to be a unit in affection, but it cannot always be a unit in opinion, and it rarely is so.

There is no country where the franchise is given to every head of a family and to no one else. No matter how many men over twenty-one years of age there may be in a household, each of them has a vote to represent his opinion. With the family as the suffrage unit, a widower who had lost his wife and children would be debarred from voting, because he is no longer the head of a family.

To the fifth objection, that women are represented already, the reply is, men cannot represent women, because they are unlike women. Women as a class have tasks, interests, and occupations which they alone can adequately represent. Men specially represent material interests; women will specially represent the interests of the home. The laws relating to the liquor traffic and to social purity, and the laws giving the husband power of disposing of his wife's property or children without her consent, and many other laws that might be cited, are evidence that the views of women are not represented in government. James Otis, one of the earliest American orators and a contemporary of Patrick Henry, said: "No such phrase as 'virtual representation' was ever known in law or constitution. It is altogether a subtlety and an illusion, wholly unfounded and absurd."

Other objections are: (1) politics are necessarily corrupting; (2) women would vote as their husbands or fathers do; (3) the best women will not vote; (4) most women do not want to vote; (5) woman suffrage would only double the vote without changing results; (6) woman suffrage would diminish respect for women.

The answers generally made to these objections are: (1) "If politics are necessarily corrupting," why not advise good men to quit voting? (2) Many women have no husbands and no living fathers. If they have and vote as these men do, there will be no quarrel; if they vote differently, then this objection falls to the ground. (3) Women who will not vote are not the best women. Women who are really conscientious will not shirk their duties when the time comes. (4) There is frequently an election toward which a

majority of the voters may be said to be indifferent. It has been shown by statistics that, except in years of presidential election, a majority of men in Massachusetts do not vote. (5) But the quality of the voters changes the quality of politics. A political party of men and women will not be the same as a party of men alone. (6) Voting is power. Power always commands respect. Women armed with the ballot will be stronger and more respected than ever before.

THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The arguments against woman suffrage are as varied as those claimed for it. The main argument is that influence and power, even political influence and power, are and ought to be of more kinds than one. Voting is not the only means of political and social power. Quiet home influences are greater powers, even in politics, and in this realm woman is supreme. Men rule the outer world, women the inner. To drag women into the public arena is to weaken her influence at home and to violate that law of sex which nature has made, not man.

That women do not need to vote in order to secure proper legislation can be seen by the fact that, without the ballot, laws almost revolutionary have been enacted in favor of women in almost all countries within the last few years. In England and in many American states women are legally protected as much as men. Some injustices doubtless remain, but these are balanced by instances where women are more protected than men. Says Dr. Goldwin Smith, in "Essays on Questions of the Day":

The law regarding the property of married women has been so far reformed in the interests of the wife that, instead of being unduly favorable to the husband, it seems rather inspired by mistrust of him. The practise is still more so. It has become the custom to tie up a woman's property on marriage so that she shall not be able, even if she is so inclined, to make provision for her husband, in case he survives her, in old age, and save him from the necessity of receiving alms from his own children.

That the administration of the law has been unfavorable to women few will contend. In jury cases, at least, the difficulty is not for women to get justice against men, but for men to get justice against women.

Says Francis M. Scott, of New York:

The law of this state not only does not discriminate against woman in any respect, save that of voting, but actually affords to her many special privileges and immunities not enjoyed by men.

Undoubtedly laws could be improved for both men and women; but all cannot be done in a day, and the fact, which no one can deny, that enormous progress has recently been made in the legal status of women without woman suffrage shows that it is not necessary to such progress. Nor does woman suffrage necessarily bring great improvement. Even its friends do not claim that it has accomplished much. Says a tract, "Woman Suffrage Tested by its Fruits," published by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Woman:

In Wyoming full suffrage was given to women in 1869, and has been exercised by them ever since, at first under the territorial and later under the state form of government.

Wyoming enjoys the distinction of legalizing gambling. Licenses are granted for gambling just as they are for liquor selling, tho at a higher rate.

There is another section of the Wyoming statutes in which we fail to recognize the gentle and humanizing influence of women. It is section 875, and defines "excusable homicide" thus: "When committed by accident or misfortune in the heat of passion upon any sudden or sufficient provocation, or upon a sudden combat; provided that no undue advantage is taken,

nor any dangerous weapon used, and that the killing is not done in a cruel or unusual manner." There may be other states which pronounce killing "excusable" when done in "the heat of passion," provided it is not attended by unusual cruelty, but we do not recall them.

Of Colorado a writer in *The Outlook* for March 20, 1897, says woman suffrage has not purified politics; that the laws of the state as regards social purity and the rights of married women are not yet abreast of some of the Eastern states, while Wyoming is far behind Colorado.

The bad results of women's entry into the public arena are not so easily shown, because they consist mainly in the weakening of the home life and the quiet influence of women. But tho they cannot be shown, they may be, and many believe that they are, most marked and most threatening.

Feeling that there is a profound law of nature which enthrones woman in the home as men in political life, most women do not want the suffrage. Says the tract, "Tested by its Fruits":

How small is the proportion of women who really wish the ballot may be inferred from the "referendum" upon the question of municipal suffrage for women, taken in Massachusetts in 1895. The opportunity was given to women at that election, without any expense, or any trouble beyond that of registering and voting, to say whether they wanted municipal suffrage. Out of about 575,000 women entitled to vote, only 22,204 expressed a desire for the ballot. In Massachusetts, therefore, where the suffrage agitation has been as active as anywhere in the union, less than 4 per cent of the women want to vote. Assuming that this ratio holds generally, the suffrage proposition is that the ballot shall be forced upon the 96 per cent of indifferent or reluctant women, because the 4 per cent wish it.

Says Heloise Jamison, in the *Woman's Journal* for May, 1894:

Woman's place is in the forefront of life, that of the family and of the nation.

Woman's chance of saving, elevating, caring for them lies in staying with them behind the barrier that love has raised. Her chance of protecting herself and man is to go with him to the edge of battle, pray for him in the needs-most of public duty, be the incentive for his return, and the reward of his hard endeavor.

The destiny of the race is in her hands. God and man have placed it there, and it is in no spirit of self-praise or gratulation that she must carry on what is, after all these ages, but just begun. Every power in her must wake; she will decide what public work is consistent with this final duty and what is not. Chivalry is no myth of the Middle Ages, but a truth of the century about to dawn. The names of mother, wife, sister must not become the football of sentiment-mongers or of mistaken realists in thought. If the ballot would be a hindrance, we must have none of it.

REFERENCES: *The History of Woman Suffrage*, Stanton, Anthony, and Gage; *The Legal Status of Woman*, Jessie J. Casidy; *The Matriarchate*, Elizabeth Cady Stanton; *The Subjection of Women*, John Stuart Mill; *The Rights of Women*, Ostrogorski; *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, Mary Wollstonecraft; *Women in the Nineteenth Century*, Margaret Fuller; *History of Woman*, Lydia Maria Child. For views opposed to woman suffrage, see Helen K. Johnson's *Woman and the Republic*.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE IN GREAT BRITAIN:

When the women of Great Britain obtain citizen rights, they will not be the first of their sex to enter into the political life of the nation. Disfranchisement on the ground of sex is a modern innovation which has crept into our constitution. In ancient Britain women were the political equals of men, having in time of war as well as in time of peace a full share of privileges and of burdens. In Saxon times, too, women were not debarred from taking part in the government of the country. Even after the Norman Conquest the political equality of the sexes was still maintained.

The public offices that women have held include those of queen, high sheriff, earl marshal, high constable, high steward. There have been

and still are peeresses in their own right and both peeresses and abbesses were formerly admitted to Parliament. There is conclusive historical proof that women formerly took part in the election of members of the House of Commons.

Early History

The seventeenth century saw a decline in the position and influence of women which coincided with the struggle between king and Commons. It is a curious fact that with the growth of democracy the political position of women tends to deteriorate. Those who believe that humanity rather than property is the true qualification for political rights are prone to consider humanity in this connection as comprizing only males. Nevertheless, there was no trace anywhere in our legislation of any exclusion of women from citizenship until the enactment of the Reform Bill in 1832.

The writings of Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill, and others had caused a considerable section of the public to favor the political emancipation of women, and when next the task of reforming the franchise was seriously undertaken by Parliament, there was a vigorous demand that women should share the benefit of the proposed legislation. A numerously signed petition in favor of woman's suffrage was laid before Parliament by John Stuart Mill, and upon the introduction by the government of the Household Suffrage Bill, in 1867, he proposed an amendment for the inclusion of women in the measure. This amendment, tho it received substantial support, was defeated. Nevertheless, it seemed probable that the victory had in fact been won because the new franchise act, unlike the Reform Bill of 1832, employed not the words "male person," but the word "man." Lord Brougham's act, enacted in 1851, had provided that in all acts of Parliament, unless the contrary were expressly stated, words importing the masculine gender should include women. It was, therefore, generally believed that the word man applied to persons of either sex and that women had a legal claim to vote under the newly enacted Household Suffrage measure. The names of several thousand women were placed upon the register of parliamentary voters and the matter was brought before the law courts for decision. In support of the women's case it was argued, first, that sex is no legal disqualification for political rights, and, second, that the provisions of Lord Brougham's act applied, and that the word "man" must be taken to apply to women as well as to men. The judges gave an unfavorable decision and laid down in defiance of all historical fact that according to constitutional and common law women are incapable of exercising any public function. Thus it will be seen that the exclusion of women from political rights rests, not upon legislation, but upon judicial decision.

What is now claimed is that Parliament should set aside the legal decision of 1868 and reestablish the ancient order of things according to which a woman, if she possess the requisite qualification, had the same political rights as a man. In order to induce Parliament to take the desired action, woman's suffrage societies were organized in London, Manchester, and other towns.

As the agitation gained in strength the opposition to woman's suffrage was more plainly manifested. In 1875 a committee of peers, members of Parliament, and other influential men was organized for the purpose of opposing the claim

for the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women. Every time a bill came before the House of Commons urgent whips were issued calling upon opponents to attend and vote against the bill.

In 1884 a further extension of the franchise was proposed by the responsible government of the day. By this time the movement for the enfranchisement of women had so grown as to be far stronger than that which claimed the extension of the men's franchise. Notwithstanding this the government laid before the House of Commons a reform measure applying only to men. It was hoped, and with some reason, that an amendment to include women might be carried. Upon this Gladstone rose and said: "The cargo which the vessel carries is in our opinion a cargo as large as she can safely carry. With regard to the proposal to introduce woman's suffrage into this bill, I offer it the strongest opposition in my power and I must disclaim and renounce all responsibility for the measure should my honorable friend succeed in inducing the House to adopt it." Gladstone's threat was effective and the amendment was lost, the figures showing that if pledged supporters of the women's cause had been true to their convictions, the amendment, instead of being defeated, would have been carried by a majority of 72.

The woman suffragists of that day felt that they had made every possible effort and had failed, and it is perhaps not surprising that the movement was for many years under a cloud. The agitation suffered a further very serious check by the separation of women into different political camps. Foiled in their attempt to obtain their political rights, large numbers of women attached themselves to one or other of the men's parties.

The Primrose League admitted women to its ranks and in consequence grew very much in strength and importance. In 1887 was formed the Women's Liberal Federation.

A new Parliament was elected in 1886 containing 343 friends of woman's suffrage. Each session bills were introduced, but owing in some cases to the action of the government and in others to unforeseen accident, they made no progress.

During the recent Conservative administration the House approved the principle of woman's suffrage by the substantial majority of 114, but those in office neglected to act upon this favorable declaration, and in the following session the prime minister, A. J. Balfour, resigned office, the present Liberal government being at once formed. It was at this moment that the new militant agitation for woman's suffrage began. Six years earlier a breath of new life had come into the agitation. There were those who felt that there ought, in consequence of the growing political power of the working classes, to be some change in the methods of agitation. A vigorous campaign among working men and women was begun.

In 1903 some of those who had been most active in this work formed a society known as the Women's Social and Political Union.

The older societies for woman's suffrage had been at fault in making their appeal almost entirely to women of the prosperous classes. The Women's Social and Political Union soon discovered that it was equally unwise to make the woman's suffrage movement a purely working-class one. Accordingly this latter society has for

a long time past carried on its agitation among women of every social degree.

Immediately upon the formation of the new Liberal government, the Women's Social and Political Union determined to obtain a declaration as to whether the government intended to grant votes to women. At a great meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Sir Edward Grey, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was to expound the legislative program of the government. To this meeting went two members of the Women's Social and Political Union bent upon obtaining a reply to a question on woman's suffrage. The hall was crowded with representatives of Liberalism from all parts of Lancashire. As Sir Edward Grey proceeded with his address there were frequent interruptions from men seeking information on various matters. To these interruptions Sir Edward Grey did not fail to make a courteous reply in passing. The suffragists

Present Movement

preferred to wait until his speech was concluded, when they at once rose to their feet and asked, "Will the Liberal government give women the vote?" In a moment the meeting was in an uproar, some of the audience demanding that the speaker should reply to the question, others calling for the ejection of the two women. No reply was forthcoming and ultimately the suffragists were roughly removed from the hall. On the following morning the Manchester public was surprised to learn of the disturbance in the Free Trade Hall, and of the ejection and arrest of the two women suffragists. This incident was the first of many. During the following months at every meeting addressed by a member of the government, bands of women suffragists appeared for the purpose of demanding the political rights of their sex.

It was then resolved to request Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to receive a deputation, but this he declined to do. Refusing to allow their claim to be set aside in this cavalier manner, the union appointed a deputation to visit the prime minister's official residence in Downing Street and to wait there until an interview should be accorded. These instructions the deputation carried out. It was only the arrest of three of their number which caused them to cease their attempt to gain admittance. Finding the union to be so determined, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman yielded and announced that he would receive a deputation representing the Women's Social and Political Union and all the other societies having woman's suffrage for their object. A deputation representing nearly all the organized women of the country and numbering 450 persons assembled at the Foreign Office on May 19, 1906. They were accompanied to their destination by a large procession of women from various parts of London and the provinces. Having heard the statement made by the eight spokeswomen, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman expressed his complete sympathy with the woman's suffrage movement, but then went on to say that he could hold out no hope of legislation as his cabinet was not united on the question. Indignant, but more determined than ever, the members of the deputation proceeded to the public meetings which had been arranged and there announced their intention of compelling the government to act.

Before the session closed three other protests were made in the precincts of the House of Com-

mons, involving twenty further arrests. In the new session of 1907 the demand was again made that women should have immediate enfranchisement. Mrs. Fawcett and other members of the older woman's suffrage movement made written application to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to be allowed to plead their cause at the bar of the House of Commons. His response to this very constitutional action on their part was no more favorable than that which he had accorded to the more militant demonstrations by the Women's Social and Political Union. His excuse in refusing the application of Mrs. Fawcett and her colleagues was that no precedent existed for such a course as she proposed. The Women's Social and Political Union summoned a national convention of women to meet on the first day of the new session of Parliament. At this convention a resolution demanding the vote was carried unanimously and it was further resolved that the convention should march in procession to the House of Commons in order to convey the resolution to the prime minister. Before they had proceeded far on their journey, the processionists encountered a large body of police who attempted to break up their ranks. Undeterred by this opposition to their progress, the women made their way as best they could to the houses of Parliament, where they found awaiting them a band of mounted police. A scene of confusion ensued and several women, not all of them connected with the procession, were placed in serious danger of injury. Fifty-seven women were arrested and were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. The arrest of such a large number of women created something like a crisis, but the excitement was somewhat allayed by the introduction, by a follower of the government, of a Woman's Suffrage Bill. It was hoped that at a later stage the government might accord to this measure the support which would be necessary for its passage into law. Every section of the woman's suffrage movement was at once engaged in procuring support for the bill. The day for its discussion arrived. It was decided to make no militant demonstration, but to leave the House of Commons entirely free to discuss and vote upon the measure. There was a large attendance of members of Parliament, and the debate reached a higher level than that of any previous debate on the question. The prime minister attended, made a speech that was anything but encouraging, and then left the House. It was generally expected, however, that a favorable vote would be taken, and when, instead of being voted upon, the bill was talked out great disappointment was felt. The fate of this bill confirmed the members of the Women's Social and Political Union in their belief that nothing save vigorous opposition of every possible kind to the government will suffice to obtain legislation. It is by a combination of militant action and of opposition to the government at the elections that women may hope to obtain the vote. The demonstrations here described have brought down upon the heads of those responsible for them much condemnation and hostile criticism, but, what is far more important, they have destroyed the apathy which enveloped the woman's suffrage movement as with a cloud. They have brought to the notice of both men and women the fact that there is a movement for woman's suffrage. They have made people think

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about the question, and once either men or women give thought to this matter they cannot resist the conclusion that woman's suffrage is both just and expedient. The election policy, tho perfectly orderly and constitutional in its nature, is even more resented, at least by practical politicians. The vehement way in which the tactics of opposition to the government are complained of by Liberals is a sign that such opposition must lead to success. The Women's Social and Political Union by its action at the elections is already something of a menace to the government. As the organization grows stronger it will become a greater menace still and the effort to force the government into granting woman's suffrage will be successful. It has taken half a century to teach women suffragists the lesson that political rights are never granted save in response to irresistible pressure. The means of bringing that pressure to bear has now been discovered, and there is little doubt that as a result of united and vigorous action the enfranchisement of the women of Great Britain will soon be an accomplished fact.

CHRISTABEL H. PANKHURST.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 25 Victoria Street, Westminster, S. W. *Secretary*, Miss Edith Paliser.

The National Women's Social and Political Union, 4 Clement's Inn, Strand, W. C. *Honorary Secretary*, Mrs. Pankhurst.

The Women's Liberal Federation, 124 Victoria Street, Westminster, S. W. *Secretary*, Miss Bunney.

The Women's Cooperative Guild, Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmoreland. *Secretary*, Miss Llewellyn Davies.

The Women's Textile Workers' Representation Committee, 5 John Dalton Street, Manchester. *Secretaries*, Miss Roper and Miss Gore Booth.

REFERENCES: Mrs. Swiney, *The Awakening of Women*; *The Case for Women's Suffrage*, edited by Brougham Villiers; H. T. Buckle, *The Influence of Women*; M. Ostrogorsky, *The Rights of Women*; Mrs. C. C. Stotes, *The Sphere of Man*; John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women*; Miss Constance Smedley, *Woman*; A. Few Shrieves; Arnold Harris Mathew, *Woman's Suffrage*; Mrs. Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics*.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES:

The year 1848 is to the history of the struggle for woman's political rights what 1776 is to the story of the American Revolution. So strongly did the men and women who inaugurated the struggle for "woman's rights" feel this analogy that at the first convention held for the purpose they used the Declaration of Independence as the model and framework of their own declaration of principles.

But no great movement comes unprepared for or unheralded, and the Woman's Rights Convention of 1848 had had its John the Baptist crying in the wilderness of prejudice and injustice.

In 1790 Mary Wollstonecraft's "Vindication of the Rights of Women," published in London, attracted attention from liberal thinkers. Harriet Martineau, by her numerous writings upon political economy, demonstrated practically woman's ability to enter the realm of politics.

As early as 1820 Frances Wright, of Scotland, visited this country, and in 1828 lectured in many places, striving to arouse the people to the danger threatening from the attempt to unite Church and State. All her influence was toward the recognition of woman equally with man in national affairs. Ernestine L. Rose, a brilliant and beautiful Polish woman, worked earnestly in this same direction.

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It would be impossible to even mention here the host of women who, in the first half of this century, bore witness to their faith in the powers of their own sex to fill a wider "sphere" than the one appointed to them by the men of their day and generation. Emma Willard, in education; Elizabeth Blackwell, Clemence Lozier, Ann Preston, Hannah Longshore, Marie Zakrzewski, and Mary Putnam Jacobi, in medicine; Sarah and Angelina Grimke, Lydia Maria Child, Abby Kelley, Sarah Pugh, and Lucretia Mott, through their participation in the antislavery struggle; Margaret Fuller, in her literary work; Antoinette L. Brown, in the ministry; Susan B. Anthony, in the temperance work; Lucy Stone, at Oberlin, and in 1847 from the pulpit of her brother's church at Brookfield, Mass.—these all stood as pioneers making ready the way for the response to the call for the convention which made the first organized demand for "equality of rights for woman, social, religious, and political."

One other influence, and perhaps the greatest of all, leading directly to the calling of the Seneca Falls Convention, cannot be omitted here. This was the exclusion from the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London in 1840, of the women sent there as delegates. A number of antislavery societies in this country elected women to represent them in the deliberations of that body; the English members were unprepared for this, and regarded it as an innovation not to be endured; a most exciting discussion filled the first day of the convention. Wendell Phillips, George Bradburn, also of Massachusetts, the venerable George Thompson, and Henry B. Stanton stood as the advocates of the rights of the women as delegates. The clergymen were, as a body, bitterly opposed to their admission. By an overwhelming majority, the World's (?) Anti-Slavery Convention refused to accept the women coming from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts fully credentialed as delegates, among whom were Lucretia Mott, Abby Kimber, Ann Green Phillips, Abby Southwick, Sarah Pugh, and Mary Grew.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had accompanied her husband, Henry B. Stanton, to London for the convention, in conversation with Lucretia Mott about the iniquitous attitude of the assembly on the woman question, decided that men needed educating on this subject as much as upon the freedom of the black slaves, and they agreed that later they would have a convention to discuss the position and rights of women. This was the seed from which grew the meeting of which the following is the call, which appeared in the *Seneca County Courier* of July 14, 1848:

Woman's Rights Convention.—A convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman will be held in the Wesleyan Chapel, at Seneca Falls, N. Y., on Wednesday and Thursday, July 19, 20, current, commencing at ten o'clock A.M. During the first day the meeting will be exclusively for women, who are earnestly invited to attend. The public generally are invited to be present on the second day, when Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, and other ladies and gentlemen will address the convention.

This call was without signatures; it was issued by Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright (her sister), Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Mary Ann McClintock. Altho not invited to the first day's sessions, men came, and in such numbers as made it impossible to exclude them. It was therefore decided to have a man preside, and James Mott took the chair. After a number of addresses, the new declaration of independence, entitled a Declara-

tion of Sentiments, was presented, and, after discussion and slight amendment, accepted. It followed exactly the form of the Declaration of 1776, substituting the words "all men" for "King George." As the original document related eighteen grievances, so that of the women contained exactly that number. Let me quote some of these:

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable rights to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she has had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

Among the resolutions passed by the convention were the following, the only one which occasioned much discussion being that upon suffrage.

"Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

"Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise."

Since 1848 the work of the advocates of woman suffrage has been to make good the claims set forth at Seneca Falls. To this end they have held conventions, organized associations all over the country, instituted courses of political study in their equal suffrage clubs, in preparation for their exercise of political functions, circulated petitions, sent out lecturers, worked to change laws through various state legislatures and in constitutional conventions, through amendments to state constitutions, and through their national associations, sought to secure from Congress the submission of an amendment to the national Constitution enfranchising the women of the U. S.

For many years this was carried forward by individuals working through other associations.

Finding the work for woman suffrage was hampered by its close association with

Associations the question of negro suffrage, and the fifteenth amendment to the national Constitution, those who felt strongly that the woman's hour had come and that she should not be made to wait until all sorts and conditions of men had first been admitted to the political kingdom, organized in May, 1869, in New York, the National Woman Suffrage Association, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as president, her coworker, Susan B. Anthony, being on the official board. This organization bent its efforts chiefly toward national legislation to secure its object.

In November of the same year, in Cleveland, Ohio, there was formed the American Woman Suffrage Association, with Henry Ward Beecher president, and Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell among its active workers. In 1889 these two bodies of workers joined and formed the National American Woman Suffrage Association, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as its president, Susan B. Anthony vice-president at large, and Lucy Stone chairman of the executive committee.

In Dec., 1869, the Territorial Assembly of Wyoming enfranchised the women of that territory upon exactly the same terms as men, giving them the right to serve on juries and hold all territorial offices in the gift of the voters. In 1870 the grand and petit juries at Laramie were composed of both men and women, and the results were eminently satisfactory to all except the convicted criminals. The presiding judge, Chief Justice Howe, gave this as his opinion: "In eighteen years' experience I have never had as fair, candid, impartial, and able a jury in court as in this term in Albany County"; and Associate Justice Kingman said: "For twenty-five years it has been an anxious study with me, both on the bench and at the bar, how we are to prevent jury trials from degenerating into a perfect burlesque; and it has remained for Albany County to point out the remedy and demonstrate the cure for this threatened evil."

When, in 1890, Wyoming prepared her constitution for statehood, the women stood upon precisely the same political footing as the men, and this attitude was maintained even when, in the U. S. Congress, opposition was made to her admission as a state unless the men were willing to yield the point and leave Wyoming's women disfranchised. Wyoming is, therefore, the first true republic, the first star upon the woman-suffrage flag.

In 1893 Colorado enfranchised her women by a legislative enactment ratified at the polls, at which election the majority in favor of woman suffrage was 6,000. The women there have not been slow to use their newly acquired opportunity and have already become a power in public affairs. In the elections this spring in Denver (1897) they have cooperated successfully with the organizations struggling heretofore unsuccessfully for a better city government, and have won a notable victory over the gambling and saloon element which has had control there. That there has been no rush for office by the women is shown by the fact that the women's organizations which helped so effectively to win this victory for law and order asked for not a single name of a woman upon the list of nominations made by them in joint session with the men's organization.

The women of Utah have now the full franchise, secured to them in the constitution with which Utah came in as a state in 1896. As early as 1870 they had been enfranchised by the territorial legislature, but were disfranchised by Congress (Edmunds Bill) in 1887. This was done as a blow to polygamy; but it was questionable justice to disfranchise all the women of the territory.

Idaho, by an amendment to its constitution, passed in Nov., 1896, gave its women the ballot on the same terms with the men of the state.

Kansas women received the municipal suffrage by legislative enactment in 1887; this, of course, does not enfranchise all the women of that state,

as those outside of the cities cannot vote except upon certain elective trusteeships and upon school bonds and appropriations. Thousands of the Kansas women vote in the cities, and there have been fourteen women elected as mayors of small cities, and at one time two such municipalities boasted their entire City Council as made up of women, with a woman mayor to cooperate with them.

In nineteen states and two territories women vote for all trustees and directors where elective, which in most cases include school directors.

In Kentucky women can vote on school appropriations and bonds, provided they live in the country districts and are either widows or spinsters.

On this question of appropriations women vote (in addition to Kentucky, on conditions named above) on the same conditions as the men in Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey (the only vote they have there), North Dakota, and Vermont.

In Louisiana and Montana they vote as to public improvements if they are taxpayers.

Among the results of the struggle of the last fifty years for the enfranchisement of women may fairly be claimed the great improvement in her legal status (see article WOMAN'S RIGHTS), a marked change in morals looking toward the same standard for man and woman, her admission to most of the great institutions of learning, and to the professions and business life. In many cases these advantages, where they involved legislation to bring them about, were given as compromises to women asking enfranchisement, by men unwilling to grant rights, but anxious to quiet the demands for that right which, once gained and exercised, will guarantee to its possessors all other rights which may come through law.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY.

For recent facts, see WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE on page 1295.

WOMEN'S TRADE-UNIONS (IN GREAT

BRITAIN): The object of trade-unionism, broadly stated, is to raise wages and improve conditions of industry by collective action. The improvement of conditions has been largely relegated to the State; factory and workshop laws deal with the conditions of the work-place, but State regulations only touch wages incidentally, and their regulation rests with the laws of the trade. Apart from its effect on wages, the effect of corporate action may have remarkable educational results on the members of trade-unions in widening their outlook, interesting them in the administration of their affairs, and in social questions.

It was at the beginning of the eighteenth century that we first hear of trade-unions, as we now understand them. Prior to that time there was a good deal of oppression, but the workers never appear to have been able to maintain any lasting combination against it, till, in the eighteenth

century, we hear of the action taken by the tailors, weavers, and various other classes of workers to protect themselves. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the conditions of work were changing, for it was becoming differentiated, and classes of workers were growing up who were only able to undertake a certain share in the production of the finished goods. Cutters, sewers, and

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Where Adopted

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other special classes of workers were needed to carry on tailoring, and among the weavers some carded and others wove, while the material in both cases belonged to an employer. Therefore the work was being carried out by men the majority of whom could never hope to rise to be employers, who owned nothing but their skill, and whose interests were the same as those of all the other employees in the shop. Here, therefore, we get all the essential elements for a trade-union, in the existence of a permanent wage-earning class in a trade sufficiently skilled to render the workers intelligent and alive to their own interests. The resort of these early trade-unions for the redress of their grievances was always to the law; they did not attempt to keep up their wages by their unions, but used their organization to get the laws put into force; a comparatively easy step, when the government considered that it was their business to obtain for the workers a "convenient proportion of their wages," and when king and House of Commons appear to have held on these questions the workers' "brief."

It is dull to the modern trade-union official, who recognizes the value of machinery and welcomes invention, to find the government itself prohibiting the use of the gig mill at the workers' instance. But the tide of invention and all the conditions of industrial change were not to be kept back by laws, and tho as late as 1756 the Gloucestershire weavers obtained a table and scheme of wages by which their piece-work prices were to be settled by the justices, the act was one of the last of this description which was passed. Nor was this scheme of long existence, for before a year was gone it was repealed, in spite of the workers' struggle to retain it, by the influence of the employers. Henceforth the workers petitioned Parliament in vain, for tho the government agreed with them that their standard of life was lowered, while the production of their labor was enormously increased, they saw no way out of the difficulty, and amid universal discontent and frequent outbreaks, the situation developed till the beginning of the last century. After 1800 the old policy was entirely reversed, the laws giving powers to fix wages were repealed, the laws against combinations enforced, and the individualist school of *laissez-faire* ruled supreme.

For many years there was much oppression and suffering, imprisonment and heavy penalties were inflicted on the workers' leaders whenever trade-unionism showed itself, and the organizations at this date existed rather as secret societies, with quaint oaths and strange mysteries. Meanwhile, however, the division between labor and capital was becoming complete, a "horizontal cleavage" which created a national wage-earning class was taking place, and we owe the modern trade-union movement, with its identification of the interests of the workers as a class, to the persecution of trade-unionists, which did not cease till long after the laws against combinations had been repealed, for the individualist school died hard.

What part had women played in the vicissitudes and development of the trade-unionist movement? A very small one, tho it is interesting to find that in 1827, when, after the repeal of the Combination Laws, the Grand General Union of the United Kingdom was being started by the cotton-spinners, the women and girls were urged by them to form separate organizations.

The organizations did not last; but it is appropriate that what seems to be one of the earliest indications of women's trade-unions should be found in a trade which on the wiser lines of united enrolment includes now in its membership two thirds of the organized women of England.

The industrial interests of men and women are identical, and the present status of women's organization is, we are convinced, due to the recognition of this fact. About 100,000 women are members of the Lancashire organizations, and none are conducted with more wisdom or statesmanship.

The results are what we should anticipate. Wages are at a far higher average than is usual in trades where women are largely employed; hours and conditions in the cotton trade are notoriously above the average; the settlement of disputes is, as a rule, by the deliberation of the officials of the opposing organizations of masters and men, rather than by the rough-and-ready method of a strike. We have in Lancashire the champion women's unions of the world.

The same results have not yet been achieved outside Lancashire. The total of organized women numbers about 140,000, and of these the 50,000 not already accounted for are in scattered unions all over the country, not massed in one district or trade, and as the membership of some of them is very small, numbering even as few as fifty persons, they cannot be named with the great and stable Lancashire organizations. Apart from Lancashire the textile organizations of Yorkshire, and even of Scotland, are comparatively weak; and the same may be said of the textile center in Belfast.

Results

During 1906 a remarkable revival has taken place in Scotland and in Belfast. A lockout in Dundee has resulted in a trade-union of 5,000 members, and struggles in Paisley, Brechin, and elsewhere are awakening the dormant interest in trade-unionism, while in Belfast a lockout of 15,000 operatives has also had as its result the increase of the textile unions there.

As the result of long experience, the W. T. U. League advocates and adopts the policy of organizing the women with the men in trade-unions, or where joint organization is impossible, in closely affiliated organizations. There are, however, some examples in which a women's union has been successful. Leaving the textile trade and coming to those miscellaneous trades in which women are employed, upholstery provides us with an example of a successful union of purely female membership, for in this trade in Liverpool the women have gained a rise of 2s. a week through their organization. The London Union of Women Cigarmakers, which forms an organization closely affiliated with the men's union, tho not an integral part of it, furnishes another example; as does the Leicester Cigarmakers' Union, containing about two thirds of the number of the trade in the district, of which two thirds half are women. In the Cigarmakers' Union the trade feeling is so strong that a complete system of boycott is carried out by the women, and non-unionists are not tolerated by them in their workrooms—a newcomer and non-unionist must join the union or relinquish her work. The felt hatters have opened their ranks to women, and have a considerable female membership. There has been a

plucky attempt both throughout the boot and shoe trade, and by the men officials in the tailoring and in the clothiers' trades, to bring the women workers into line with the men. This has not yet been very successful, tho there is a good branch of the first in Leicester.

It is clear that 140,000 women trade-unionists out of 5,000,000 available for organization is not a large proportion. It is, however, worthy of note that at the first Trade Congress at Sheffield in 1866 110,000 men only were represented, and the organization of women dates from a later date than that of men. The difficulties in the way of organization of women are great. Permanency in wage-earning is held to be a first essential for successful trade organization, and marriage, which frequently takes women out of the labor market, militates against this permanency so far as women are concerned. There has nevertheless been remarkable progress in trade-unionism for women during the last few years. The skilled and educated worker, telephonists, general post-office employees, shop assistants, telegraphists, are organizing. The telephonists' organization numbers 1,500, which is 75 per cent of the total available in London, and 100 per cent in some of the big centers, such as Manchester. More than two thirds of the possible female members in the major establishment of the general post-office have been enrolled, while the shop assistants' female membership is over 15,000. This forward movement among the educated and skilled women employees will have a great effect in consolidating the whole movement and giving it permanent stability.

The women to whom the work of trade organization has owed most in England in the past are Mrs. Paterson, the founder of the Women's Trade-Union League, and Lady Dilke, its devoted supporter and finally its chairman. Other strong personalities have been those of Mrs. H. J. Tennant, formerly superintending woman her Majesty's inspector of factories, and the League treasurer, Mrs. Marland Brodie, a textile worker and League organizer. At present magnificent organizing work is being done by the League secretary, Miss Macarthur. Its debt to men trade-unionists, particularly in the textile trade, is very great.

GERTRUDE M. TUCKWELL,

Chairman Women's Trade-Union League.

REFERENCES: *History of Trade-Unionism*, Sidney Webb, (Longmans & Co.); *Women as Trade-Unionists*, Gertrude Tuckwell; *Quarterly Report of Women's Trade-Union League*; *Trade-Unionism Amongst Women*, Mary R. Macarthur; *Industrial Position of Women*, Lady Dilke. All these and other publications dealing with the industrial position of women are to be obtained from the office of the "Women's Trade-Union League," Club Union Building, Clerkenwell Road, E. C., London.

WOMEN IN TRADE-UNIONS (IN THE UNITED STATES): The presence of women wage-workers in the trade-unions of the U. S. is a fact of very recent history; indeed, it is only within the last six or eight years that they have been organized in any considerable numbers. It is true that from the earliest days of American factory industry women have at times gone out on strikes, following the leadership of their men associates, or acting independently upon their own initiative and on account of their own grievances; but they have had almost no part in the successive organized efforts of wage-workers to obtain a larger share of the benefits of advancing

civilization. This fact is not hard to understand. The earlier labor agitations were largely political, both in aims and methods, and quite beyond the factory girl's range of interest, even tho she was a New England schoolmistress. Moreover, before industry had been completely taken out of the household, and before the real social significance of the factory system was recognized, women even more generally than at present looked upon wage-earning work as a temporary occupation, and interested themselves in ways of escape from it, rather than in means of improving its conditions. Their indifference to the purposes of the Labor movement was strengthened by the hostile attitude of unionists toward female competitors in the factory and the shop. This opposition has given way, as the men

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have come to recognize that women are a permanent factor in the present system of industry, and that their competition is much less dangerous when they are brought into the unions and made a definite and controllable element in the labor problem. A new and enlightened policy in regard to women workers was part of a very liberal and aggressive program adopted by the labor organizations about 1890. From that time on, for several years, a very significant trade-union development took place, consisting in the association of local bodies to form national unions, in the growth in numbers and influence of the American Federation of Labor, and in the successful agitations carried on by these societies through their organizers. The movement, checked by the depression of 1894, soon regained strength, and by 1900 was going forward by leaps and bounds. In the later period a large number of women were brought into the unions. Indeed, upon the whole, the organization of women workers has been a subsidiary part of the union program, forced upon the men's societies by the necessities of the situation.

The American labor organizations of which wage-earning women are a part fall into four groups of widely differing importance. In the first class are the national and so-called international unions, which form the chief elements of the American Federation of Labor. The membership of these bodies is organized into local unions, which have a large degree of autonomy. The second group consists of those local trade and federal unions which are directly connected with the federation. They are made up of wage-earners in trades for which there is no national organization, or of employees in various industries who cannot be gathered into trade locals because of lack of numbers. To a third class belong those unions, fairly numerous in the Eastern states, which have no national or federal connections. The warring branches of the declining Knights of Labor form the fourth group. The last three classes are of comparatively little significance in relation to the subject in hand, whether judged by numbers, or by the part women have played in their history. For this reason, and because it is impossible to obtain detailed information concerning them, this article is confined to a consideration of the national trade organizations, which are the main factors in the American Federation of Labor.

These unions may be considered in three groups, the basis of classification being the numbers and relative importance of women in the trades; for these facts vitally affect the strength

of the union, the activity of women in its management, and explain many of the details of its history. In the first class are those organizations having jurisdiction over industries in which women are but a small part of the total number of wage-workers, and usually perform unskilled processes. Owing to their relative unimportance union men have not considered it a profitable policy to spend great energy in bringing them into their organizations. The unions of the Telegraphers, the Potters, the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, the Meat Cutters and Butchers, and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees are the chief organizations presenting these phenomena. In all of them the proportion of women organized is much smaller than the proportion in the trade, and in all the women are but an insignificant part of the total membership of the union. In the Potters' Society they are 250 out of 6,050; in that of the Waiters 650 out of 4,800; the unions of women in the packing-houses flourished for a short time under the fostering care of a few social settlement workers, but disappeared when met by the opposition of the last few years; the women telegraphers constitute about 20 per cent of the persons in the trade and a much smaller proportion of the membership of the union. In telegraphy the workers must possess general intelligence and special skill, two characteristics favorable to the development of unionism among any set of workers. The other trades are filled by girls who learn the simple processes quickly, and do not remain long in one trade, but pass on to something new. Under such conditions it is hard to maintain a union scale against competition, and difficult to rouse interest for union principles among workers who are so transient in any one industry.

The second group of unions consists of organizations which cover trades where women work in considerable numbers and are a serious factor in the labor problem. They may compete directly with men; if so, their presence is likely to be looked upon with jealousy by their brethren, who have grudgingly organized them, because their competition outside the union was dangerous. In those trades in which women's work is supplementary to that of men their organization has usually been due to the belief of the men that the cooperation of so large a part of their fellow workers was desirable. While the number of women printers in the newspaper and periodical offices is small, their relative number in the book trade of certain places, especially in Boston, is so considerable that their competition tends to seriously affect wages. They are not organized in proportion to their numbers, being perhaps 3,000 out of 47,000 members of the Typographical Union. They learn the fundamental process of setting up straight matter in a few weeks, while men acquire proficiency in all parts of the trade during a four years' apprenticeship. Women are as accurate as the men, but not so swift, hence the policy of the union in insisting upon an identical time scale for both sexes tends to keep women typesetters out of the union offices. In places where the union scale does not prevail they receive considerably less than union wages. These facts have led to ill feeling between men and women compositors, which is not conducive to the progress of unionism among the latter.

The unusual success of the boot and shoe workers in organizing women is due to several facts: fair wages have attracted persons with sufficient intelligence to understand somewhat the significance of union principles and to carry on its work; there is little competition and resulting jealousy between men and women in the trade; a closed-shop policy, insisted upon wherever it has been possible to maintain it, has forced many indifferent women into the organization; high dues and benefits have strengthened the society and inspired the members with a sense of its power. About one third of the society's constituency is female. The Bookbinders' Union resembles in its chief features the organization of the Boot and Shoe Workers; but a larger part of the employees in the trade are women. Wages are lower, and union dues are less for women than for men. Perhaps two fifths of the employees of the tobacco factories are girls. The Tobacco Workers adhere to a policy of closed shops and identical wages for women and men, and as a result they have a smaller proportion of women than are found in the open shops where women's wages are much lower than men's. Wherever the trust is powerful a large number of girls are engaged in cigarmaking, but they do not constitute an important part of the Cigar Workers' Union, for the non-union factories make a much greater difference between men's and women's wages than that which is allowed by the union, and hence have a greater incentive to employ women.

In those industries in which women constitute the majority of wage-workers, unionism has not made encouraging progress, but its failure cannot often be attributed to this fact alone, for in a number of cases there are present other unfavorable conditions. In the manufacture of clothing the unfortunate organization of the industry, the nature of the work, which allows it to be carried on in living rooms and small shops, the competition of ever-increasing numbers of

Difficulties

foreigners, are facts as fundamental as the presence of large numbers of women. The women's locals of the United Garment Workers have been formed largely under the compulsion of the label policy, and have been maintained by the fostering care of the union's business agents. The Ladies' Garment Workers is a feeble association, which is struggling against overwhelming odds, for to the evils of the men's clothing trade there is added the misfortune of the trade's being peculiarly subject to the influence of season and fashion. But a small percentage of the employees in the great number of laundries scattered over the country are organized in the Shirt, Waist, and Laundry Workers' Union; this is partly due to the fact that, as a rule, the workers are not concentrated in large establishments, but still more to the large percentage of women in the trade. In the glove industry two thirds of the employees are women. The Glove Workers' Union, formed at the instigation of the glove-cutters' society, has effected some improvements in wages and conditions, but does not include a large part of the women glove workers. The failure of unionism among the cotton and woolen factory operatives of the U. S. is explained by a consideration of the successive waves of immigrants with ever lower standards of living which have filled the ranks of the New England industry, and of the ignorance and rural individualism

of the Southern mill hands, together with the fact that about one half the workers are women and young girls. The United Textile Workers is a struggling organization that seeks to include wage-earners of all classes.

Most of the labor organizations with which women are connected are fairly conservative in policy in spite of the declarations of socialistic principles found in their constitutions. Two of them are among the oldest and strongest unions in the country. In practically all women are admitted upon the same terms as men, have the same power of voting, and are eligible to all offices. In unions where women's wages are very low their dues and benefits are smaller than those for men. Usually one local is formed for each department of an industry, which results often in associations composed entirely of one sex, for women's work is to a good degree supplementary to that of men. In their own unions women act as officers, unless the body is very large, or the members are quite inexperienced. Several national organizations support women organizers, and in nearly all they are sent as delegates to conventions, where they serve upon the less important committees. But whatever their constitutional rights, and whatever their nominal recognition, the actual influence of women in determining the general policy of the unions has been small.

The progress of labor organization among women has thus far largely resulted from the proselyting efforts of the men in the unions, and these efforts have been exerted as women were a more or less important factor in an industry. But the success of women's unions is everywhere dependent upon the presence of certain favorable industrial and social conditions. They are likely to be prosperous in a locality where all trades are well organized, and in a trade in which women's work is supplementary to, rather than competitive with, that of men. Women of a comparatively high standard of intelligence and of American birth make the most effective unionists. The label policy often forces indifferent women into a union, and is the means by which a few vigorous members maintain a fairly vigorous local.

Of the conditions unfavorable to development of unionism among female wage-workers certain ones are temporary and may disappear with the improvement of the organization of industry. In the sweated trades the hopelessness, low degree of vitality and of intelligence resulting from miserable wages and bad sanitary conditions, are an effectual hindrance to the organizing of women workers. The fear that the uniform scale for men's and women's work demanded by certain unions will result in the displacement of the weaker sex keeps women out of some unions. Their interests are not as carefully looked after by the unions as those of their brethren, and less effort is made to bring them into the organizations. In some industries women's presence is recent, which fact explains in part the indifference of the men and the failure of the women to realize their importance in the trade.

More serious are the following considerations, based upon fundamental facts. Women who never become identified with any trade, but pass from one industry to another doing unskilled work in each, can have no real interest in a trade-union. In many occupations the girls are too

young and untrained to consider their industrial relations as a very serious matter. Women have more home interests than men, and find there diversions which men must seek outside, and which they find in the activities of their union. The fact that a large number of women work to earn the luxuries, not the necessities, of life, renders them less ready to struggle for a living wage. Often girls refuse to join a union for fear of losing caste among their acquaintances by openly identifying themselves with the wage-workers. Of more importance than all other considerations is the fact that most women look upon work in the shop or factory as a temporary employment between school and marriage; this naturally results in an unwillingness to sacrifice any present for a future good, as is often necessary in a union, or to give time and energy to build up an organization with which they will be identified but a few years.

Wherever vigorous organizations of women have been maintained, wages have been increased and many petty annoyances have been done away with. They have been too much engrossed with the fundamental matter of wages to spend their energies in struggling directly for better sanitary conditions, but the combined labor forces of the leading manufacturing states have been largely responsible for the relatively high standards of safety and hygiene established by the factory codes. The union often serves as an educational and social institution, in which the working girl acquires a broader outlook on life; learns the lesson of subordination of self for the good of her associates; and develops that individuality which the factory life crushes out.

B. M. HERRON.

REFERENCES: (For references on Woman's Suffrage and Economic Position in Great Britain see the articles under these titles.) United States: *Woman's Suffrage*, Mrs. Mary Jacoby; *Common Sense Applied to Woman's Suffrage* (1894), Mrs. Helen Johnson; *Woman and the Republic* (1897) (anti), Susan B. Anthony, Ida H. Harper, and others; *History of Woman's Suffrage* (4 vols., 1883-1900), Francis Parkman; *Some of the Reasons Against Woman's Suffrage*, see also leaflets of the Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Association, 3 Park Street, Boston; *Woman's Economic Position*, August Bebel; *Woman in the Past, Present, and Future* (1893), Helen Campbell; *Prisoners of Poverty and Household Economics* (1897), Grace Dodge and others; *What Women Can Earn* (1898), Charlotte P. (Stetson) Gilman; *Woman and Economics* (1899), *The Home* (1903), Francis A. Kellar; *Out of Work* (1904), C. Letourneau; *Condition of Women in All Races* (French), Prof. Lucy M. Salmon; *Domestic Service* (1901); *Statistics of Women at Work*, U. S. Census (1907).

WOMEN'S TRADE-UNION LEAGUES: The English Woman's Trade-Union League is a most effective organization, formed in 1874, largely through the efforts of Mrs. Paterson aided by Lady Dilke and now ably conducted by Miss Gertrude M. Tuckwell (its former secretary and now its chairman) and Miss M. R. Macarthur, its present secretary. It has affiliated with it some 100 societies and about 75,000 members. It aims at the organization of working women (usually in the same unions with men), at investigating and endeavoring to right women's trade wrongs, and at promoting remedial legislation. Address: Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E. C.

In America a National Woman's Trade-Union League was formed in 1903, largely through the efforts of Mr. W. E. Walling and Mrs. Mary K. O'Sullivan. It has headquarters at present in Chicago, with Mrs. Raymond Robins as president and Miss Annie E. Nicholas as secretary. Ad-

dress: 275 Lassalle Street. The aims in the main are the same as the English League, but the society being very much younger has by no means the strength of the English League. There are active branch leagues in Chicago, with Miss Steghagen as secretary (same address as the National League); in New York, with Miss Helen Marot as secretary, 11 Waverley Place; and a less active league in Boston, with Miss Emily Greene Balch of Wellesley College as president. A Woman's Union Label League also exists. *Secretary*, Mrs. J. F. O'Neill, 565 Dickens Avenue, Chicago.

The objects and platform of the Chicago Woman's Trade-Union League, which may be taken as a sample of all, are as follows: 1. Organization of all workers into trade-unions. 2. Equal pay for equal work. 3. Eight-hour day. 4. A minimum wage scale. 5. Full citizenship for women. 6. All principles embodied in the economic program of the American Federation of Labor.

OBJECT

The object of this organization shall be to promote the interests of the trade organization of women, to forward labor legislation, to assist the local trade-unions, and to aid in the formation of new unions in all trades, especially where women are employed, such unions to be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and with their national or international organization if such exists.

In the U. S. an important Inter-Municipal Research Committee was organized in 1904 for the study of conditions affecting the welfare of the unemployed and unskilled workers. It is composed of representatives of the following societies: Woman's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, Mrs. Mary Morton Kehew, chairman; Woman's Municipal League, New York, Mrs. Richard Aldrich; Research and Protective Association, Philadelphia, Mrs. Wilbur F. Hamilton; College Settlements Association, Mrs. Arthur H. Scribner; Council of Jewish Women, Miss Sadie American; National League for Protection of Colored Women, William Jay Schieffelin. The committee conducts a correspondence department, "Housewives and Household Aids," in the *Ladies' Home Journal*. It has given large attention to the question of domestics, and from time to time conducts various important investigations. Miss Frances A. Kellor is the general director. *Address:* 19 East Twenty-sixth Street, New York.

In Great Britain another important organization is the Woman's Industrial Council, which publishes the *Woman's Industrial News*. *Secretary*, Miss Papworth, 7 John Street, Adelphi, London, W. C., England.

WOMAN'S WORK, CLUBS FOR: With women's clubs, so far as they are merely social, literary, artistic, scientific, or religious, this Encyclopedia is not directly concerned, but the general movement and organization of women's clubs is one of the most important and significant of social reform. Women's political and economic societies we consider elsewhere (see WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE, WOMAN'S ECONOMIC POSITION, WOMAN'S TRADE-UNIONS, etc.), but the large majority of women's clubs do not come under this head. The whole number of women's clubs in the United States is not known, nor their membership, though it is estimated at about 1,000,000.

Some 5,261 clubs with something like 800,000 members (active and associate) are organized into

a General Federation of Women's Clubs. Of the Federation, Mrs. Sarah S. Platt Decker of Denver, Colo., is president, and Mrs. Charles A. Perkins secretary. *Address:* 1547 W. Clinch Avenue, Knoxville, Tenn.

The following, from the Directory of Women's Clubs in America for 1907, is an approximation to the number of clubs in the different states including the Federation and non-Federation clubs. Most of the states have State Federations. Those starred have none:

STATE	Clubs	Membership
Alabama*	41	.....
Alaska*	4	105
Arizona.....	14	500
Arkansas.....	96	3,925
California.....	185	12,527
Colorado.....	130	6,000
Connecticut.....	52	2,560
Delaware.....	12	1,186
District of Columbia.....	13	5,000
Florida.....	23	1,030
Georgia.....	57	5,250
Idaho.....	27	700
Illinois.....	280	.....
Indiana.....	178	4,000
Indian Territory.....	59	.....
Iowa.....	326	12,124
Kansas.....	250	7,000
Kentucky.....	49	6,721
Louisiana.....	21	626
Maine.....	114	4,300
Maryland.....	35	3,000
Massachusetts.....	224	30,000
Michigan.....	182	15,000
Minnesota.....	172	7,615
Mississippi.....	36	.....
Missouri.....	126	4,000
Montana.....	26	900
Nebraska.....	140	4,360
Nevada.....	1	170
New Hampshire.....	80	4,775
New Mexico*	4	.....
New Jersey.....	104	11,617
New York.....	234	42,000
North Carolina.....	33	1,000
North Dakota.....	59	1,056
Ohio.....	297	11,500
Oklahoma.....	79	2,437
Oregon.....	36	240
Pennsylvania.....	175	18,000
Rhode Island.....	25	2,397
South Carolina.....	64	2,751
South Dakota.....	46	.....
Tennessee.....	54	2,400
Texas.....	231	5,825
Utah.....	26	700
Vermont.....	26	1,911
Virginia*	2	54
Washington.....	88	2,210
West Virginia.....	20	625
Wisconsin.....	147	6,200
Wyoming.....	32	757

WOMEN'S WAGES: If accurate statistics of men's wages do not exist except for a few trades, women's wages are still less known. Nothing that can be called statistics for very recent years exists. An investigation of woman and child labor in the United States now in progress will probably throw much light, but at present only hints can be given from various sources. A Report of the Census for Women at Work (1907) gives only their occupations and numbers. For earlier years we have more information.

According to Dr. Carroll D. Wright, women's wages in the cotton factories of New England averaged in 1831 from \$2.20 to \$2.60 per week; in 1880 the average for women ranged as high as \$6.37, and in 1890 in the entire U. S. it was \$5.53, ranging from \$3.21 to \$6.42. The average annual wages for women clerks in the U. S. for all industries was, in 1890, \$462; \$890 for men. Women operatives received \$276.

According to Mr. Wright (in the report of the Commissioner of Labor for 1889), the following was the weekly average earnings of women in industries in various cities:

CITIES	Average weekly earnings
Atlanta.....	\$4.05
Baltimore.....	4.18
Boston.....	5.64
Brooklyn.....	5.76
Buffalo.....	4.27
Charleston.....	4.22
Chicago.....	5.74
Cincinnati.....	4.59
Cleveland.....	4.63
Indianapolis.....	4.67
Louisville.....	4.51
Newark.....	5.10
New Orleans.....	4.31
New York.....	5.85
Philadelphia.....	5.34
Providence.....	5.51
Richmond.....	3.93
St. Louis.....	5.19
St. Paul.....	6.02
San Francisco.....	6.91
San José.....	6.11
Savannah.....	4.99
All cities.....	5.24

The report adds:

Much is heard at the present time of the very low wages paid working women. It must be clear that they do not rise, on the average, above \$5 per week, or \$5.24, as indicated by this report. The summary by cities, Table XXX, on pages 530 and 531, would seem to indicate that the majority are in receipt of fair wages, when the whole body of working women is considered; but 373 earn less than \$100 a year, and quite a large number (1,212) earn from \$100 to \$150 a year; that is, the earnings of these women, distributed by weeks over the whole year, do not amount to more than \$2 or \$3 per week. These are the great exceptions, but the figures tell a sad story, and one is forced to ask how women can live on such earnings.

Part vii. of the twentieth report of Massachusetts Labor Bureau, 1889, says:

Of the whole number of persons in industry, 73.97 per cent were single and 26.03 per cent were married. Of the males, 67.69 per cent were single and 32.31 per cent were married. Of the females, 88.29 per cent were single and 11.71 per cent were married. In 1885 as compared with 1875, the increase in married females was 39.64 per cent.

The females in industry considered were at least 10 years of age. Those from 10 to 13 years of age formed 0.13 per cent of the total; from 14 to 19 years of age, 23.19 per cent; from 20 to 29 years of age, 41.08 per cent; from 30 to 39 years of age, 15.05 per cent; 40 years of age and over, 20.55 per cent.

Of the total female population from 10 to 13 years of age, 0.55 per cent were engaged in gainful pursuits; from 14 to 19 years of age, 61.11 per cent; from 20 to 29 years of age, 59.77 per cent; from 30 to 39 years of age, 30.44 per cent; from 40 to 49 years of age, 22.58 per cent; from 50 to 59 years of age, 19.79 per cent; from 60 to 79 years of age, 21.80 per cent; 80 years of age and over, 15.84 per cent; those whose ages were unknown, 45 per cent.

More than one fifth of the women engaged in gainful pursuits in Massachusetts in 1885 were unemployed for a greater or less period during the year.

The figures given and comparisons made in relation to births, marriages, and deaths show conclusively that the presence of women in industry has not decreased the number of births or marriages, nor increased the number of deaths, for fifty cities and towns, having large percentages of women at work, with 64.39 per cent of the total population, had 69.99 per cent of the total number of births, 69.18 per cent of the whole number of marriages, and but 63.53 per cent of the total number of deaths.

Of the whole number of women reporting, 6 were paid less than \$25 per month; 88, \$25 and under \$50; 144, \$50 and under \$75; 88, \$75 and under \$100; 73, \$100 and under \$200; 2, \$200 and under \$300, and 2 a salary in excess of \$300 per month. Forty-eight failed to answer the questions concerning compensation.

According to "What Women Can Earn" (1898), written by Miss Grace Dodge and others, the following are the ordinary city wages for girls and women:

In the manufacture of boots and shoes, \$4.50 to \$12; cotton goods (spinners), \$3 to \$6; (weavers), \$3.75 to \$8; for typesetters, \$6 to \$12; the silk industry, \$4.50 to \$7.50; woolen manufacturing, \$3 to \$9.

In the great stores, salesgirls, \$4 to \$5; cash girls, \$2 to \$3; saleswomen, \$8 to \$10. See also statistics on page 1,290.

Women's wages in Europe are much lower. (For Great Britain, see WOMAN'S ECONOMIC POSITION IN GREAT BRITAIN.) In France, according to M. Le Comte d'Haussonville, in the preface to M. Gibon's "Employés et Ouvrières," girls' and women's wages are rarely over three to four francs per day (sixty to eighty cents). In some establishments they are said to be as low as thirty cents per day. In Germany women in factories, stores, and in domestic service are carefully protected and their wages are rising, yet often still very low. In the sweated home industries in Berlin and elsewhere, they receive often as low as two or three cents per hour.

WOODRUFF, CLINTON ROGERS: Secretary of the National Municipal League; born 1868, Philadelphia, Pa.; graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, college and law departments. From 1897 to 1900 member of the Pennsylvania Legislature; in 1903 was special investigator, with the Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, in the Indian Territory; in 1906 appointed by Governor Pennypacker registration commissioner. Since 1894 Mr. Woodruff has been actively identified with the movement for the improvement of municipal conditions in the United States; served as secretary of the Philadelphia Municipal League and later as its counsel; has also served as secretary of the National Municipal League since its formation in 1894; has been actively and officially associated with the American Civic Association, Electoral Reforms Committee, and various other bodies engaged in the work of improving municipal conditions. Author of the "Personal Registration," amendment to the Constitution of Pennsylvania. A frequent contributor to the current periodicals, and editor of the "Proceedings of the National Municipal League." Address: 703 North American Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

WOODS, ROBERT ARCHIE: Head of South End House, Boston; born, Pittsburg, Pa., 1865; graduated at Amherst College, 1886. Studied at Andover Seminary, 1886-90. Resident of Toynbee Hall, London, 1890. One of the founders in 1891 of the social settlement called Andover House, now the South End House, of which he was appointed head worker, a position he has since continuously occupied. Lecturer on sociology at Andover Seminary, 1890-96; since then lecturer at Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge. Mr. Woods has taken part in many movements for the betterment of human conditions, municipal, social, economic, industrial. One of his most important services has been the editing of "The City Wilderness" and "Americans in Process," two volumes of social studies made by himself and fellow-workers at the South End House. He welcomes all well-considered experiments toward democratizing industry and culture. Author: "English Social Movements." Address: 20 Union Park, Boston.

WOOLLEY, JOHN GRANVILLE: Temperance reformer; born Collinsville, Ohio, 1850; gradu-

ated from Wesleyan University, Ohio, 1871; A.M., 1873; attended Law School University of Michigan, 1872; admitted to the bar in Supreme Court of Illinois, 1874; admitted to practise in United States Supreme Court, 1885; practised in New York City, 1886; in 1888 entered lecture field, and has since spoken on the subject of prohibition of the liquor traffic in the principal English-speaking cities of the world. In 1899 became editor of *The New Voice*; in 1900 was nominee of Prohibition Party for President of the U. S. Mr. Woolley considers the traffic in alcoholic drinks the greatest question in practical politics, financially, industrially, morally, and believes it to be a question not only for the police power of the states, but also for the police power of the federal government in the District of Columbia, the territories, and the islands; and in the use of the taxing power in the Department of Internal Revenue. Author: "Seed"; "The Sower"; "Civilization by Faith"; "The Christian Citizen"; "A Lion Hunter." Address: 5535 Cornell Avenue, Chicago.

WOOLMAN, JOHN: Philanthropist, abolitionist; born Northampton, West Jersey, 1720. His youth was spent on a farm, and he lived by the labor of his hands, chiefly as a tailor. Began his public ministry at Mount Holly, N. J., about 1742 by teaching poor and neglected children. As a Friend (or Quaker) he spent much of his time traveling and preaching. In a tract, "On the Keeping of Negroes" (two parts, 1753-1862), he pointed out the dangers of slavery. In 1772 he visited England, and died at York, in that year, of smallpox. Channing considered his "Journal" the purest and sweetest of autobiographies. The "Journal" has been published with an introduction by the poet Whittier.

WOOLSEY, THEODORE DWIGHT: Former president of Yale College; born New York, 1801; graduated at Yale College in 1820. Read law in Philadelphia; studied theology at Princeton; was tutor at Yale, 1823-25; studied languages abroad, 1827-30; was elected professor of Greek at Yale in 1831 and president in 1846; resigned in 1871. Author: "An Introduction to the Study of International Law" (1860); "An Essay on Divorce and Divorce Legislation" (1869); "Political Science" (1877); "Communism and Socialism" (1879). Died in 1889.

WORKING WOMEN'S CLUBS: A working woman's club or society is an organization formed among busy young women and girls to secure, by cooperation, education, opportunities of social intercourse, and the development of higher and nobler aims in life. They are non-sectarian and self-governing, and they endeavor as far as possible to meet their own expenses by means of fees, entertainments given by the members, sale of articles made in classes, or by good business management in the subletting of club rooms.

In most cases girls are admitted who have passed the age of fourteen. Some require the indorsement of a club member for admission, others welcome freely all newcomers, believing that the general intelligence and serious purpose of the other members will exclude the unworthy.

The fees in clubs vary from ten cents to twenty-five cents a month, while in some clubs yearly fees of \$1 or \$1.50 are preferred.

EDITH M. HOWES.

WORKMEN'S SECRETARIATES: Legal aid bureaus in Germany, organized and managed by working men.

The Social Democrats early saw the vast advantage which the new laws, particularly those on imperial insurance, gave their comrades, and the more intelligent among them studied these laws not only with a view for their own benefit, but for that of their fellow workers. These men gave their free evenings to the instruction of their comrades in points of law, to advise them in particular cases, etc. The work soon grew to such dimensions in the larger cities, that permanent secretaries had to be appointed to attend to the manifold duties of the office, and to devote their whole time to it.

The usefulness of these bureaus may be inferred from the fact that thirty-two of them reported 195,679 visitors and advice given on 197,927 subjects on different aspects of law in a single year. One bureau of Cologne advised 14,824 people in 1904. A further proof of the importance of this institution is the fact that a Central Workmen's Secretariate was established in Berlin, April 1, 1903, as a sort of clearing-house for the numerous local bureaus. They have rapidly grown in number, as they have extended their sphere of usefulness. The Roman Catholics had sixty-two in 1905; the Protestants have fewer. The most numerous, running into several hundreds, are those of the Social Democrats. The first one was established in Nuremberg, 1891; it worked so well that the Social Democrats saw in it a powerful weapon for benefiting their comrades, and for making propaganda for their partisan politics, that they have created new ones in every industrial center, altho advice is usually given free to all comers, whether trade-unionists of the Social Democratic type, of other associations, or not union men at all.

WORLD'S YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, THE: To Great Britain is due the credit of having the first organization which bore the name Young Women's Christian Association.

This was founded in 1884. And out of that root has grown the mighty tree whose branches now throw their protecting shade over Europe, America, Africa, Asia, and even far-off Australasia.

It is a comprehensive work, yet one neither unpractical nor impossible, as the present number of 7,000 branches in nearly every country of the civilized world will show. Each country has the responsibility of arranging its own details, and modifying or adjusting details to the local conditions, but the fourfold aim and symmetrical development is everywhere kept in view. Such a work can justly claim the interest and cooperation of women of all ranks and conditions.

The central point around which all work centers is an Institute or a Home. Here the fourfold work—physical, intellectual, social, and spiritual—is done.

Executive Committee.—Mrs. G. W. Campbell (president), Mrs. J. H. Tritton, the Hon. E. Kinaird (vice-presidents), Miss Morley (treasurer), Miss Clarissa H. Spencer (general secretary), Miss Ethel Stevenson (corresponding secretary). Office: 26, George Street, Hanover Square, London, W.

WRIGHT, CARROLL DAVIDSON: Former United States Commissioner of Labor; president

of Clark College, Worcester, Mass.; born 1840; educated in common schools and academy of Washington, N. H., high school at Reading, Mass., academies at Alstead, N. H., and Chester, Vt.; taught school in Langdon, N. H., and other places. Aug., 1862, enlisted as private in Fourteenth Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteers; was promoted in 1863 to the adjutancy, and in 1864 to the colonelcy of the regiment; on account of ill health resigned in March, 1865. Studied law, was admitted to the bar in Keene, N. H.; began practise in Boston, Mass., 1867; elected to state Senate of Massachusetts for the terms of 1872-73. In June, 1873, he was appointed chief of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts; in Jan., 1885, U. S. Commissioner of Labor, holding that position until 1905. By special act of Congress in 1893 was designated by the president to close up the eleventh census, and served in that capacity until 1897. Served as member and recorder of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission appointed by President Roosevelt in 1902; 1902 elected president of Clark College, Worcester, Mass.; university lecturer at Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Northwestern, Illinois, and has lectured at Dartmouth. For ten years was on the faculty of the Catholic University of America, and served for several years on the faculty of the George Washington University at Washington. Mr. Wright believes that political economy should be enriched by dealing with ethical questions; and that all social reform grows out of new conditions, and must be treated from an evolutionary standpoint, ethics prevailing in the treatment. Author of, among other writings: "Industrial Evolution of the U. S." (1887); "Outline of Practical Sociology" (1899); "Ethical Phases of the Labor Question"; "The Battles of Labor" (1896); and many pamphlets on social and economic topics; has also prepared some sixty volumes of official statistics. Address: Clark College, Worcester, Mass.

WYCKOFF, WALTER AUGUSTUS: Professor of political economy; born Mainpuri, India, 1865; was graduated from Princeton University, 1888; post-graduate work Princeton, 1888-89; the following year studied and traveled abroad; in 1891, that he might study at close range the sociological and economic conditions of wage-earners in America, he became a wage-earner himself, and during a period of eighteen months lived by day's labor and worked his way from Connecticut to California; spent 1893-94 as private tutor, and traveled twice around the world. Appointed social science fellow, Princeton, 1894; lecturer on sociology, 1895; assistant professor of political economy, 1898; member of American Economic Association and American Academy of Political and Social Science. In economics Mr. Wyckoff is a conservative; in social reform, a liberal. Author of "The Workers—the East"; "The Workers—the West"; "A Day with a Tramp, and Other Days." Address: Princeton, N. J.

WYCLIF, JOHN: Wyclif, the great English reformer, never lost himself in purely political affairs. It was only in matters of a mixed ecclesiastical and political kind that he concerned himself. His one absorbing aim was to reform the Church and purify it by leading back to a condition of apostolic poverty. Yet while his

conclusions were immediately concerned with the ecclesiastical situation, they have a sociological bearing and show even a socialistic tendency.

In his strictures against Church endowments and papal disabilities imposed on those who withheld their goods from the Church, his main point is that no man can grant anything to another and to his descendants in perpetuity, since possession and the right to possess depend upon a man's being in a state of grace. The argument seems to be an accommodated one, growing out of his championship of the nation's independence of the Roman hierarchy, for he arrives straightway at the conclusion that if the Church fail in its duty the temporal lords may deprive it of its temporal possessions, the judgment of such failure lying not with the theologian but with the civil politician. Nevertheless this position is the groundwork of his Latin treatises entitled "De Dominio Divino," "On the Lordship of God," and "De Civili Dominio," "On Civil Lordship."

In these two works his thesis is that lordship depends upon service. Here we find the principle of the dependence of the individual soul upon God alone, which distinguishes Wyclif's from any other system of the Middle Ages and which strikes at the heart of privilege. He maintains that no one in mortal sin has any right to any gift of God. He adopts the doctrine of Augustine, who had said, "Sin is nothing and men when they sin become nothing," and he argues that as sinners are really nothing, they of course can possess nothing. Such possession as the wicked have is not possession at all, but they only occupy for a time that which they have unrighteously usurped or stolen from the righteous, who are lord of all things. Even when the righteous are afflicted in this life, they still have true possession of the whole universe, inasmuch as "all things work together for good" to them.

Wyclif transfers this conception from the religious to the political sphere. The rank which a man has in the eyes of God must involve his rank in the eyes of men. He pursues his doctrine to the logical conclusion that as there are many righteous, and each is lord of the universe, all goods must necessarily be held in common. He avows this doctrine of community without doubt or hesitation. And yet from several guarded sentences it would appear that he does not favor a communistic reorganization of society for the present, but only looks forward to it as a future ideal.

The possibility of mischief under such teachings is very apparent. It is not for man to judge against man, since the personal equation is never to be depended on. The rich man will accept his prosperity as evidence that he is righteous, as with the ancient Jews. The poor man very easily arrives at the conclusion that he is the only righteous man, and that the possessing classes are unrighteous and therefore may be deprived of their lordship. Wyclif recognized this danger and warns against the resort to force except it be likely to put an end to tyranny. And yet while it seems certain that Wyclif had no connection with the Peasants' War, and that he sincerely deprecated it, it is more than probable that John Ball and Wat Tyler found justification for the outbreak they headed in the teachings of the great divine.

PAUL MOORE STRAYER.

Y

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION: Formed (London) 1844, under the leadership in England of Sir George Williams, and in North America of the North American International Committee (1854); on a specific Christian basis, its object is the physical, mental, social, and spiritual benefit (a) of its members, (b) of young men in general, (c) of boys, the young men of to-morrow. Associations in the world, 8,332, of which 1,868 are in North America. The total membership of these North American associations is 405,789; they occupy 552 buildings of their own, valued at \$30,857,430. They have 36,293 young men as students in evening educational classes, 153,473 in their physical departments, and nearly 74,478 in Bible classes. They employ 2,339 general secretaries and other paid officials, and expended last year for current expenses—local, state, and international—\$5,314,028. North America contains approximately one quarter of the total number of associations in the world, one half of the total membership, three quarters of the total number of employed officers, and three quarters of the total value of buildings and equipment. This statement of the relative standing of the American movement is essential to the recognition of its real position of leadership, a leadership also signally manifested in the extension of its work to non-Christian lands in other continents. *International Com-*

mittee, office No. 3 West Twenty-ninth Street, New York. *General Secretary*, Richard C. Morse. This committee is the general executive of the associations of North America. It consists of fifty-four representative Christian laymen and employs a force of fifty secretaries in the home and fifty in the foreign field. In conjunction with thirty-six state and provincial committees it has promoted every phase of work just described, and has been a leading factor in extending the movement among railroad and other industrial men, students, soldiers, sailors, and negroes. *World's Committee*, office No. 3 rue General Durant, Geneva, Switzerland. *General Secretaries*, C. Fremoud and C. Pchildius.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (see also *WORLD'S Y. W. C. A.*): In the United States, the organization was formed 1858 as the "Ladies' Christian Union." By 1871 there were thirty Y. W. C. A.'s in the U. S., and an International Board was developed. In 1886 another national organization was started under the same name with the special object of establishing Y. W. C. A.'s in schools and colleges. In 1906 the two organizations came together. *National President*, Miss Grace H. Dodge; *Secretary*, Mrs. Wm. Rossiter, 125 East Twenty-second Street, New York.

Z

ZACHER, GEORGE: Director of Imperial Statistical Department; born 1854, Königsberg, East Prussia. Traveled for the purpose of social study in Europe and America in the years 1887, 1906-7, and 1904, and in the years 1895, 1903 and 1905 made special journeys to Africa for the purpose. Has written many articles on conciliation and arbitration, strikes and lockouts, out-of-work insurance, etc. Dr. Zacher believes that social reform, if it is to be successful, must be based upon the combination of self-help and State aid; private initiative and State interference. Author: "Working Men's Movement and Social Reform in Germany"; "Guide for Women's Insurance in Germany"; "Die Arbeiter Versicherung im Auslande"; "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften." Address: W. I. Potsdamer Strasse 134a, Berlin, Germany.

ZOAR: The communistic settlement of Zoar was founded in 1817 by a sect from Württemberg, in Germany, called Separatists. The communistic element, however, was an afterthought, only dating from 1819. Objection to war and to the formalities of the established religion, coupled with a warm welcome from the Quakers of Philadelphia, seem to have drawn them from Germany. Joseph Baumeler was their main leader till his death in 1853. They allowed marriage, maintained family life, and seemed broader in their religious views than most of the German communistic sects of America. According to Professor Ely's "The Labor Movement in America" (1886), they then owned several thousand acres of land, had several manu-

facturing establishments, and property valued at \$1,500,000, with a membership of 390 souls. They gradually grew however, smaller in number, and more like a rich corporation than a community, till they finally dissolved as a community in 1898.

ZUEBLIN, CHARLES: Professor of sociology, University of Chicago; born Pendleton, Ind., 1866; educated in the public schools of Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Northwestern University (Ph.B., 1887), Yale University (D.B., 1889), and the University of Leipzig. Established, 1891, the Northwestern University Settlement in Chicago, and in the same year organized the Chicago Society for University Extension. In 1892 was appointed instructor in sociology in the University of Chicago. For several years thereafter specialized on English social questions, spending successive vacations in Great Britain. A member of the London Fabian Society, with whose views he is in general sympathy. Early made the acquaintance of ethical culture lecturers and societies in England, Germany, Switzerland, and America, and has lectured for many of the American societies; has also lectured in university extension from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. During the last ten years has specialized in municipal sociology with special reference to American cities. Mr. Zueblin has written many articles and reviews for the sociological and economic journals. Author: "American Municipal Progress"; "A Decade of Civic Development." Address: University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Before the page referred to : a. = Article by. b. = Biography of. q. = Quoted

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